The Medieval Book of Birds

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Hugh of Fouilloy's *Aviarium*

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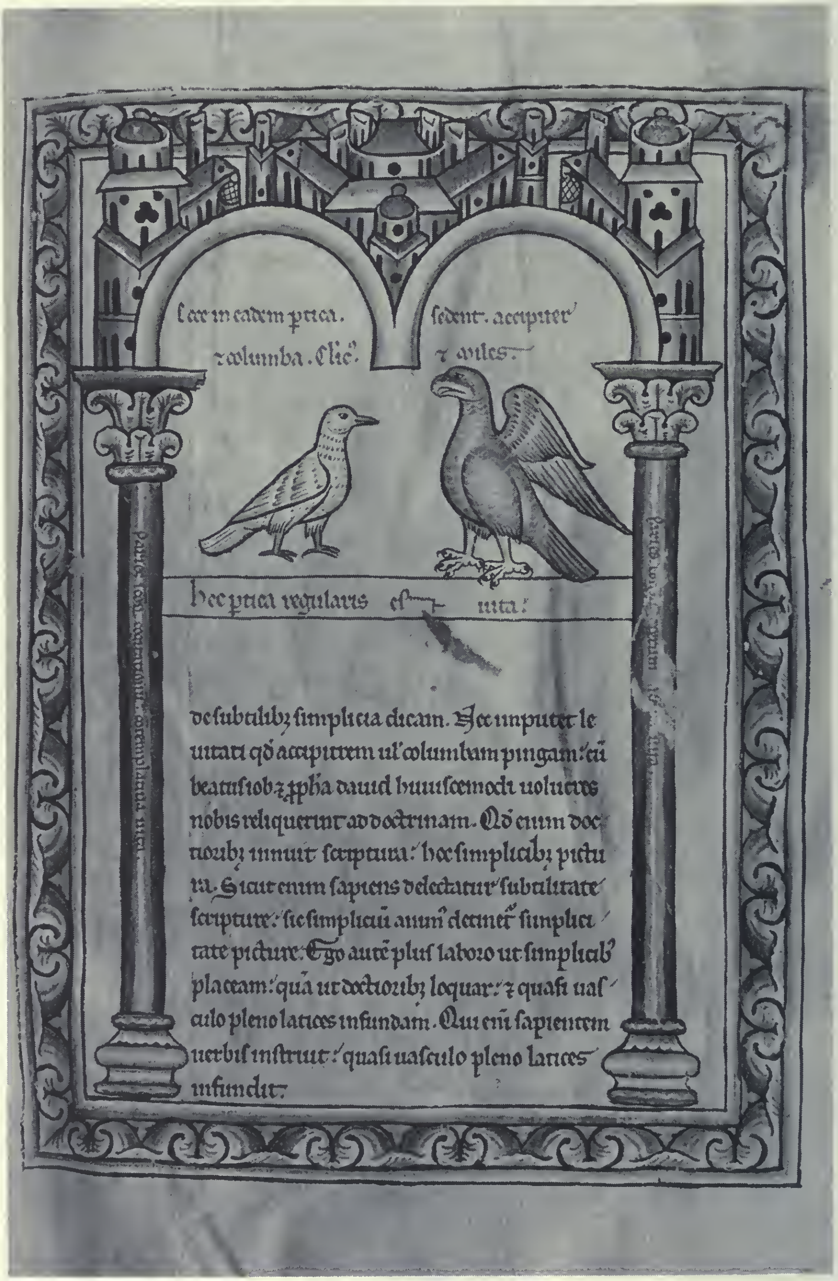

Ecce in eadem ptica. ſedent. accipiter
⁊ columba. Cliĉ. ⁊ miles.

hec ptica regularis eſt uita.

de ſubtilib; ſimplicia dicam. Hoc imputet le
uitati qd̓ accipitrem ul' columbam pingam: cu̅
beatus iob ⁊ pph'a dauid huiuſcemodi uolucres
nobis reliquerint ad doctrinam. Qd̓ enim doc
torib; innuit ſcriptura: hoc ſimplicib; pictu
ra. Sicut enim ſapiens delectatur ſubtilitate
ſcripture: ſic ſimpliciu̅ animu̅ detinet ſimplici
tate picture. Ego aute̅ pluſ laboro ut ſimplicib'
placeam: qua̅ ut doctorib; loquar: ⁊ quaſi uaſ
culo pleno latices infundam. Qui eni̅ ſapientem
uerbiſ inſtruit: quaſi uaſculo pleno latices
infundit.

Clairmarais Aviary, Prologue miniature
(St. Omer, Bibl. Mun. 94, fol. 13)

The Medieval Book of Birds
Hugh of Fouilloy's Aviarium

EDITION, TRANSLATION
AND COMMENTARY

BY

Willene B. Clark

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"Of course you may ask a lot of questions, child.

How else will you learn?"

In memory of my grandfather, Henry Clayton Walthour.

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Preface

Medieval scribes gave a variety of titles to the *Book of Birds*: *De avibus*, *De columba deargentata*, *De natura avium*, and *Libellus ad Rainerum*. Here I will refer to it as the Aviary, for in many respects it parallels prose versions of a familiar genre, the bestiary. Its author, Hugh of Fouilloy (Hugo de Folieto), wrote the work some time between about 1132 and 1152, during his tenure as prior of St.-Nicolas-de-Regny, an Augustinian house near Amiens. Although the Aviary is focused on the natural world, Hugh treats his material as moral theology and directs it toward a monastic audience.

The Aviary is extant in at least ninety-six manuscripts, of which fifty-five are fully or partly illustrated, with another nine having spaces left for illustrations. Both the text and illustrations of the Aviary are preserved in a surprisingly consistent, two-branch tradition, in which there is a clear link between textual and visual variants (see stemma immediately following the introduction). The Aviary text has been printed in four related editions as part of the collected works of Hugh of St. Victor. In each case the text varies from the one commonly seen in the manuscripts, with additions, omissions, and division into fifty-six rather than the sixty chapters typically found in the manuscripts. The earliest edition was published in Paris in 1526 by the canons of St. Victor. The same collection of works, edited by Thomasso Garzoni, was published in Venice in 1588 by J. B. Somascho; it was published again by the Paris Victorines in Rouen in 1648; it was published a fourth time by J. P. Migne, *Patrologia latina* 177:13-56, based on the Rouen edition. No specific manuscript source or sources for these editions have been identified, although Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 14429 (catalogue no. 46) has much in common with these early editions. In the Middle Ages the Aviary was translated into French verse and into Portuguese; only one manuscript exists for each translation (catalogue nos. 42, 48). There is no modern translation in any language, nor any modern edition.

In recent times the Aviary has been the subject of a number of studies, all dealing summarily or only in part with the text, the illustrations, and the manuscripts. The first of these is Dom Brial's essay on the life and writings of Hugh of Fouilloy in the *Histoire littéraire de la France* 13 (Paris, 1856), which to a large extent remains valid, but which provides a limited amount of documentation. Henri Peltier wrote what remains the best account of Hugh's life (*Revue du moyen-âge latin*, 1946); Walter Simons augmented the documentation and refined the interpretations in a recent article (*Sacris Erudiri* 1980). An article by Friedrich Ohly (*Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 1968) subjects the symbolism of the first few chapters of the Aviary to a structural analysis. Because his analysis removes the text from its theological and historical contexts, he sees Hugh's work as a complex treatise for the initiated. In reality, however, the Aviary was written for uneducated religious, and its author's declared aim was simplicity. Charles (Carlo) de Clercq contributed substantially to the study of Hugh of Fouilloy with his editions of two of Hugh's other works (*Bulletin du Cange* 1959, 1960, 1961), and in three articles on the Aviary (*Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1962; *Revue du Nord*, 1963; *Miscellanea Mediaevalia*, 1970). The 1962 article reviews the known facts in the course of discussing an Aviary manuscript at the Bodleian Library. The 1963 article suggests that Hugh painted the original program of Aviary illustrations, now lost, a notion only weakly suggested by evidence in the text (Edition para. 1). In the most recent of his articles de Clercq demonstrates the poetic implications of Hugh's prose by placing selected sections of the text in verse form. Curiously enough, he denies the authenticity of the two prologues, although they appear in virtually all the manuscripts and have stylistic and formal parallels to other works by Hugh. Moreover, he faults the Aviary for its abundant symbolism, the very characteristic which best demonstrates the work's roots in Christian exegesis and in the *Physiologus* tradition. Nicolas Häring (*Recherches de Théologie anc. et méd.*, 1979, with summaries of text and pictures) relates the texts of two of the best Aviary copies to the text in Migne, PL, a finding with which I cannot agree. Häring's list of manuscripts is the most complete to that date but is based upon library catalogues and contains significant errors. My own summary of the text, its audience, and its illustrations (*Gesta* 21, 1982) contains a revised list of manuscripts which is corrected and supplanted by the catalogue presented here. Most recently Françoise Bibolet (*Mélanges ... Dimier* 4, 1984) gave an overview of the text and illustrations using the Clairvaux copy of the Aviary (Troyes, Bibl. Mun. MS. 177) as her focal point.

While these studies have made valuable contributions to an understanding of the Aviary, no one has analyzed the complete text in detail, nor has anyone compared the text and illustrations of the many copies in order to group the manuscripts textually and pictorially, nor placed their illustrations in their proper stylistic contexts. Although I originally intended to limit my study of the Aviary to its pictorial tradition in the manuscripts, as the project progressed I realized that without analyzing the text closely I could never fully understand how the copies of the work related visually. Therefore, in addition to an art historical study of the manuscript tradition, I have provided a modern edition and an English translation of the Aviary in the hope that the reader will gain a more complete picture of the work. In the introduction I analyze the manuscript groups and discuss style in individual manuscripts in relation to their respective groups. I also provide a catalogue of all the extant Aviary manuscripts known to me.

While I have assumed that most of my readers will be historians of medieval illumination and medieval literature, I have written this book as well for historians of monastic spirituality. My statements on literary and spiritual matters, however, are necessarily limited by my training and experience, and I look to my colleagues in those fields for further comment on matters in the Aviary which speak to their expertise.

The introduction is divided into three chapters, the first reviewing Hugh's life, the second analyzing the manuscript groups, and the third outlining the practices of scribes and painters who copied the Aviary. The third chapter was prompted by the relative consistency with which both text and illustrations were transmitted, a situation unusual in such a large series of copies, and one which thereby permits fairly easy access to copy practices. The Appendices contain a quick-reference list of the illustrated Aviary manuscripts, and the texts of all diagrams and *tituli*. The catalogue summarizes the physical and historical elements of each illustrated manuscript, and for reasons which will become clear in the introduction, provides only brief listings for copies without illustrations.

Many Aviary manuscripts include a version of the bestiary, and for these bestiaries I have used the terms in Florence McCulloch's *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries* (rev. ed. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1962). By the term *Physiologus* I mean the animal-moral work which in the Latin version has the incipit, *Etenim Iacob, benedicens filium suum Iudam*, begins Lion, Antelope, Fire-Stones, Sawfish (or the shorter version in Bern MS. 318), and is designated as versions Y, B, and C, or their Early Christian Greek predecessor (McCulloch, chap. 1, chap. 2, pp. 21–27). By bestiary, I mean the animal-moral treatises in either prose or verse, and in Latin or the vernacular, which derive ultimately from the Latin *Physiologus* (McCulloch, chap. 2, p. 17 ff., chap. 3). References to the Aviary are always capitalized, because it is a specific work; references to the bestiary are capitalized only in the case of a specific manuscript. In the introduction the names of the Aviary's birds and trees are capitalized to distinguish them from birds and trees named in general, and to make the Aviary names more visible on the page for easy reference.

The Edition and Translation

My purpose in publishing this edition and translation is to provide easy access to Hugh's appealing treatise on birds. I have not sought to establish an authorial text, but to present a text which seems to reflect the original at a reasonably close range. Likewise the grouping of manuscripts does not define genetic lines, but rather nuclear family connections so that the relationships between text and picture can be studied. The edition is based upon the Heiligenkreuz Aviary (Heiligenkreuz Abbey MS. 226), an early copy, complete in text and illustrations. Its particular combination of verbal and visual elements is a common denominator for the majority of copies. It has relatively few scribal errors. As chapter 2 will make clear, the illustrated copies of the Aviary constitute the main line of the tradition, a fact which explains and justifies an emphasis on the illustrations which is obvious throughout this book. With the edition I include variant readings for the manuscripts which best represent each of the main-line groups; I also provide variants for the earliest known Aviary, which is one of only two with a secure date (catalogue no. 23), and for the Clairvaux Aviary (catalogue no. 51), a manuscript important for the interesting Portuguese copies of the Aviary.

An effort has been made to provide a readable translation that remains close to Hugh's patterns of thought in the Latin. As far as possible the standard and familiar English names for the birds have been used, although these names should be understood as generic rather than specific. While passages of naturalistic description occur in both the text and the illustrations of the Aviary, such naturalism is sporadic and usually inconclusive for identifying avian species. The problem is further complicated by the fact that most traits mentioned by Hugh come from the Bible, the *Physiolo-*

gus, and Isidore of Seville, that is, from texts that were not concerned with empirical definitions, and that, moreover, were written in geographic regions with bird populations different from those of northwestern Europe. Therefore I have not attempted to identify the Aviary's birds by their modern scientific names, fearing to introduce unnecessary complications with little value for the understanding of Hugh's text. In a few cases, however, problems in the translation of a bird's name are reviewed in the notes. The question of naturalism in the Aviary is discussed in more detail in chapter 2 of the introduction.

Hugh's immediate sources for the bird characteristics are easily known, and are identified in the notes. For the extended traditions the reader may refer to the comprehensive lists of Nikolaus Henkel, *Studien zum Physiologus im Mittelalter* (Tübingen 1976), and Jacques André, *Isidore de Séville: Etymologies XII, Des animaux* (Paris 1986). Where the tradition is not given by either of these, I have provided summaries of sources prior to Hugh of Fouilloy.

In order to provide an edition accessible to a variety of readers I have silently expanded all abbreviations and regularized spellings in the Latin. Some spellings which are characteristic of Heiligenkreuz MS. 226 are: *e* for *ae* and *oe* consistently (e.g., *celum*, *phenis*), *Sathanas*, *ethimologia*, *Ysopo*, *hyemis*, *ymbres*, *hyrundo*, and *yrundo*, sometimes *ypocrita*, sometimes *c* for *t* (e.g., *cogitaciones*, *multociens*), *nichil*; ampersand but more often *et* or the Tironian sign. While recognizing that medieval punctuation often reflects oral reading, I have nevertheless modernized punctuation and paragraphing for today's silent-reading audience, and sometimes joined or separated phrases to achieve logical consistency. Emendations have been made, and indicated, where there is an omission in Heiligenkreuz of text which appears in all other copies, or where Heiligenkreuz has errors; the readings in Heiligenkreuz which are uncommon have been maintained. Included in the variants are all textual modifications of the manuscripts selected, except for minor differences in orthography and word order. The sixty chapters of this edition, most with a *titulus*, reflect the structure of the Aviary in the majority of manuscripts; chapter numbers have been provided.

The reader should note that as in the Vulgate, some names of biblical books and many psalm numbers in the Douay Bible are different from those of the modern revised versions. Where Hugh's quotation does not accord with the Vulgate, the translation is mine.

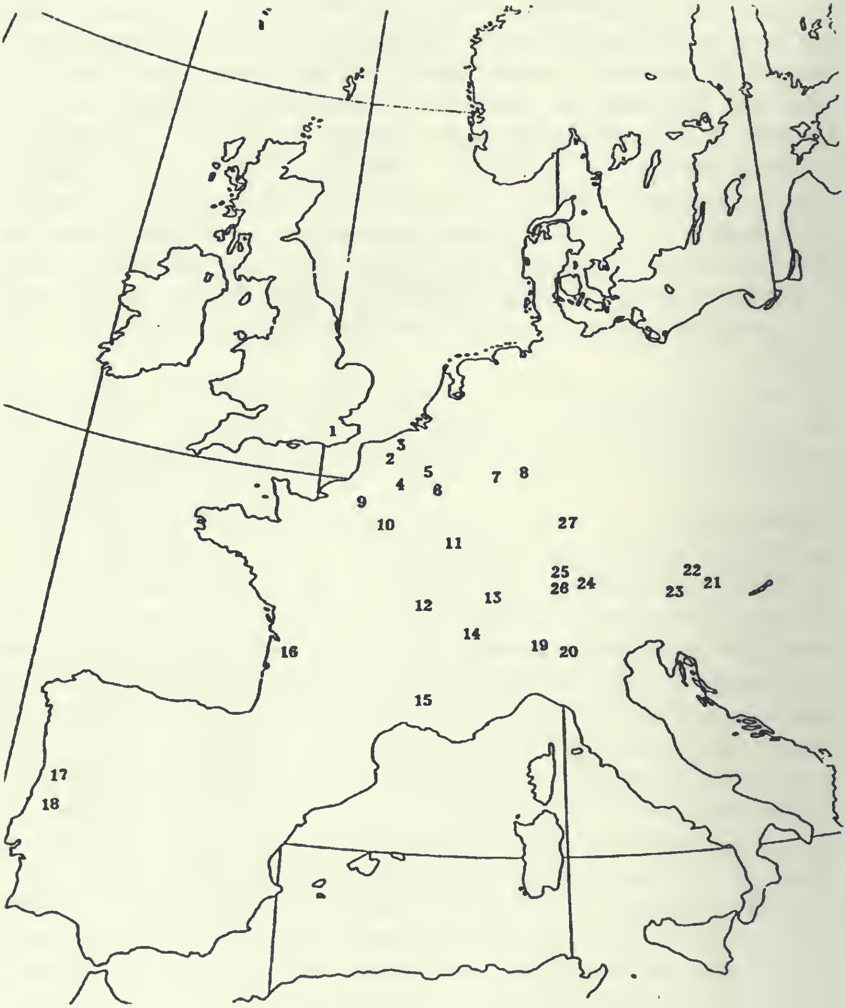
Acknowledgements

To the many librarians, curators, and private collectors who so kindly allowed me to study manuscripts in their care, I express my warmest appreciation. I am grateful also for the helpful information that many of them provided.

For being such a patient resource and tireless reader and advisor as I tackled the edition and translation of the Aviary I would like to thank Peter K. Marshall. Dr. James J. Scanlan and Brady B. Gilleland also made valuable contributions to these portions of the project. Any remaining errors and awkward passages result from my subsequent changes. The late Florence McCulloch shared her vast knowledge of the bestiary, and even more importantly, served as a model of courage and determination which will stay before me always. I consulted Kerstin Carlvant for advice in various art historical matters and Meradith McMunn for current issues in medieval literature. Those who read part or all of the typescript and offered much valuable criticism include Adelaide Bennett, Walter Cahn, Kerstin Carlvant, William P. Davisson, Peter K. Marshall, Meradith and William McMunn, and Mark Pobjoy. Françoise Bibolet and Jacques André very kindly sent pre-publication copies of recent work germane to the project. To my first Latin teacher, Saxon Bargeron, I owe my love of that language, and I pray that my work on the Aviary does not fall too far short of her impeccable standards.

I am indebted to a number of colleagues in Europe and the United States for sharing with me their knowledge of medieval manuscripts, texts, and art, and for the insights they offered into a variety of problems posed by the Aviary. In particular I would like to thank François Avril, Caroline Bynum, Michael Cothren, Robert Engel, Jane Hayward, Jeanne Krochalis, the late Fr. Louis J. Lekai, Nigel Morgan, John P. Nevins, Dorothy M. Owen, Malcolm Parkes, Lilian Randall, Walter Simons, Harvey Stahl, Patricia Stirneman,

Alison Stones, Hilary Wayment, and Helen Zakin. Kerstin Carlvant and Baudouin Van den Abeele pointed out several Aviary manuscripts. Susan Bristol made much needed photographs. Research help was provided by former students Lisa Ihde-Costa, Douglas Hanchi, and Gretta Krautkramer. Françoise Bibolet, J. F. Bonnin, Albert Derolez, Hans Fellner, François Garnier, H. P. Kraus, Martine Lemaner, Gérard Leroux, Peter Ludwig, Father Cornelius Steffek, and the C.N.R.S in Paris contributed valuable information. Finally, Marlboro College extended vacations several times so that I might complete work in Europe, and provided computer time and programs to assist me in organizing and presenting my findings.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3. Ter Duinen
4. Anchin
5. Tournai
6. St. Amand
7. Aulne
8. Le Jardinet
9. St. Laurent-d'Heilly
10. Paris
11. Clairvaux
12. Bourges
13. Cîteaux
14. La Ferté
15. Avignon
16. Bordeaux
17. Coimbra
18. Alcobaça
19. Morimondo
20. Cremona
21. Heiligenkreuz
22. Melk
23. Zwettl
24. Polling
25. Rohr
26. Tegernsee
27. Bamberg

Sites, or likely sites, of Aviary Production

Introduction

Observe how the life of religious
can be taught through the nature of birds.
(Hugh of Fouilloy, *The Book of Birds* chap. 44)

CHAPTER ONE

The Author and the Text

The literature of the European Middle Ages was in large measure a literature of the Christian church, written by and for clergy. Towering over all medieval writing was the Bible, source and inspiration for many theological treatises and commentaries as well as for the laws and regulations which guided both monastic and secular Christian life. Alongside these imposing works is a smaller, less formal body of medieval literature also steeped in the Bible, but designed to appeal to the lower orders of the Church and to lay people. Prominent in this category are the books of animal allegory, or bestiaries. These are collections of lore derived from many sources: the Bible, Egyptian myth, Hellenistic empiricism, Early Christian animal allegory, Roman anthologies of wonders, Isidore of Seville's imaginative encyclopedia, and sometimes direct observation, all brought together as *exempla* for Christian thought and behavior. Any measure of natural history in the bestiaries must be viewed in this spiritual context. Because the bestiaries are entertaining as well as elevating, they influenced a broad range of medieval writings, both sacred and secular. They appealed especially to preachers and teachers who mined the riches of their animal lore for colorful didactic images.

The bestiary as a Christian literary genre served as model for the less familiar but equally delightful moralizing book on birds by Hugh of Fouilloy (Hugo de Folieto), a French Augustinian prior of the twelfth century. In the manuscripts the work is most often called *The Silvered Dove* (*De columba deargentata*) or *The Little Book for Rainier the Lay-brother Called the Kindhearted* (*Libellus quidam ad Rainerum conversum cognomine Corde Benignum*). Hugh's treatise is also known as *The Three Doves* (*De tribus columbis*), *The Birds* (*De avibus*), *The Nature of the Birds* (*De natura avium*), and only occasionally *The Aviary* (*Aviarium*), the name used here for the sake of simplicity. It is an allegorical work written expressly for a monastic audience, and contains lessons in Christian thought and behavior in addition to its avian lore. The author draws his information on the birds and many of his teachings from the Bible, the church fathers, earlier moralized animal literature, early medieval encyclopedias, fact, and perhaps also folklore. To most chapters he adds his own pious but imaginative interpretations. Like the bestiary, the Aviary belongs primarily to the literature of Christian *exempla*.[1]

In the Aviary's prologues Hugh defines his little treatise expressly as a teaching text directed to very specific monastic pupils, the lay-brothers (*conversi*). The typical lay-brother had converted to the religious life as an adult and lacked the education required of choir monks. Introduced into monasteries in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, especially into Cistercian houses, lay-brothers usually worked as manual laborers or lesser administrators, enabling the monks to give their full attention to the *Opus dei* and to the more important duties of the monastic community.[2] The

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[1] The issue of natural history in the Aviary is discussed in more detail in chap. 2 in connection with the bird illustrations. It suffices to note here the statement of Fr. Hermann Josef Roth, "Mathematik, Naturwissenschaften, Technik und Medizin bei den Zisterziensern," in *Die Zisterzienser. Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit* (Exhib. Cat., Cologne, Rheinisches Museum, 1981), 171, about Cistercians but applicable to all religious of the 12th century, that whatever natural history they knew was "the starting point for moral and ascetic reflections to illuminate theological or mystical thoughts." He mentions in particular the Aviary at Heiligenkreuz Abbey, the dove and hawk of which are "not of ornithological interest, but symbols of monk and knight"; the creations of nature are "not themes of natural history, but proofs of the might of the God Creator." For animal allegory and the medieval sermon, see Elizabeth Gee and Gregory Kratzmann, eds., *The Dialoges of Creatures Moralysed* (Leiden, New York, Copenhagan, Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1988), Introduction, 1: "*The Dialoges of Creatures Moralysed* and the Exemplum Tradition."

[2] A general bibliography on the lay-brotherhood, along with a discussion of Cistercian lay-brothers is found in Louis J. Lekai, *The Cistercians*, (Kent, Ohio: Kent State Univ. Press, 1977) chap. 21 and 435–36. For Augustinian lay-brothers, C. D. Fonseca, "I conversi nelli communità canonicali," in *I laici nella 'Societas Christiana' dei secoli XI e XII* (Atti della Settimana di Studio: Mendola, 1965; Milan, 1968), 262–95, and "Hugues de Fouilloy entre l' 'Ordo antiquus' et l' 'Ordo novus'," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 16 (1973): 303–12. The matter of lay-brother illiteracy is discussed by Jacques Dubois, "L'institution des convers au XIIe siècle, forme de vie monastique propre aux laïcs," in *I laici nella 'Societas Christiana' dei secoli XI e XII* (Atti della Settimana di Studio: Mendola, 1962; Milan, 1968), 183–261. Benedictine lay-brothers are studied by Giles Constable, " 'Famuli' and 'Conversi' at Cluny: A Note on Statute 24 of Peter the Venerable," *Revue bénédictine* 83 (1973): 326–50. On lay-brothers in Italy, Duane J. Osheim, "Conversion, *Conversi* and the Christian Life in Late Medieval Tuscany," *Speculum* 58 (1983): 368–90.

Aviary also addresses the teachers of lay-brothers, those who would have translated its lessons for their often illiterate pupils in whatever the local vernacular. Perhaps the *magister* mentioned in a colophon in the earliest extant Aviary (catalogue no. 23) was such a teacher. For the modern reader the work supplies new information and insight into attitudes toward the lay-brothers and their training, and increased understanding of canonical spirituality in general. Moreover, the Aviary is a work of considerable charm, representing a high point in the lighter forms of medieval religious literature.

The Aviary is the only moralized nature treatise dealing exclusively with birds. Its uniqueness in this respect is somewhat surprising, given that people throughout the ages have been fascinated by birds and their activities. For some cultures birds are spirits of the dead, or the bearers of souls to the other world; for others they embody power, wisdom, and the gift of prophecy. Birds have played and continue to play an important role in the religion, mythology, folklore, literature, art, and symbolism of all cultures, as well as in the ecology of all geographic areas.

The Egyptians made a god of the falcon, and Horapollo, an Egyptian of the Late Period, described in his *Hieroglyphica* how to use birds (and animals) to devise symbolic emblems. Aristotle's long essays on birds in his *History of the Animals* attempt to report much actual avian behavior. Dioscurides, a Greek of the first century AD, began his medical treatise with illustrated excerpts from the lost *Ornithiaka* by Dionysios. Both Aesop and Phaedrus use birds as characters in their fables. Pliny the Elder, the Roman encyclopedist whose *Natural History* places Aristotelian fact alongside colorful wonders and fantasies, devoted all of Book 10 to birds. The Early Christian poet Lactantius, author of *De ave phoenice*, records tales of the most famous of mythical birds. A twelfth-century Islamic poem, *Parliament of the Birds* (*Mantiq Uttair*), organizes Sufi spiritual fables and teachings around a group of talking birds with a hoopoe as leader. In western medieval literature about birds the best known works are Frederick the Second's *The Art of Hunting with Birds* (*De arte venandi cum avibus*), a treatise on falconry, and the early Middle English debate poem, *The Owl and the Nightingale*. Medieval encyclopedists—Isidore of Seville, Hrabanus Maurus, Vincent of Beauvais, Alexander Neckham, Bartholomew the Englishman, Albert the Great, and Brunetto Latini—discussed birds at considerable length. Perhaps the greatest body of bird lore is found in the Bible, which views birds both factually and symbolically. It is the Bible which serves as the most important source of the Aviary's bird lore.

The ancestor of the bestiaries and the Aviary is the late antique animal book known as the *Physiologus* (*The Naturalist*), in reference to its anonymous author.[1] Writing in Greek, probably at Alexandria, and as early as the second century AD, its author compiled animal lore from classical, eastern and Early Christian sources. Each animal is given a chapter in which its physical and behavioral characteristics, both real and fanciful, are presented and moralized for a Christian audience. The *Physiologus* was translated into a number of Middle Eastern and European languages in prose and in verse. It appeared in a Latin prose version at an early date, and the work's didactic nature led to its use as a popular text in the grammar schools of the Middle Ages. By the ninth century there were at least three Latin versions, known as Y, C, and B, of which B was the most popular.[2] Beginning perhaps in the late eleventh century, but surely by the early twelfth, various compilers added new elements to B from other classical sources, from early Christian and early medieval authors, especially Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, and from local tales and legends; they also added new moralizations. These so-called contaminated versions are often referred to in the manuscripts by the titles *De bestiis* or *Bestiarium*, and by modern writers as the bestiaries.[3] One of these bestiary versions served as structural model, occasional textual source, and overall inspiration for Hugh's book of birds.

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[1] The most recent studies of the *Physiologus* are Michael J. Curley, *Physiologus* (Austin and London: Univ. of Texas Press, 1979), an English translation of Latin versions B and Y with commentary; and Nikolaus Henkel, *Studien zum Physiologus im Mittelalter* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1976) with an extensive bibliography. Other early Christian and medieval writers who used animals as the subjects of comment and allegory are discussed by Dietrich Schmidtke, *Geistliche Tierinterpretation in der deutschsprachigen Literatur des Mittelalters (1100 - 1500)* (Berlin: Ernst Reuter Gesellschaft, 1968), Teil 1.

[2] Versions B and Y have been edited by Francis Carmody, *Physiologus Latinus. Editions préliminaires, versio B* (Paris: E. Droz, 1939) and "Physiologus Latinus, versio Y," *The University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 12 (1941): 95-134. Curley, *Physiologus*, xl-xlii, lists all modern editions and translations of the various versions.

[3] The principal studies of the various bestiaries are M. R. James, *The Bestiary* (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1928), who placed them in text families; and Florence McCulloch, *Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, rev. ed., 1962), who further clarified and refined James's families. For modern bestiary editions, see McCulloch, passim. Several bestiary editions are in progress, including mine of the Second Family bestiary. T. H. White translated the Second Family bestiary, *The Bestiary* (New York: G. P. Putnam Sons, 1954). The manuscripts of the Latin bestiaries are listed in *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages. The Bestiary and its Legacy*, ed. W. B. Clark and M. T. McMunn (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 197-203.

The Aviary's Author

Hugh of Fouilloy wrote the Aviary probably during his tenure as prior of St.-Nicolas-de-Regny, a dependency of St.-Laurent-au-Bois (or St.-Laurent-d'Heilly), an Augustinian house near Amiens, of which he later became prior. He was born at Fouilloy, a small town not far from Amiens, and when still quite young he entered religion at St.-Laurent, as he notes in a St.-Laurent cartulary.[1] The dates of Hugh's birth and his arrival at St.-Laurent are uncertain, and turn upon the interpretation of facts provided in the cartulary. He states that the St.-Laurent community was very poor when he arrived, consisting of only seven canons (*canonici*) and three lay-brothers (*conversi*), who had gathered there fifteen years earlier. Charters in the cartulary note that St.-Laurent was founded some time during the episcopate of Bishop Godfrey of Amiens (1104-1115), with an endowment from Count Thibaut of Heilly and his wife and sons.[2] From references Hugh makes to other religious orders in the neighborhood, it is likely that the community was founded shortly before 1115[1]; for the sake of discussion I shall set the year at 1114. Hugh states that after his arrival the population of St.-Laurent began to grow, and a central question for the date of his entry becomes whether or not Thibaut's endowment marks the modest beginning of the community, or the official recognition and growth of an eremetical group of the type which so often preceded an Augustinian foundation, and which had been in existence for fifteen years.[2] If the endowment of ca. 1114 marks the institutionalization of an existing group, and the beginning of its prosperity, and Hugh was about eighteen years of age when he arrived, his birth date would be about 1096.[3] He is last mentioned in a document of 1172, and his successor as prior of St.-Laurent is noted in 1174.[4] If Hugh died about 1172, a birth date about 1096 would give him a lifespan of some seventy-six years, which would be an exceptionally long one in the Middle Ages. On the other hand, if Thibaut endowed the community at its inception, an eighteen-year-old Hugh would have arrived about 1129. His birth date then would be about 1111, which would give him a more usual medieval lifespan of about sixty-one years. There is no conclusive evidence for either set of dates.

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[1] In the prologue (Amiens, Bibliothèque de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, MS. CB 62, a 13th-century copy of the lost original cartulary, fols. 2-2v). It should be noted that in my article on the Aviary in *Gesta* 21 (1982): 63, I stated incorrectly that St.-Laurent had assumed Augustinian rule only in 1148; in fact, that is the year it received papal confirmation of its rule (Cartulary fol. 2v). For implications of the cartulary, see Walter Simons, "Deux témoins du mouvement canonial au XIIe siècle," *Sacris Erudiri* 24 (1980): 203-44, where Hugh's prologue is printed in full on pages 243-44. I am grateful to Dr. Simons for his valuable correspondence on these matters. The standard accounts of Hugh of Fouilloy's life are Dom Brial, *HLF* 13: 492-507 and Henri Peltier, "Hugues de Fouilloy, chanoine regulier, prieur de Saint-Laurent-au-Bois," *Revue du moyen-âge latin* 2 (1946): 25-44, neither of which deals with the problem of Hugh's date of birth.

In the early 13th century, St. Laurent came under the control of the Benedictine Abbey of Corbie, and its manuscripts were sent there in about 1206 or 1207; Christian de Merindol, *La production des livres peints à l'abbaye de Corbie au XIIème siècle* (Lille: Service de Reprod. des Thèses, Univ. de Lille 3, 1976): I, 34-37, reviews the extant St. Laurent manuscripts. I am grateful to Dr. Adelaide Bennett for lending me her copy of this thesis.

[2] Thibaut's gift and Godfrey's role in the foundation are recorded in a charter of 1168 (Cartulary, fols. 4v-5), which has been printed by V. de Beauville, *Recueil de documents inédits concernant la Picardie* 1 (1860): 5-6, no. 5. On Thibaut of Heilly, see William M. Newman, *Le personnel de la cathédrale d'Amiens (1066-1300) avec une note sur la famille des seigneurs de Heilly* (Paris, 1972), 44 ff., who corrects errors in the earlier study by Abbé E. Jumel,

From statements about himself in Prologue 1 of the Aviary (*Ego sum de clero*), from his broad knowledge of both classical and Christian literature as deduced from his writings, and from his own colorful literary style, it is certain that Hugh received a full clerical education, most likely at the great Benedictine abbey of Corbie, near Amiens. One of his medieval biographers even records him as a monk of Corbie, perhaps as a result of Hugh's train-

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Monographies de Picardie. Heilly (Amiens, 1876). According to various charters in the cartulary, the family continued to provide benefits to St. Laurent.

[1] For particulars, Simons, "Deux temoins," 214.

[2] On the eremetical phases of Augustinian monasteries, Ludo Milis, "Ermites et chanoines réguliers au XIIe siècle," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 22 (1979): 39–80, mentioning St. Laurent, 48–49, as an example; and Henrietta Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism* (New York: St. Martin's, 1984), chap. 9.

[3] This is the view favored by Simons, 213–15, who refers also to the fact that there had been a Benedictine community at the same location, which failed and which was replaced by, as he theorizes, a group of hermits under the leadership of Ulric, who would become the first prior of St. Laurent. The early Benedictine establishment is noted in documents from Corbie; *HLF*, 13:493.

[4] Cartulary, fols. 29 and 7; Peltier, "Hugues de Fouilloy," 34.

ing there.[1] After his entry into religion, his abilities must have developed steadily, for he was chosen to serve as founding prior for St.-Laurent's dependency of St.-Nicholas-de-Regny, a post in which he was confirmed in 1132.[2] Moreover, in 1149 Hugh was elected abbot of an important Augustinian monastery, St.-Denis at Rheims. He refused this honor, however, on the grounds that he was too unworthy both in his physical appearance and in his manners. Hugh's modern readers can only regret that he did not say more of his appearance! The position, he maintained, should be held by one more distinguished than he, and furthermore, St.-Denis was a wealthy house, and he preferred the poverty of St.-Laurent.[3] Hugh became prior of St.-Laurent about 1152, the last year in which Ulric, who preceded him as prior, signed an act;[4] the first act signed by Hugh in his new post is from 1153.[5] The cartulary prologue also mentions several efforts to solve disciplinary and administrative problems at both St.-Laurent and St.-Nicolas, but apart from these references and his signature in several charters, nothing further is known of Hugh of Fouilloy except for his writings.

The works which can with certainty be assigned to Hugh are all for a monastic audience. The most familiar of these, in the Middle Ages and now, are *The Cloister of the Soul* (*De claustro animae*) and *The Medicine of the Soul* (*De medicina animae*), both allegorical treatises on monastic spirituality.[6] The others, in addition to the Aviary, are *Concerning Marriage* (*De nuptiis*), *The Shepherds and the Sheep* (*De pastoribus et ovibus*), and *The True and False Wheels of Religion* (*De rota vera et falsa religionis*).[7] In the Middle Ages Hugh was sometimes confused with the more famous Parisian canon, Hugh of St. Victor, under whose name the Aviary was later published in the Paris (1526), Venice (1588), and Rouen (1648) editions of the Victorine's collected works, and by Migne in the *Patrologia latina*, based on the Rouen edition.[1] Hugh of Fouilloy was well enough known in his day, however, to be given biographic notices by the thirteenth-century chroniclers William of Nangis and Aubry of Trois Fontaines, and to be mentioned by the great encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais.[2] Aubry's notice is especially interesting, for it names Hugh as author not only of the *De claustro animae* and the *De medicina animae*, but also of the *De avium natura moraliter et allegorice*. It is significant that Aubry was a Cistercian, the austere order which was nevertheless the most avid patron of the entertaining and usually illustrated Aviary. The Renaissance still took note of at least the *De claustro animae*, as witnessed by a sixteenth-century Flemish manuscript of the lives of saints and famous writers (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS. IV,204, fol. 105) which calls the author "Hugh the other" of Fouilloy (*Hugo alter de Folieto*) and a man of eloquence (*eloquentiae vir*); the first Hugh is, of course, Hugh of St. Victor.[3]

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[1] H. Géraud, *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300* (Paris, 1843), 1:31.

[2] Cartulary, fols. 3v and 29; Peltier, "Hugues de Fouilloy," 30 and n. 20.

[3] The letter was found by Dom Jean Mabillon at Corbie and transcribed by him in *Annales ordinis Sancti Benedicti* 6:458 (*PL* 196:1553); see also the French translation in *HLF* 13:493–94. See p. 5, n. 1, for St.-Laurent books and papers at Corbie.

[4] Cartulary, fol. 19.

[5] Cartulary, fol. 6; Peltier, 31, n. 22, gives particulars of these two charters.

[6] Migne, *PL* 176:1017–1202.

[7] Respectively, Migne, *PL* 176:1202–18; ed. Charles de Clercq, *Bulletin DuCange* 31 (1961): 77–107; ed. Charles de Clercq, *Bulletin DuCange* 29 (1959): 219–228.

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[1] Respectively, the canons of St. Victor, eds., Paris, 1526; Thomasso Garzoni, ed., Venice: J. B. Somascho, 1588; canons of St. Victor, rev. and ed., Rouen, 1648; Migne, *PL* 177:13-56 (with the H-version bestiary). In the 1514 catalogue of the St. Victor library Hugh of St. Victor was credited with bestiary authorship in four manuscripts, nos. OOO,16; E6; SS,3; and DD8, the last of which is described as "De terrestribus bestiis, de avibus, . . ."; see Véronika Gerz-von Buren and Gilbert Ouy, *Le catalogue de la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Paris de Claude de Grandrue, 1514* (Paris: CNRS, 1983), 22, 142, 402. Migne, *PL* 177:118, suggested that "Hugues de Foulois" may be the author of the Aviary; Hugh was properly identified as early as 1856 in the *HLF* 13:498. F. J. Carmody, "De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus and the Latin *Physiologus*," *Speculum* 13 (1938): 153-59, separated the Aviary from the bestiaries in the *PL*, but did not take note of the *HLF* or follow up Migne's suggestion for author.

[2] William of Nangis wrote of him, *Claruit praeterea his temporibus Hugo de Folieto sancti Petri Corbiensis monachus, qui librum De claustro animae et corporis composuit. Alii dicunt istum Hugonem in pago Ambiancensi fuisse canonicum regularem*; Gérard, *Chronique latine*, 1:31. Aubry of Trois Fontaines records Hugh in the company of Hugh of St. Victor and Hugh of Fleury, but as a Premonstratensian: *Hugo vero qui scripsit De avium natura moraliter et allegorice, et De claustro animae et De medicina animae, fuit de ordine Praemonstratensium, ut dicitur, canonicus.*; *MGH,SS* 23:829. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* 27:23-57, also calls Hugh a monk of Corbie and includes what he calls "paucos flosculos" from the *Cloister of the Soul*. These and several still later mentions of Hugh are noted by Peltier, "Hugues de Fouilloy," 25-27. Hugh is properly identified as prior or canon of St. Laurent in eight of the illustrated Aviary manuscripts (catalogue nos. 5-7, 16, 23, 24, 43, 49).

[3] The occasional Aviary copy from the 15th century attests to continuing interest in Hugh's little treatise into the late Middle Ages. An Aviary is listed in the 1426 inventory of the Visconti library, although there is no way of

None of Hugh of Fouilloy's works is dated, but the paternal tone, especially in the Aviary, suggests that his writing was done when he was in a position of authority. Thus, his literary career would have begun after 1132, by which date he is confirmed in the documents as prior of St.-Nicolas. In the cartulary prologue Hugh notes that as St.-Laurent prospered, strife arose among the canons over the gaining of benefices (*possessiones*).[1] He intends to remedy these problems through proper documentation attested to by proper witnesses. He also addresses problems of discipline which must have appeared at St.-Nicolas after his departure, for they would surely have hindered his promotion; and he defines the degrees of obedience which the prior and canons of St.-Nicolas owe to St.-Laurent.[2] The implications and the tone of his statements, especially his use of the future tense for his solutions to the problems, suggest that the cartulary was written after Hugh became prior of St.-Laurent in about 1152. Nothing in the Aviary seems addressed to breaches of monastic discipline such as the cartulary notes at St.-Nicolas, although the Aviary's goal was to teach correct thinking and behavior to members of a monastic community. Thus Hugh's treatise on birds can probably be placed in the late 1130s or the 1140s. It is dedicated to a certain Rainier, a former knight (*miles*) who had become a lay-brother (fig. 1a).[3] A *Frater Rainerus* is named among members of the St.-Nicolas chapter in a charter of 1153 affecting St.-Laurent, but there is no way of knowing if this is Hugh's former knight.[4]

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knowing from what period the manuscript came; see L. Cogliati Arano, "Fonti figurative del 'Bestiario' di Leonardo," *Arte Lombarda* 62 (1982): 153. The known 15th-century copies of the Aviary are catalogue nos. 34, 67, 74, 88, 92, 96.

[1] Cartulary, fol. 2, and Simons, "Deux témoins," 244: *Crevit religiosorum turba et cum turba crevit turbatio. . . . Nec tantum inter religiosos et seculares de possessionibus emersit discordia, sed etiam inter religiosos in praesentia dividum multotiens exorta est rixa. . . .* By 1153 the chapter of St.- Laurent had grown to twenty members, who are listed in a charter as witnesses, and include Hugh of Fouilloy, prior, and eighteen canons and a priest (Cartulary, fol. 7).

[2] The troubles at St.-Nicolas are also noted in *The Cloister of the Soul* (Migne, *PL* 176:1017-1182 and 1183-1202). A papal bull of 1172 (Cartulary, fol. 4) confirming St.-Laurent's authority over St.-Nicolas may or may not reflect these difficulties.

[3] By mid-twelfth century the term *miles* had come to refer specifically to a knight; see most recently Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1984), 27-28.

[4] Cartulary, fol. 7. L. Milis, "*Justus ut Palma*, Symboliek als politiek-ideologisch wapen op de zegels van Diederik en Filips van de Elzas, graven van Vlaanderen (1128-1191)," *Sacris Erudiri* 25 (1982): 43, notes that two

Content and Structure of the Aviary

In choosing birds for his treatise Hugh turned first to the Bible where he picked primarily those birds which have European counterparts with which his audience would be familiar. The few non-European or fantastical birds of the Aviary, such as the Phoenix, were well known from legend and folklore. Eleven of his birds are noted also by the *Physiologus*. While Hugh does not cite the *Physiologus* directly, he follows its tradition in mixing fact with fancy in the avian characteristics. He moralizes both the physical and the behavioral traits and often provides several explanations for a single characteristic, in order that his audience might fully understand its implications.[1] His chapters are usually much longer than those of the *Physiologus* and bestiaries. In all, the Aviary has sixty chapters set out in two large sections defined by differences in form and content.[2] The division suggests that the two parts represent ideas for separate treatises or essays that were later combined.

The first part of the Aviary is the more original, and consists of thirty-seven chapters beginning usually with a biblical passage.[3] It

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religious with the name Rainier appear in the St.-Laurent obituary for 1171 (Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 12583, fol. 98), and proposes that because one of these names is placed last in a list of St.-Nicolas witnesses to the 1153 charter, he was a recent entrant of that year, which thus provides a *terminus a quo* for the composition of the Aviary. This would not, however, exclude the second Rainier or some other Rainier, who simply may not have witnessed the 1153 charter, from being the recipient of Hugh's text. I am grateful to Walter Simons for the reference to this article.

[1] The medieval view of definition is discussed by Yves Lefèvre, "Le Liber Floridus et la littérature encyclopédique au moyen-âge," in *Liber Floridus Colloquium*, ed. A. Derolez (Ghent, 1973), 1-9, who states, 4, that the Middle Ages sought not the definitive explanation of something, but rather all possible definitions.

[2] The version of the Aviary in Migne *PL* 177 is clearly a variant, with several chapters conflated to make a total of fifty six, and with a great many readings which differ from the Heiligenkreuz MS. 226 standard. It also adds *Physiologus* chapters on the Ibis and Coot at the end of the Aviary, which is a characteristic of manuscripts in the Paris Group discussed in chapter 2. Migne's source was the 1648 Rouen edition of the works of Hugh of St. Victor edited by the Victorines. It is not clear what manuscripts the Victorine editors used, although the 1648 edition specifies *ex manuscriptis* ... *in Biblioteca Victorina*, but the edition was in any case *castigata et emandata*, which probably explains many of the *PL*'s pecularities.

[3] Many of Hugh's quotations from the Bible do not match the Vulgate version, or other versions known in the Amiens region. In discussing the same situation in the writings of St. Bernard, Fr. Jean Leclercq pointed out

opens with an eleven-chapter exposition of the curious verse 14 of Psalm 67: "If you sleep among the midst of the lots, you shall be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and the hinderparts of her back with the paleness of gold." This verse provides the Aviary with one of its titles. Eleven more chapters deal with the north and south winds and especially with the Hawk renewing its feathers in the south wind (Job 39:26). It is clear that the author thought of these twenty-two chapters as a unit, for he set them off with an *explicit*. In fact, the next fifteen chapters on the Turtledove and Sparrow, and the Palm and Cedar where they nest, originally might have been yet a third essay, although they have no *explicit*. The second part of the Aviary treats twenty-three individual birds in as many chapters. The chapters of Part 1 consist primarily of scriptural exegesis by Hugh himself. Part 2 draws often on early Christian and medieval sources, explicating these as Part 1 did the scriptural citations. The role of authority, however, is greater in Part 2 than in Part 1, for in Part 2 Hugh not only draws more heavily on his sources, but sometimes quotes from them at length.

The illustrations for the Aviary tend to conform to a standard program, and those which accompany Part 1, reflecting the greater originality of that part of the text, are more interesting than those of Part 2. The whole program consists of diagrams (e.g., figs. 2, 4a), stylized trees (e.g., fig. 7a) and bird "portraits" (e.g., fig. 23). The didactic nature of the Aviary is underscored in the use Hugh makes of verbal keys to his text. Textual summaries of groups of chapters appear in the diagrams and with the illustrations of Part 1, and there are *tituli* for the illustrations accompanying individual chapters in Part 2 (see Appendix 2). The sixty chapters are almost always differentiated in the twelfth-century manner by enlarged capitals and rubrics, and in Part 2 also by the miniatures.

The Text

As noted, Hugh's most frequent textual authority in Part 1 is the Bible. In the Part 2 chapters he looked most often to the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville, a favorite source also for the bestiarists.

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that Bernard quotes from memory, not of the Bible, but of biblical passages in the church fathers and in the monastic office which he recited daily; *Bernard of Clairvaux and the Cistercian Spirit*, trans. Claire Lavoie (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1976), 21. This undoubtedly applies also to Hugh of Fouilloy.

Another important source for Part 2 is Hrabanus Maurus's *The Nature of Things*, which can be said to moralize the *Etymologies*. For several Part 2 birds Hugh quotes long passages from the *Moralia in Job* of St. Gregory the Great, an author of considerable importance to Augustinians and often quoted in Hugh's writings.[1] Other Aviary sources include St. Gregory, *On the Gospels*; Cassiodorus, *Exposition of the Psalms*; St. Jerome, *Commentary on St. Matthew*; St. Ambrose, *Hexameron*; Bede, *Commentary on Tobit*, and the bestiary version known as B-Is, probably from the early twelfth century.[2] Hugh's command of the allegorical method indicates familiarity not only with Augustine, but also with late classical traditions, reflected in an occasional image such as the vase motif of Prologue 2 and an aphorism about eating at the end of chapter 38.[3] It would appear from traits he gives to the Dove (chap. 11) that he knew, directly or indirectly, the treatises on animals by Pliny (*Natural History*) and Aelian (*The Nature of Animals*), as well as Ovid's *The Art of Love*; he also notes bird characteristics (chap. 51) which are mentioned by Varro in *Country Matters*. For explanations of three place names he turned to St. Jerome's *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* (chaps. 47, 59). In writing style, Hugh is most clearly influenced by Hrabanus and St. Gregory, especially the latter, although his writing lacks the intricacies of Gregory's prose. Hugh learned from Gregory to describe the stages of spiritual growth in a Christian life not in abstract terms, but by borrowing "from the Bible concrete images which enable each [person] to recognize in these experiences the story of his own life."[4] In the birds of the Bible Hugh, like Gregory, found references to the Christian's inner search for obedience, humility, and the rejection of earthly pleasures in order to find the rewards of salvation in heaven.

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[1] For the widespread influence of the *Moralia in Job*, Lawrence L. Besserman, *The Legend of Job in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard Univ. Press, 1979).

[2] For the B-Is version, McCulloch, *Mediaeval ... Bestiaries*, 28–30. It is printed in Max Friedrich Mann, "Der Bestiaire Divin des Guillaume le Clerc," *Französche Studien* 6:2 (1888), 37–73. Henkel, *Studien*, 27–28, feels that this version, which incorporates passages from Isidore's *Etymologies*, is already a bestiary. The B-Is version was also an important source for French vernacular bestiaries; McCulloch, 45.

[3] Much of Hugh's *Shepherds and Sheep* text is drawn from or modelled on classical sources, especially Virgil's *Eclogues*; de Clercq, *Bulletin DuCange* 31, passim.

[4] Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God* (New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1982; first publ. 1961), 33.

In several chapters avian traits are noted which may derive from Hugh's own observation: the Turtledove feeding in gardens and fields (chap. 28), the nesting habits of the Turtledove, Sparrow and Nycticorax (chaps. 29, 33, 39), the Sparrow's capriciousness (chap. 32), the Kite flying about near kitchens (chap. 45), the Jay living in the woods or being taught to "talk" (chap. 50), and the colors of the Heron (chaps. 52). His description of the voice, gait, and varied colors of the Peacock (chap. 59) make an excellent first-hand account. He even notes an occasional event in nature, such as the killing (presumably by a human) of a vulture when it lands to feed on a corpse (chap. 43).

Nevertheless, even if Hugh of Fouilloy was something of a bird-watcher, which is in itself interesting in the twelfth century, the information he collected served only as a vehicle for his spiritual lessons. The real substance of the Aviary is in its moralizations, and the work's spiritual character is attested to by its predominantly theological sources. Its moral purpose is like that of the *Physiologus* and Aesop's fables, both of which were popular texts in the medieval grammar-school curriculum, where they were used to teach the children's first lessons in the reading and writing of Latin.[1] Hugh's choice of genre to teach uneducated adults was therefore informed by a well-proven tradition. The bestiary also belongs to this genre of allegory, and it will be suggested later that in their uses, the Aviary and bestiary may have even more in common than heretofore realized.

In Prologue 1 Hugh states that he composed the Aviary at the request of Rainier, the lay-brother to whom he refers, perhaps only by convention, as "dearest friend." Rainier must have been, however, a most sympathetic person, for in the chapter 1 rubric by which the entire Aviary is often known, Rainier is dubbed "the Kindhearted."[2] Hugh as cleric likens himself to a dove, and Rainier, the former knight, he likens to a hawk, both on the same perch symbolizing the monastic rule.[1] He states that Rainier, who used "to capture domestic birds" (i.e., for falconry), now "may bring the wild birds, that is, laymen, to conversion." Lay-brothers were given religious training only to the extent required for them to lead a Christian life and fulfil their proper roles in the monastic community. The teachers of lay-brothers were sometimes themselves brothers who had had some education, and Rainier was probably such a person.[2] The prologues contain implied references to lay-brothers, and the main body of the text often addresses itself both to them and to their teachers.

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[1] The use of Aesop's fables as a school text is discussed by Klaus Grubmüller, *Meister Esopus. Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Funktion der Fabel im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1977), 87–97; of the *Physiologus*, by Günther Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter* (Munich: Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1970), 70. Two other famous *compendia* of animal-lore from the classical age, Aelian's *On the Characteristics of Animals* and Solinus's *Polyhistoria*, also appear on the school-text lists. See Grubmüller, 49; Pierre Riché, *Les écoles et l'enseignement dans l'occident chrétien de la fin du Ve siècle au milieu du XIe siècle* (Paris, 1979), 228; and E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (New York: Bollingen, 1953), 49. The Aviary appears to reflect only the *Physiologus*, and that through a B-Is bestiary.

[2] *... ad Rainerium conversum cognomine Cordis Benignum.*

Writing to Rainier in Prologue 1 Hugh defines the purpose of his treatise:

> Desiring to fulfill your wishes, dearest friend, I decided to paint the dove whose wings are silvered and the hinderparts of the back in pale gold, and by a picture to enlighten the minds of the simple folk, so that what the intellect of the simple folk could scarcely comprehend with the mind's eye, it might at least discern with the physical eye; and what the hearing could scarcely perceive, the sight might do so.[3]

But for those who are not visually inclined:

> I wished not only to paint the dove physically, but also to outline it verbally, so that ... whom the simplicity of the picture would not please, at least the moral teaching of the text might do so.

The work which follows makes clear that the "simple folk" are the lay-brothers. In Prologue 2 Hugh goes on to present his method:

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[1] In my article, "The Illustrated Medieval Aviary," I translated the Latin *accipiter* as "falcon," but the more common medieval meaning is "hawk." In chaps. 31 and 42 of the Aviary there are discussions of the *accipiter* and *herodius*, words which clearly refer to the "hawk" and the "falcon"; see p. 159, n. 3.

[2] Dubois, "L'institution des convers," 245, mentions lay-brothers as teachers. There are a number of recent studies of literacy in the Middle Ages, for example, M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1979), chap. 7: "Literate and Illiterate," where the meanings of *clericus* and *literatus* are discussed.

[3] This statement is a variation on the famous statement by St. Gregory the Great (see p. 119, n. 2). The ramifications of Gregory's statement for medieval art are discussed by Michael Camille, "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy," *Art History* 8 (1985): 26–49.

> for the instruction of the unlettered, I say simple things about subtle matters. . . . For what Scripture means to the teachers, the picture means to the simple folk.

By "picture" here he means both the visual and the verbal image.

The Aviary illustrations must have been intended not only as teaching aids, but also to attract those whose attention was inclined to wander as the text was read to them. Simplicity, even levity, was needed to teach lay-brothers successfully. Caesar of Heisterbach recalls a teacher at that Cistercian abbey who interrupted his lecture with a reference to King Arthur in order to arouse sleeping lay-brothers.[1] Oral teaching using pictures was a persuasive method in an age when most people were illiterate; in that respect the Aviary is nothing new. A recent study of non-literacy in the Middle Ages and its effect on art suggests that the combination of text and image in separate zones in the prologue miniature of some Aviaries, with the Dove or clerk facing the Hawk or lay-brother, expresses the relationship between the literate person as teacher and the illiterate audience (frontispiece and figs. 20a, 40, 57a).[2] Another recent proposal is that the Aviary, with its simple pictures and diagrams, was an aid not only to learning, but also to recalling the lessons.[3] The entire Aviary text is full of imagery, of

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[1] Caesar of Heisterbach, *Dialogue on Miracles*, 4.36; F. H. Bäuml, "Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Speculum* 55 (1980), 255; also Edmond Mikkers, "L'idéal religieux des frères convers dans l'ordre de Cîteaux aux 12^e et 13^e siècles," *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 24 (1962): 119. Mikkers' principal topic is Caesar, prior of the Cistercian abbey of Heisterbach, whose *Dialogue on Miracles* was written to provide lives of saintly religious as *exempla* for, among others, the lay- brothers. Completed between 1219 and 1223, the work encourages uncomplicated virtues similar to those in the Aviary: conversion from secular life, simplicity, obedience, humility, and confession, and including also the efficacy of communion and Marian devotion. It also provides information about the Cistercian lay-brothers: that they wore beards, while the monks were clean shaven (4.62); that they observed the same rules of obedience, humility, poverty and silence as the monks (8.18); that they had their own altar (8.37), and even their own choir (8.37); see Caesar of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, trans. H. Scott and C. Swinton Bland (London, 1929).

[2] Camille, "Seeing and Reading," 32–33, who discusses those who were dependent upon the literacy of others for their understanding of pictorial art.

[3] Beryl Rowland, "The Art of Memory and the Bestiary," in *Beasts and Birds*, ed. Clark and McMunn, 12–25. For other *aides mémoires* in medieval manuscripts, John B. Friedman, "Les images mnémotechniques dans les manuscrits de l'epoque gothique," in *Jeux de mémoire*, ed. B. Roy and P. Zumthor (Montreal: Presse de l'Univ. de Montréal, Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1985), 169–84.

"outlining by words to set forth a picture," as Hugh describes it. The text's puns and earthy references, its multiple symbols for a single bird, and its colorful passages both stimulated the imagination of the uneducated and helped them remember its moral teachings.[1]

These lessons which "say simple things" carefully avoid the complexities of theological discourse. Part 1 deals mainly with the individual's religious transformation, and Part 2 with monastic and public behavior; both parts discuss the contemplative and the active aspects of monastic life. The first chapter sets out three principles which can be seen as guides to the entire body of teaching in the Aviary. The three are represented by the Three Doves (symbols of Noah, David, and Christ) and instruct the audience to cease from sinning, like Noah; be steadfast, like David; and seek salvation from Christ. These ideas are further interpreted by a verse from Psalm 33, *turn from evil and do good, seek after peace.* The brothers are instructed here and in chapters 14, 18, and 29 to seek the quiet of the mind, which in chapter 1 is likened to Noah's dove which returned at vespers, fleeing the light of worldly achievement (Gen. 8:11). They are to love neighbor and God and do good works (chaps. 3, 24, 54); to be mature in judgment (chap. 9) ; to be charitable (chap. 15) and care for the elderly and infirm (chap. 57); to resist temptation and pride (chaps. 12, 59); to become gentle and simple instead of scheming and crafty (chap. 16); to avoid the deceits of demons and heretics and the charms of the flesh (chaps. 10, 35); to maintain chastity and cleanliness (chaps. 23, 48); to mortify the flesh (chap. 22); and to reveal sins through confession (chaps. 16, 17, 59). The perch is the rule, separating the religious from worldly desires, and is supported by the walls of the active life and contemplative life (chap. 20). The lay-brother is tied to the perch, that is, to the monastic life, by mortification of the flesh (chap. 22). He is remade by the Holy Spirit through the teaching he receives (chap. 17). In all things he should be like the Dove (chap. 11): lament his willful acts, be without malice or anger, delight in peace, love the monastic community, take nothing from his neighbor, pay heed to the moral lessons of his teachers, reject carnal desires, study Scripture to avoid the devil, place his hope in the Passion, and love God and neighbor; with all these he "puts on the wings of contemplation, by which he may fly to Heaven." Five chapters (40–42, 44, 47, 59) are addressed specifically to the monastic teachers and preachers who convert laymen, teach them the Christian life, and provide them with examples of good behavior.

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[1] Charles de Clercq, "La nature et le sens du De avibus d'Hugues de Fouilloy," *Miscellanea mediaevalia* 7 (1970): 301, faults Hugh for the abundance of his symbolism; see also Peltier, "Hugues de Fouilloy," 40.

The teachings of the Aviary present a view of monastic life which is fundamentally canonical, although this did not prevent the work from being popular with Cistercians and Benedictines. The lay-brother, like the regular canon, had an obligation not only to serve God, but to learn the ways of Christian life in order to edify others by word and example.[1] Hugh writes specifically as a regular canon when he states (chap. 6) that the silvered wings of the Dove have a "lustre while any teacher preaches purity in his words, and has purity within while he loves what he teaches, and his inner love manifests itself outwardly in good deeds"; when (chap. 48) he praises Leah, the active life, over Rachel, the contemplative life; and when he says (chaps. 51, 52) that the brother must be on guard against and rebuke carelessness and evil in others. The land of the Turtledove, says Hugh (chap. 28) is "our land while we occupy our mind with the master and the brothers, so that the soul devoted to God might serve the brothers with affection, its neighbor with compassion, itself with modesty; and thus it is made monastic." For Hugh, monasticism consists in an inward purity expressed outwardly in concern for and service to others, a "perch" supported by both contemplation and good deeds.

Hugh's imaginative writing gives considerable zest to his teachings. In Part 1 he likens the Silvered Dove in chapter 2 to the Church which has a "beak of preaching"; the bird's wings are the active and contemplative life which lift it to the heavens, just as through contemplation a person may transcend earthly things. At rest the bird is protected by its wings, like the brother at peace in the community. The feathers are the monastic teachers, and the lots ("If you sleep among the midst of the lots. . . .") the two Testaments. The gold on the bird's back glows as "the righteous will glow with exceedingly great brightness in eternal blessedness." Other parts and colors of the Dove are allegorized in the succeeding eight chapters.[1] The silver is divine eloquence (chap. 6); the combination of the gold back and sapphire color on the wings joins future blessings with the love of contemplation (chaps. 7, 8). The Dove watches out for the approach of a hawk as the Church watches out for the devil (chap. 9).

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[1] The bases of these discussions are Caroline Walker Bynum's important studies of the spirituality of canons, *Docere verbo et exemplo, An Aspect of twelfth-century Spirituality*, Harvard Theological Studies vol. 31 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979) and "The Spirituality of Regular Canons in the Twelfth Century," in *Jesus as Mother, Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: Univ. of California Press, 1982), 22–58.

Next are chapters presenting the cold north wind as temptation—especially temptation arising from a desire for personal aggrandizement (chaps. 12, 13, 15)—and the warm south wind as the love and the grace of the Holy Spirit (chaps. 14, 15). When the north wind tightens the pores, it is like avarice; when the south wind opens the pores, it symbolizes mercy.[2] The winds seem to have been introduced as preludes to the section on the Hawk, probably because of the special relationship the Hawk has with the south wind.

When the Hawk spreads its wings to the south wind to renew its feathers, it is like the saints being touched by the breath of the Holy Spirit to become new men (chap. 16). The trained Hawk steps readily from its perch to the hand of the master, like the lay-brother going forth from the monastery onto the hand of good deeds (chap. 18). Just as the free-flying Hawk captures a dove on the wing, a brother receives the grace of the Holy Spirit (chap. 19). The cord which ties the Hawk to its perch is loosed but not cut so that the bird might fly. In like manner a lay-brother, although permitted to move freely between the monastery and the outside world, often running errands for his community, is still bound to it by his resolve (chap. 22). Nowhere is Hugh's allegory more vigorous than when he likens the trained hawk capturing wild birds to a sermon which draws laymen into religion. In a series of earthy allegories the bird's master disembowels the captured birds, giving the hearts to his Hawk, and so also does God extract the heart of a layman through confession, and the captive birds "come to the table of the Lord while sinners, chewed by the teeth of the teachers, are converted into the body of the Church" (chap. 17). Hugh's imagery makes of conversion a kind of religious digestion process.

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[1] The symbolic colors of the Aviary's Dove (chaps. 2, 4–10) are studied by Friedrich Ohly, "Probleme der mittelalterlichen Bedeutungsforschung und das Taubenbild des Hugo de Folieto," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 2 (1968): 162–201 (reprinted in Ohly, *Schriften zur mittelalterlichen Bedeutungsforschung*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesell., 1977).

[2] These four chapters may have been inspired by passages on the winds in Isidore's *Etymologies* 13:11, from which work Hugh derived so much of Part 2 of the Aviary. Harry Bober, "An Illustrated Medieval School-Book of Bede's 'De natura rerum'," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 19/20 (1956/57): 65–97, discusses diagrams in medieval natural history manuscripts, and, 71 ff., wind diagrams specifically.

A short chapter on the Turtledove and Sparrow (23) serves as preface to chapters on the biblical trees, the Palm and Cedar, where the two birds nest. The Palm is said to grow slowly because growth toward salvation is slow, but at its full height the Palm represents the Church, the righteous tall before God (chaps. 24, 25). Planted in the courts of the Lord, the Palm flowers in eternal life; its fruits are good deeds and their rewards in heaven (chap. 26). The Palm is difficult to ascend because of its spiky trunk, but to ascend it is to climb the ladder of the Cross to a victory with Christ (chap. 27).[1] In chapter 28 the voice of the Turtledove represents the cry of a penitent when tranquility of mind enables him to recognize his sins. The Turtledove builds her nest in a safe tree which symbolizes the Cross; her nest is salvation, her eggs hope, and her chicks the love of God and neighbor (chap. 29).

Chapters on the Cedar and the Sparrow conclude Part 1. The Cedar is Christ, the sparrows are preachers, and their chicks are the people born again through the sermon (chap. 30). Cedars in which there are nesting sparrows are rich men on whose lands the abbots and priors build monasteries, the nest is the monastery, the chicks the disciples (chap. 30). But hawks and herons also nest in the Cedar, and these are the greedy who prey on others and use their chicks as their accomplices (chap. 31). The Sparrow is a faithless person (chap. 32), but also a convert and a teacher (chaps. 33, 34); as paired sacrificial birds in the Bible, the Sparrows become the body and the soul (chap. 37).

It was noted above that Part 2 of the Aviary relies less on the Bible than Part 1, and more on Christian authority. Only seven of the twenty-three chapters in Part 2 have biblical quotations as points of departure; two cite "Physiologus" (i.e., the B-Is bestiary), and thirteen have passages from Isidore and/or Hrabanus Maurus.

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[1] In a recent study of the seals of Theodoric and Philip of Alsace, L. Milis, "*Justus ut Palma*, Symboliek als politiek- ideologisch wapen," shows that the palm which appears below the mounted figure of the count symbolized the victory of the just, an image drawn from Isidore, *Etymologies* 17:7, which was undoubtedly also Hugh's source. Milis proposes that when Philip added three doves in the palm he drew directly on the Three Doves iconography (Noah, David, Christ) in the Aviary, which was written in the Amienois lands he controlled through his wife. For symbolic trees and tree diagrams, see Fritz Saxl, "A Spiritual Encyclopaedia of the Later Middle Ages," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 107–15.

All of chapters 16 (Hawk) and 42 (Ostrich), and large parts of chapters 40 (Raven) and 60 (Eagle) are quotations from Gregory's *Moralia in Job*; a brief *Moralia* quotation appears in chapter 41 (Cock). Stories from Gregory's life of St. Benedict in the *Dialogues* are cited in chapters 48 (Blackbird) and 50 (Jay).

While most of Hugh's messages are moral or theological, some address more worldly issues, sometimes in blunt language. The Raven represents the vice of gluttony and is like a prelate blackened with the soot of sins who urges fasting while he stuffs himself on rich food (chap. 40). The Kite flies about markets and kitchens always looking for food just as the gluttonous think always of their stomachs. The bird's habit of eating carrion also reveals the disgusting nature of gluttony. The noisy Jay is a metaphor for gluttons who belch after eating (chap. 50). The Owl's heavy plumage represents sloth and lust (chap. 49), while the Goose is used in a discussion of clothing to symbolize pride: the Wild Goose, of ashen color, is like the penitent in a hairshirt, while the Tame Goose in its brighter feathers is the person still living in the secular world (chap. 51). The Swan plucked and cooking on a spit is the proud man in the flames of hell (chap. 58).

Several images reveal the author's sense of humor and seem designed specifically to amuse an audience. The Cock is a preacher who, like the barnyard fowl flapping its wings before crowing, prepares himself for a sermon by striking his sides with the wings of meditation (chap. 41).[1] In a lighthearted moment a lay-brother might well have imagined the preacher flapping his elbows as he piously ascends the pulpit stairs. But the metaphor which must have brought a real laugh is the one for the Peacock, a bird representing the vainglorious prelate who will be ridiculed as he exposes his conceit, just as the Peacock spreading its great tail exposes its rear end (chap. 59). The Aviary is also not without some questionable analogies, notably in the Caladrius chapter (53). The B-Is bestiarist, Hugh's source for *Physiologus* citations, seems to have misread *fimus* ("dung") in *Physiologus* as *femur* ("thigh"), which Hugh elaborates as *interior femur*, or "groin." Hugh then makes the groin of the bird a symbol of the incarnation of Christ because it was both a means of propagation and hidden away.

In contrast to the usual directness of Hugh's prose in the Aviary, there are moments of almost poetic imagery and language.[2] He writes of the Silvered Dove that the silver "is divine eloquence; the tinkling of silver like the sweetness of the Word" (chap. 6). On the Palm he states, echoing the psalmist, "the palm multiplies its days because the righteous man remembers the days of old, and ponders the years of eternity" (chap. 24). And in another chapter on the Palm he writes, "The righteous man, moreover, has the stature of the palm if he is of moderate size to himself, and tall before God; humble in himself, exalted before God" (chap. 25). The Swan teaches that "when the proud man departs this life, he delights still in the sweetness of this world, and dying, he remembers the things which he has done wrong" (chap. 58). Hugh's writing style is in general more polished than the style employed by the bestiarists, his metaphors more fully developed and his use of language more graceful. An example is the ancient legend of the Crane standing guard. The bestiary states, "Cranes keep a watchful guard at night. You can see sentries placed in an orderly way, and, while the remainder of the comrade-army is sleeping, these march round and round. . . ."[1] Hugh's version reads, "If night comes, the leader of the flock, descending to earth with the others, seeks a place to rest. Then, for their protection, they immediately establish a watch, so that the remainder may enjoy the quiet of sleep more securely."

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[1] From St. Gregory, *Moralia in Job* 30. 3.

[2] Charles de Clercq, "La nature et le sens," passim, concludes that in fact

The program of illustrations which usually accompanies the colorful Aviary text is discussed in chapter 2.

The Aviary and the Bestiary

At the end of Prologue 1 Hugh writes, "I shall try to comment as expeditiously as I can about birds as well as animals," which suggests that he intended to complement the Aviary with a bestiary. The scribe of the Cambrai Aviary (catalogue no. 9) saw fit to omit the *et animalibus* in the first prologue in order to reflect the actual subject matter of the work. It would have been interesting had Hugh written a bestiary, for his comments in the Aviary chapters are not as "expeditious" as he suggests, and his bestiary chapters would probably have been, like the Aviary ones, more

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Hugh's prose can be set in poetic form, and provides examples.

[1] Translation from T. H. White, *The Bestiary* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1954), 111, using a Second Family text in Cambridge Univ. Lib. MS. Ii.4.26. The Latin reads: *Grues in nocte sollicitam exercent custodiam. Dispositos vigiles cernas et caeteris consortibus gregis quiescentibus, aliae circumeunt. . . .*

richly and imaginatively developed than those of other bestiaries. In contrast to Hugh of Fouilloy, the bestiarists used mostly borrowed materials, principally from the *Physiologus*, but with additions from the ancient writers on animals (Pliny, Solinus, Horapollo, etc.), from folklore, and especially from the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville. The bestiarists achieved individuality through rearrangement and choice of chapters, choice of interpolations from various sources, modifications in the wording, and the addition of new moralizations. The results produce a number of distinct versions of the bestiary, all of which, however, retain the character of a compilation.[1] The Aviary is not only more original, but has a stable text which is transmitted with surprising fidelity, both textual and visual, throughout its tradition. There are several variants from this norm, for example in the Aberdeen Group (see chapter 2) where the Aviary appears within the bestiary, or in two copies (catalogue nos. 13, 45) in which Aviary chapters are "glossed" by verses from Peter Riga's Biblical poem *Aurora*,[2] but none of these constitutes a separate version or family. Only the two medieval translations, into Portuguese and French (catalogue nos. 42 and 48), can be called new versions, and they each survive in one copy only (the Portuguese translation is only a fragment).

While the Aviary and bestiary differ in the qualities described, they are alike in the character of their contents and in their basic forms. Undoubtedly for this reason they appear together in many manuscripts (see Appendix 1). The Aviary and the Latin bestiary may also have in common a purpose which in the bestiary has been unrecognized. The Latin bestiaries were first compiled perhaps in the late eleventh century or beginning of the twelfth, and had gained prominence by the second half of the twelfth century. The Aviary was written probably late in the first half of the twelfth century, and the production of Aviary manuscripts began to increase significantly only a bit later than the increase in bestiaries. The copying of both the Aviary and the Latin bestiary peaked at about the same time, in the third and fourth decades of the thirteenth century. Where early provenance is known for either work it is usually monastic, and like the Aviary, the bestiary found favor with the Cistercians. One reason for the Cistercian patronage of the bestiary is that the book of beasts was a source of metaphor and allegory for sermons and moral discourses in a period when the Cistercians were a dominant intellectual force in the Church,[1] but there may well be another explanation. Both the Aviary and Latin bestiary had a relatively short currency, the production of both declining dramatically at the end of the thirteenth century. The parallel literary structures and periods of currency of the two works, their frequent occurrence in the same manuscript, and their similar patronage all suggest that the two had a common usage. Is it not possible that the Latin bestiary as well as the Aviary served primarily as a text for teaching Christian morality to lay-brothers, who were numerous in Augustinian and especially Cistercian houses?[2] This may be why bestiaries from the beginning were usually illustrated, whereas manuscripts of the *Physiologus*, used for teaching letters and composition in the schools, are rarely accompanied by pictures, which might have distracted young pupils from their textual lessons. By mid-thirteenth century the lay-brothers, who were second-class monastic citizens, were restive, even rebellious, and the whole institution was decaying.[3] The drop in Aviary production after 1250 obviously reflects this decrease in lay-brother populations. The concommitant decline in production of Latin bestiary manuscripts could be explained by the same conditions.

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[1] The best survey of the various bestiary versions, both Latin and French, is McCulloch, *Mediaeval . . . Bestiaries*, chaps. 2 and 3.

[2] The source is the Leviticus section of the *Aurora*. Peter Riga was a canon at St. Denis, Rheims, and died in 1209. See further, p. 54, n. 2.

It is interesting that while the Latin bestiary decreased in popularity, vernacular bestiaries continued to flourish into the later Middle Ages, probably with considerable or even predominantly secular patronage.[4] The first of these, the bestiary of Philip of

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[1] Fr. J. Morson, "The English Cistercians and the Bestiary," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 39 (1956): 146–70. On Cistercian book patronage, C. R. Cheney, "English Cistercian Libraries: The first century," in *Medieval Texts and Studies* (Oxford, 1973), 328–45.

[2] I have already suggested this use in my article, "The Illustrated Medieval Aviary," 70–71. The *Physiologus*, especially the versified *Physiologus Theobaldi*, is known to have been used as a teaching book in the medieval grammar schools; see Henkel, *Studien*, 38–39, 53–58. For teaching methods using animals, see F. A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1966).

[3] J. S. Donnelly, *The Decline of the Cistercian Lay-Brotherhood* (New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1949).

[4] Few vernacular bestiaries have any known early provenance; McCulloch, *Mediaeval . . . Bestiaries*, 48–49, lists one, perhaps two monastic owners, and only for the bestiary of Philip of Thaon. The Dover priory of St. Martin is noted as owning a *bestiarius in gallicis* in the 14th century; see M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1913), no. 390.

Thaon, was written in the 1120s in verse form for the court of England, and dedicated to Aelis de Louvain, wife of Henry I. There are frequent references in courtly literature to the animal lore of the bestiary, and the genre became thoroughly secularized in Richard of Fournival's mid-thirteenth-century *Bestiary of Love*, which moralizes the animals in terms of courtly love.[1] It is unlikely, however, that the popularity of courtly literature figured in the decline of the Latin bestiary, and certainly not of the Aviary. The Philip of Thaon version of the bestiary appeared contemporaneously with or shortly after the earliest Latin bestiaries, and this and other French versions did not displace the Latin versions, but developed alongside them, and their production continued after production of Latin bestiaries had ceased. Significantly, the French rhymed and Portuguese versions of the Aviary appeared late in the thirteenth century, the high period of vernacular bestiaries; they were not successes, to judge from the preservation of each in only one manuscript. The manuscript of the French verse Aviary includes other vernacular and courtly literature. It should also be noted that in the ecclesiastical world, where the Latin Aviary and probably also the Latin bestiary most often appeared, Latin was the language of daily discourse. Thus, if the Latin bestiary was indeed, like the Aviary, a monastic teaching text, vernacular versions would have posed no challenge to its position. The more likely reason for the Latin bestiary's decline is the same as for the Aviary: the disappearance of lay-brothers from most monastic communities in the later thirteenth century.

Legacy of the Aviary

Except for the French rhymed Aviary, Hugh's treatise on birds always appears in manuscripts with other theological or spiritual works (including Latin bestiaries), again underscoring its theological character. About half the ninety-six extant copies of the Aviary are in manuscripts which include other works by Hugh of Fouilloy, most commonly *The Cloister of the Soul*. Two of these treatises are sometimes illustrated, the *Shepherds and Sheep* with an allegorical picture, and the *Wheels of Religion* with two figural diagrams. The geographic range by provenance or style of the illustrated manuscripts and those with places for illustrations extends from Portugal (4 or 5) and Italy (6) in the south, to the Low Countries (6 or 7), Germany, including Austria, (7) England (12) and most of all France (25 or 26) in the north.[1] It has already been stated that the patrons or owners were predominantly monastic, and it is surely through the active Europe-wide networks of the various orders that the Aviary achieved its range. The most frequent owners were not Augustinians but Cistercians (14 to 16 of the illustrated manuscripts), but there was almost as much representation among Benedictines (12), followed by Augustinians (5 or 6), Franciscans (2), Victorines (1), and Dominicans (1 or 2).[2] If unillustrated copies are counted, Benedictine ownership is almost as great as that of the Cistercians, but texts in the Benedictine copies are not always complete or fully authentic, perhaps because lay-brothers were fewer in Benedictine houses, and the Benedictine use of the Aviary was varied.

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[1] For the Philip of Thaon bestiary, see McCulloch, *Mediaeval . . . Bestiaries*, 47-54. On the *Bestiary of Love* most recently, see Jeanette Beer, *Master Richard's Bestiary of Love and Response* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1986).

Such breadth of geographic range and ownership and the large numbers of surviving manuscripts signal Hugh of Fouilloy's success in producing a treatise which would appeal to an unsophisticated audience. The most unusual testimony to the Aviary's popularity is that of a bestiarist, probably in England, who incorporated the Aviary directly into one of the major Latin bestiary versions. In addition, Vincent of Beauvais cites the Aviary once in the *Mirror of Nature*, and the author of the *Queste del Saint Graal* mentions several Aviary bird traits in his romance which, under strong Cistercian influence, moralizes Arthurian tales.[3] Later works on animals ignored the Aviary, probably because it was the physical or behavioral characteristics of each creature, not the moralizations, that appealed to authors, especially the encyclopedists, and Hugh's descriptions of the birds lacked the imaginativeness of his moralizations. A second and perhaps even more compelling reason for later neglect of the Aviary is the work's main purpose as a teaching text for a closely defined category of pupils, and its predominantly monastic use.

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[1] The range for the unillustrated manuscripts, as can best be determined, is France (7), Low Countries (2), England (5), Germany, including Austria (7), Italy (2), and Bohemia (2).

[2] In World War II two Cistercian Aviary manuscripts at Vitry-le-François were destroyed, and a third manuscript at Chartres that was probably an Aviary (see end of chap. 2). Monastic connections for the unillustrated Aviaries include Cistercian (5), Benedictine (8), Augustinian (4), Victorine (1), and Dominican (1).

[3] Vincent of Beauvais, who several times refers to Hugh of Fouilloy's *Cloister of the Soul*, cites the Aviary chapter on the Kite (*The Mirror of Nature* chap. 108): *Circa coquinas etiam et macella volitat, ut si quid carnis crudae projiciatur foras velocius rapiat*; compare the Aviary, chap. 45, first paragraph. The *Queste del Saint Graal* appears to draw on the Aviary when it mentions the swan with white feathers and black skin as a symbol of hypocrisy (Aviary, chap. 58); see p. 243, n. 2. There are two passages in Brunetto Latini's *Li*

In the monastic environment, however, the Aviary appears to have been a work that was used frequently. In manuscripts where the Aviary occurs, its lower folio corners are usually more "thumbed" than the corners of other items included, with the exception of the bestiary, which seems to have been used as frequently as the Aviary. Some page turners were undoubtedly recent, but the "thumbed" corners in Aviaries are too common not to have a predominantly medieval origin. Today there is once again considerable interest in medieval animal allegory, and it is fitting that the Aviary take its proper place beside the *Physiologus* and bestiary for the instruction and delight of twentieth-century readers.[1]

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livres dou tresor which are possibly from the Aviary; see p. 243, n. 2, p. 249, n. 4. Also see above, p. 19, n. 1. Stephen L. Wailes, "The Crane, the Peacock, and the Reading of Walter von der Vogelweide 19,29," *Modern Language Notes* 88 (1973): 950, would have Hugh's statement on the peacock's "easy gait" (*incessum simplicem*) reflected in a similar phrase in several medieval encyclopedias (Bartholomew of England, Thomas of Cantimpré, Albertus Magnus), but none of these authors repeated any of the other traits which Hugh gives, and the phrase itself is a common one. In a doctoral dissertation ("Comic Strategy and Meaning in *Pearl*: Allegory, *Ingenium*, Compunction, and the Two Steps of Humility," University of Chicago) on the medieval English poem *Pearl*, Susan Aaron is exploring the possibility of an Aviary source for ideas surrounding two birds mentioned in the poem.

[1] Modern editions of the various versions of the *Physiologus* are found in Curley, *Physiologus*, xl–xli. For bestiary editions and translations, see above, p. 4, n. 3.

CHAPTER TWO

The Manuscripts and Illustrations

Hugh of Fouilloy's Aviary is a work of moderate length, and as noted in the previous chapter, survives in manuscripts which always contain other works. Ninety-six manuscript copies of the Aviary are presently known. Eight of these are from the late twelfth century (catalogue 5, 8, 16, 17, 20, 23, 87, 90); most of the rest are thirteenth century, while a few date from the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Some two-thirds of extant Aviary copies are or would have been illustrated, confirming the impression given in Prologue 1 that Hugh intended his treatise to have pictures:

> I decided to paint the dove . . . and by a picture to instruct the minds of simple folk. . . . I wished not only to paint the dove physically, but also to outline it verbally. . . .

Indeed, unillustrated copies usually have truncated, substantively varied, or contaminated texts. Among surviving Aviaries, forty-two are or were (before mutilation) fully illustrated, thirteen have only the diagrams, and nine have spaces left for the pictures.[1] The fully-illustrated copies are the manuscripts at the center of the tradition and as such they justify the art historical emphasis of this study. The bestiaries which often accompany the Aviary are also usually illustrated. In order to avoid a confusing jumble of shelf numbers in the discussions which follow I have tried to refer to manuscripts by an assigned name (for their shelf numbers see Appendix 1).

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[1] C. de Clercq, "Hugues de Fouilloy, imagier de ses propres oeuvres?" suggested that Hugh may have painted the illustrations himself; there is no conclusive evidence for or against such an idea. The two other works by Hugh which were apparently illustrated in their original manuscripts are *The Shepherds and Sheep* and *The True and False Wheels of Religion*, the latter preserving its diagram-like illustrations in most copies; see de Clercq, *Le "Liber de rota,"* 2 figs.; Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1939), pls. 44, 45; and Madeline H. Caviness, "Images of Divine Order and the Third Mode of Seeing," *Gesta* 22 (1983): figs. 34, 35. Textual references to painting occur in the prologues to both these treatises, respectively: *greges . . . pingere volui*, and *rotam . . . pingam*.

A close study of the illustrated Aviaries reveals that most of them belong to a single large family of relatives, so to speak, whose individual histories are often interwoven, even when the relationship is distant in time and space. As with any extended family, this one can be divided into nuclear-family groups, defined here by text and to an extent by pictorial characteristics. In this chapter the illustrated Aviary manuscripts will be discussed as members of their nuclear subgroups. The more "personal" characteristics of each manuscript—contents, codicology, iconographic details, bibliography and special comment—are given in the catalogue. In this way, the relationships between manuscripts and groups emerge, giving vitality and indeed a collective personality to the history of the Aviary tradition.

The most remarkable feature of the Aviary tradition is the uniformity in transmission of text as well as of illustrations, facilitating an understanding of both the tradition and the individual manuscripts.[1] The reason for this consistency is surely the frequently monastic patronage of the Aviary, as well as the limited audience to which the work was directed. It is primarily by text, however, that the manuscripts can be arranged into meaningful groups. Certain details of iconography or design can nevertheless be useful in confirming the place of a manuscript in a group, for text and iconography stemmata tend to coincide. On the other hand, because production of Aviary manuscripts had wide geographic distribution, the visual styles seldom correspond, and therefore style by itself is usually a poor guide to manuscript relationships. A study of this tradition also demonstrates that conclusions about illustrated model-copy relationships should not be drawn solely on the basis of illustrations. Again text is of vital importance, as the relationship between the visually very similar

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[1] For a summary of illustrated Aviaries, see Appendix 1; for all Aviary manuscripts known to me, see catalogue, which adds the following to the list in Nicolas Häring, "Notes on the 'Liber avium' of Hugues de Fouilloy," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 46 (1979): catalogue nos. 1, 2, 11, 21-25, 48, 31, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 47-49, 55-57, 59, 69, 80, 94, 95. The following have been subtracted from Härings list: Cambridge Univ. Lib. Gg.VI.5, Ii.IV.26, Kk.IV.25; Paris, Arsenal 85.

Harvard and Dubrowsky II Aviary manuscripts, or between the Portuguese copies and the Clairvaux Aviary make clear. The Aviary tradition also reveals with unusual clarity certain facts of medieval scribal and artistic practice which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Textual and iconographic evidence together permit the definition of five manuscript groups, for which there were probably two basic models, both now lost (see stemma preceding the Aviary text). Each group is named for the location or provenance of its oldest or most characteristic manuscript. Positions of the manuscripts within the groups, however, are not always clear, and in no case is there evidence that any one manuscript of a group contains the foundation text of that group. As noted earlier, the Aviary standard, both textual and pictorial, is represented by the Heiligenkreuz copy, which probably comes closer than any to Hugh's original. The first two manuscript groups, based on the textual characteristics of the Heiligenkreuz and Paris lat. 2495B Aviaries are closely related. Texts of the Ter Duinen and St. Martin groups likewise have much in common, while the text of the Aberdeen group appears to derive from a model related to Ter Duinen. The Ter Duinen, St. Martin and Aberdeen groups form the second branch of the textual tradition. In the Aberdeen Group the Aviary is made part of the bestiary's section on birds, and although several Aviary chapters are omitted, the number of textual variants in those remaining is not great. Moreover, some of the familiar iconography is maintained. Manuscripts of the group designated by the St. Martin Aviary could easily be viewed as outside the mainstream: they are characterized by a reordering of chapters, and in some cases only chapters of Part 1 are present; only two Aviaries in this group are fully illustrated. Yet in the text which is present and in their illustrations, the St. Martin Group manuscripts are, apart from chapter order, entirely regular. There are a few manuscripts which are too individual in both text and illustration to be included in any group, and these are discussed separately. Among the independents are the French verse and Portuguese prose translations, which in fact constitute separate versions, but in only one copy each.

The geographic distribution of Aviary manuscript production within a group gives each group a special artistic character. Manuscripts in the Heiligenkreuz and St. Martin groups are international in origin—French, Flemish, German, Portuguese, Italian—and often belonged to Cistercian houses. The variety of painting styles within the group is thus considerable and their differences pronounced. By contrast, the Paris Group, where few early owners are known, is a local one in which the decoration is demonstrably Parisian or related to Parisian styles in illumination. In both provenance and style the Ter Duinen Group is Franco-Flemish, while styles in the Aberdeen Group are unquestionably English, providing at least an artistic provenance for the manuscripts for which the early owners are unknown.

The few books which survive from Hugh's own priory of St. Laurent-au-Bois have only colored initials, and thus give no hint of the painting style which appeared in the original Aviary illustrations, or whether they were executed as line drawings or fully painted pictures.[1] The numerous copies of the Aviary demonstrate a wide range of style and accomplishment in their illustrations. Most display an unprentious charm well suited to a modest teaching text, but several are important and beautiful examples of Gothic illumination. Among the latter are the Clairmarais, Aberdeen, and Ashmole manuscripts, most likely produced by professional painters. The Bodley 602 painting is in a delightfully provincial style, while the Lorvão Aviary exhibits an exotic regional manner. The Aulne, Bordeaux, Friar Kilian, and Zwettl Aviaries were decorated by amateurs, probably monastic scribes or rubricators. Not only do Aviary manuscripts seldom relate stylistically to each other, but few relate to other illustrated manuscripts, despite the large number of decorated Aviary copies which exist. This stylistic isolation is not surprising given the provincialism or amateurism of many Aviary painters.

The dissemination of the Aviary appears to have taken place mainly through Cistercian patronage, some of the earliest surviving copies being those of the abbeys of Ter Duinen, Clairvaux, Aulne, Heiligenkreuz, and Zwettl. As noted already, the Cistercians, with their large communities of lay-brothers, remained the Aviary's dominant patron throughout the work's currency.

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[1] The extant St.-Laurent manuscripts include the undecorated cartulary (Amiens, Bibliothèque de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie MS. CB 62, a 13th-century copy of the original), and Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. lat. 12082, 12185-12187, 12324, 12406, 12407, 12583, 13417, 13772; see Merindol, *La production des livres*, 35-37, who notes decoration in 12185, 12186, 12324, 13417, 13772.

The Program of Illustrations

One of the extraordinary facts of the Aviary's pictorial tradition is that in all but seven of the illustrated manuscripts the pictures descend from the same iconography, and in some cases the same designs, apparently confirming the existence of a full program of illustrations in the original manuscript.[1] There are, of course, variations on the basic designs, as well as interpolations of new ones here and there in the program, especially from the bestiary when present. The common iconographic thread provides a well defined and delimited pictorial background against which one can study style trends in the better copies, exchanges between production centers, and the practices of secular as well as monastic workshops. These matters are addressed here as well as in the next chapter.

The visual program of the Aviary is one of mnemonic and symbolic images, not pictorial narrative. The illustrations, like the text, are divided into two parts and include twenty-seven miniatures and three diagrams. Usually only one or two illustrations portray a human figure: the prologues in a few manuscripts, and the Cedar. As noted, the program is best represented by the Heiligenkreuz Aviary, which includes all of the most common illustrations. Its prologue miniature contains human figures (fig. 1a; compare 1b, 1d, 1e), and certain details in Heiligenkreuz indicate that the original prologue illustration must have had figures too. The Heiligenkreuz illustrations are as follows, with references to similar designs in illustrations from various copies:

Part 1

Hugh writing, Rainier as a falconer on a horse, Dove and Hawk (= Hugh and Rainier) on perch (= the rule) under arches (Prologue 1; fig. 1a)
Dove diagram (chaps. 2-11; fig. 2)
Three Doves "portraits" (chap. 1; fig. 3)
Hawk diagram (chaps. 16-22; fig. 4a)
Palm (chaps. 24-27; fig. 5)
Turtledove diagram (chaps. 28-29; fig. 5)
Cedar with Thibaut of Heilly (founding benefactor of St.-Laurent)

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[1] The fully illustrated Aviaries with completely independent programs are: Bardney, Bodley 602, Caius, and St. Victor, as well as the English bestiaries with Aviary excerpts, Bodley 764 and Harley 4751. It is uncertain whether the Foucarmont Aviary, with all but one miniature excised, followed the standard program.

at center (chaps. 30–31), Sparrows in the branches (chaps. 32–37; fig. 7a)

Part 2

Pelican reviving its chicks (chap. 38; fig. 10a)
"Portraits" of Nycticorax, Raven, Cock (chaps. 39–41; figs. 42, 46)
Ostrich with ?metal bar in beak (chap. 42; fig. 9b)
"Portraits" of Vulture, Crane, Kite, Swallow, Stork, Blackbird, Owl, Jay, Duck, Goose, Heron, Caladrius (chaps. 43–53; figs. 57c, 27, 16, 11, 19, 31b, 55a)
Phoenix on its pyre (chap. 54; fig. 13)
"Portraits" of Partridge, Quail, Hoopoe, Swan, Peacock, Eagle (chaps. 55–60; figs. 13, 23)

Images of the Dove and Hawk together, without any human figures, form the most common illustration for the Aviary's prologues (figs. 1c and f). Three diagrams intended to aid the understanding and recall of the lessons summarize the traits of the Part 1 birds and the main points of their chapters. Oddly enough, the Dove diagram, illustrating chapters 2–11 always precedes the Three Doves, illustrating chapter 1. The Dove diagram places the bird at the hub of a large wheel with a smaller wheel in each corner (fig. 2). Hugh was so fond of wheel images that he based another entire treatise on them (see figs. 48, 52b). In several copies of the Dove diagram the bird is adorned with metallic paints on the wings and tail, a literal rendering of the silvered dove with golden tail of the Psalm 67 text underlying the early chapters (e.g., fig. 20a). The "portraits" of the Three Doves (Noah, David, and Christ) make up the illustration which is most constant in design, depicting the birds in three usually contiguous circles (fig. 3a). The Hawk and Turtledove diagrams are of cruciform design, with the bird at the center (figs. 4a, 5); occasionally the cross is omitted. The Palm usually appears as a nondescript bush or cluster of fronds, but the Cedar is one of the most interesting of the Aviary illustrations. More often than not it is inhabited by a human figure, who in Heiligenkreuz and undoubtedly in the original Aviary is named as Count Thibaut of Heilly, founding patron of St.-Laurent-au-Bois.[1] He is made Christ-like by the biblical symbolism cited in the text (chap. 30). In most Aviaries, however, the figure is Christ, a king

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[1] Thibaut is named in four Aviaries: Heiligenkreuz 226, Zwettl 253, Dyson Perrins (now Getty Museum MS. XV,3) and Paris lat. 2495B.

(David?), or an unidentifed male (figs. 7c–e). In the stylized leaves around the figure there are sparrows' nests, often portrayed as small bird roundels or bowls holding birds. In the Aberdeen Group the tree loses all semblance of natural form to become a decorative abstraction (fig. 7b).

The "portraits" of the Part 2 birds are usually simple, non-narrative drawings or paintings of a single bird. Only the Pelican customarily appears as a narrative, the well known image of the bird reviving her young (fig. 30).[1] Two recurring design motifs may be from Hugh's original: birds which lift one foot as if to walk (e.g., figs. 19, 23, 27, 42), and the Nycticorax set against courses of stone or brick, representing the "old walls" where the bird is said to nest. The introduction of an anecdotal scene such as the Phoenix on its funeral pyre, or the Caladrius by an invalid's bed, both common in bestiaries, is not unusual (fig. 55a).

Except for the Three Doves, the miniatures and diagrams of Part 1 usually occupy a whole or half page. The Part 2 illustrations commonly appear at the head of the chapter, a full column in width when there are two columns, and a half-column in width for one-column text layouts. The Part 2 frame shapes vary greatly from manuscript to manuscript, but many are round, or at least have a round inner border (figs. 10b, 31b). The elaborate frames in Heiligenkreuz and Zwettl are unusual in aviaries (figs. 11,12).

Illustrations in early Aviary manuscripts are often line drawings executed in brown or colored inks, sometimes with color washes. There is no way of knowing whether the original illustrations were colored, although Hugh speaks of *pingere*, not *delineare*. Line drawings in the early Cistercian copies would reflect the restrictions which the Order put on book decoration in the period of St. Bernard, and perhaps under his influence.[2] Yet the Cistercian Ter

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[1] The motif of the Pelican reviving its young can be traced to St. Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 101:7; the Phoenix on its pyre is even older. For the Pelican, see Victor Graham, "The Pelican as Image and Symbol," *Revue de la littérature comparée* 36 (1962): 235–43; and for the Phoenix, see R. van den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix according to Classical and Early Christian Traditions* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), and Guy Mermier, "The Phoenix: Its Place and Nature, and the *Physiologus* Tradition," in *Beasts and Birds*, ed. Clark and McMunn, 69–87.

[2] The most recent investigations of Cistercian artistic conservatism in manuscript painting are Conrad Rudolph, "The 'Principal Founders' and the Early Artistic Legislation of Cîteaux," in *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture* 3: 1–33; C. H. Talbot, "The Cistercian Attitude towards Art: The Literary Evidence," and Anne Lawrence, "English Cistercian Manuscripts of the

Duinen Aviary miniatures, of ca. 1190–1200, are fully, albeit conservatively, colored. By the second decade of the thirteenth century most Aviaries, regardless of patron, and following general trends in Continental illumination, have fully colored miniatures.

For the Aviary designs Hugh, or his artist, chose models which were well known in art and available in his area of northern France. Circle and cross diagrams were frequently used in medieval theological writings, the most familiar being the circles of the astronomical treatises, and the crosses of Hrabanus Maurus's *De laudibus sanctae crucis.*[1] Although cedar trees appeared in the illustrations of early encyclopedias, the model for Hugh's Cedar may have been a design on the order of the burning bush miniature in the Averbode Gospels (Liège, Univ. Lib. MS. 363), a manuscript from the nearby Mosan region and contemporary with Hugh's writing of the Aviary (cf. figs. 7a and 8). The Three Doves in their characteristic round frames and the bird "portraits" of Part 2 reflect most likely stylized bird designs which appear in the decorative arts, especially textiles, of Byzantium and the Near East, arts which were well represented in church treasuries of the twelfth century (see figs. 3, 10b, 20c, 31b). It is possible that the B-Is bestiary manuscript which Hugh used as a text source contributed some designs to the Aviary. Otherwise, no specific sources for the common Aviary designs can be found, nor is there any Aviary manuscript in which a specific source for a particular design can be demonstrated, with the possible exception of the Ter Duinen, Clairvaux and Dubrowsky I Aviaries, discussed below.

Naturalism and Related Issues

Hugh of Fouilloy's own occasional observations of the physical and behavioral properties of birds, as reported in his text, were mentioned in chapter 1. It is important at this point to establish the character and degree of naturalism in both the text and illustrations of the Aviary. First of all, Hugh never cites or otherwise draws upon Aristotle or other empiricists of antiquity. His sources

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Twelfth Century," in *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, ed. C. Norton and D. Paul (Cambridge, London: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986), 56–64 and 284–98; and Walter Cahn, "The *Rule* and the Book: Cistercian Book Illumination in Burgundy and Champagne," in *Monasticism and the Arts*, ed. T. R. Verdon (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1984), 139–72.

[1] On diagrams, Bober, "An Illustrated Medieval School-Book."

are, in the main, biblical and patristic; his method is allegory. Of the thirty different birds, trees, and winds in the Aviary, all but five (Blackbird, Jay, Goose, Caladrius, and Phoenix) are biblical; seventeen are introduced by quotations from the Bible, thirteen by the fanciful etymologies of Isidore of Seville, one by a passage from a B-Is bestiary. Most actual fact found in Hugh's text comes as part of the "package" from his sources. His own contribution consists by and large of the allegorical coloring he gives to his sources and to the subjects of each chapter. In this he faithfully reflects his monastic world, which subscribed to the Augustinian view that,

> ignorance of things [perceived by the senses] produces discourses which are made unintelligible: when we ignore the natures of animals, stones or plants or other things, the greatest part of which are placed in the Scriptures for the sake of some analogy.[1]

On this basis the monasteries, and the Church as a whole, rejected Aristotelian natural science when it was introduced into Europe at the end of the twelfth century, although it was increasingly accepted in the universities. By way of confirming the Aviary's thoroughly monastic spirit, the work was specifically cited only once in the thirteenth-century encyclopedias fostered in university circles by the new science.[2] Even the encyclopedists, however, continued to rely to an extent on material transmitted by "authority," including allegorical interpretations of nature. In the prologue to the *Speculum maius*, Vincent of Beauvais still echoes Augustine when he justifies his volume on nature as follows:

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[1] St. Augustine, *Christian Doctrine* 2:24-25 (CC 32, 1962: 2.16.24). See also Francesco Zambon, "*Figura bestialis*. Les fondements théoretiques du bestiaire médiéval." In *Epopée animale, fable, fabliau* (Actes du IVe Colloque de la Société Internationale Renardienne, Evreux, 7-11 septembre 1981), edited by G. Bianciotto and M. Salvat, 709-19 (Paris: Publications de l'Université de Rouen, 1984). The *Physiologus* too is an essentially allegorical work, as demonstrated by Henkel, *Studien zum Physiologus*, chap. 5, who discusses the fact that medieval readers did not have to give literal credance to the accounts of the animals in order to profit from them as *exempla*.

[2] The one citation of the Aviary is in Vincent of Beauvais, *The Mirror of Nature*, chap. 108. The distinction between scholastic Aristotelianism and the Augustinianism of the bestiaries is reviewed by Michel de Boüard, "Encyclopédies médiévales. Sur la 'connaissance de la nature et du monde' au moyen âge," *Revue des questions historiques*, ser. 3, 16 (1930): 258-304, especially 267, n. 2. The *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* 9:3 (1966) is devoted entirely to valuable essays on the history of the encyclopedia and its approach to method and nature. See also above, p. 28, n.1; Lynn White, Jr., "Natural Science and Naturalistic Art in the Middle Ages," *The American Historical Review* 32 (1947): 421-35; and Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, 130-32. Erwin Panofsky studied these questions relative to medieval architecture in *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (Latrobe, PA: Archabbey Press, 1951).

> Moreover, I described as carefully as I could the precise nature of things; no one, I believe, will consider [this nature] superfluous or useless, who is accustomed to read the power, wisdom, [and] goodness of God, the creator, governor and preserver of all things in that book of creatures given to us for reading, since that truth illuminates [our] understanding.[1]

In addition, both monastic and secular medieval writers tended to view the physical and behavioral traits of birds and beasts as wonders, especially the traits of creatures originating in the ever-mysterious East. This explains the ease with which Hugh of Fouilloy and the bestiarists, and to a degree the thirteenth-century encyclopedists, could mix fact and fantasy. In the ecclesiastical world which produced the Aviary and patronized both Aviary and bestiary, such wonders may have commanded a certain interest in themselves, but they also revealed the wondrous works of the Creator and helped point the way to salvation. It was in this context that bird and animal motifs, many of Eastern origin, appeared in abundance on church capitals, and were tolerated even by St. Bernard in the paintings and sculpture of non-monastic churches. The predominantly religious interpretation of such natural wonders made consistent observation irrelevant throughout most of the Middle Ages, which is why histories of zoology can leap with impunity from antiquity to the Renaissance, dismissing the medieval period with a disparaging paragraph or two on the bestiaries.

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[1] Vincent of Beauvais, *Libellus totius operis apologeticus*, version 1, chap. 5, in Serge Lusignan, *Préface au 'Speculum maius' de Vincent de Beauvais: réfraction et diffraction* (Montreal and Paris: Bellarmin and J. Vrin, 1979), 120. The encyclopedists' references to authority are studied by Mia I. Gerhardt, "Zoologie médiévale: préoccupations et procédés," in *Methoden in Wissenschaft und Kunst des Mittelalters* (*Miscellenea mediaevalia* 7), ed. Albert Zimmermann (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1970), 213–48. Boüard, "Encyclopédies," 272–76, discusses the element of moralization among the encyclopedists; see also Gudrun Schleusener-Eichholz, "Naturwissenschaft und Allegorese: Der 'Tractatus de oculo morali' des Petrus von Limoges," *Frümittelalterlichen Studien* 12 (1978): 258–309, and Baudouin van den Abeele, "L'*Exemplum* et le monde animal: le cas des oiseaux chez Nicole Bozon," *Moyen-âge* 94 (1988), 51–72 (the author very kindly gave me a pre-publication copy of this essay).

It is in this same spirit of wonder that artists of the Aviary often depicted one or two naturalistic features of a bird: the body shape, a crest, a forked tail, long legs, a large beak. A complete visual description, however, is rare, but in an era of potent symbols, it must have sufficed for even a single trait to stand for a whole creature. In most bird "portraits," either verbal or visual, it is usually impossible to identify more than the family. The birds which are most often identifiable are the larger ones which would have been familiar to northern European artists either by domestication or frequent proximity: the Cock, the Stork, the Goose, the Swan, the Peacock. The Dove, Jay, Partridge, and other smaller birds whose physical characteristics are less pronounced, often appear as unspecific songbirds. The Owl can have "ears" and a heavy body, the Raven is often black, with a corvid's large beak, and the Hawk and Kite have hooked beaks and talons, but species is not indicated. In some copies, such as the Bodley 602 and Bardney Aviaries, a number of the birds take the same form; in Bardney, curiously enough, the common form is that of an accipiter. For the unfamiliar birds, descriptive information can sometimes be found in the text, for example for the crest of the Hoopoe (fig. 23). Hugh never mentions the bird's colorful plumage, so it is almost never shown by the artists, most of whom would probably not have seen this rare visitor to northern Europe. The fantastic birds, such as the Caladrius and the Phoenix, appear in a great variety of forms, perhaps for lack of good description by Hugh, or because the artists felt free to be more imaginative with birds no one they knew had ever seen. The unusual degree of naturalism, even species definition, in the Caius Bestiary (with Aviary) illustrations of ca. 1300 may reflect an artist active in a university environment where Aristotelian science was a guiding force. In fact, the Caius patron was probably a Franciscan, whose order was closely associated with the universities.

Except for one instance of direct copying (catalogue nos. 8, 34), no two Aviary manuscripts illustrate the birds in exactly the same way. Even within a group one manuscript differs from the next in the form and colors it gives a particular bird. The lack of consistency in depicting nature in the illustrations results not only from medieval attitudes toward nature, but also from differences of style: the individual artist's style, and that of the period. Despite a general loosening of form in the late twelfth and first half of the thirteenth century, when most Aviaries were made, pattern and stylization are essential to the artistic vocabulary. The stylistic conventions in the art of these years, like the continuing conventions of medieval thought, made descriptive realism unimportant or even irrelevant to both artist and writer. It was only late in the thirteenth century, when forms had become still freer and Albert the Great's Aristotelian study of animals had appeared, that consistent and obviously conscious naturalism is seen, as in the splendid Alphonso and Bird Psalters.[1] Thus, the true significance of the naturalism in the Aviary and bestiaries can be understood only in the context of the dominant contemporary views of nature and of the styles in art. Medieval writers and artists were not insensitive to the natural world, however, and some degree of naturalism occurs in both literature and art throughout the Middle Ages, but a full and proper assessment of that naturalism remains to be made.[2]

The persistent stylizations of twelfth and thirteenth-century art produced interesting, often charming varieties of avian form in the Aviary birds. The greatest variety, of course, comes with the birds which were unfamiliar to the artist. The designs for the Ostrich are especially interesting. The bird's nearest habitat was in Africa, and although specimens were undoubtedly present in the royal menageries which became popular in the thirteenth century, few artists—

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[1] Even in the Alphonso Psalter (Brit. Lib. MS. Add 24686) and Bird Psalter (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam. Mus. MS. 2-1954) not all the birds are identifiable; see G. Evelyn Hutchinson's thoughtful article, "Attitudes toward Nature in Medieval England. The Alphonso and Bird Psalters," *Isis* 65 (1974): 5-37. For summaries of the two manuscripts, Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385* (Oxford, London, New York: Oxford Univ. Press and Harvey Miller, 1986), catalogue nos. 1 and 10.

[2] On animals in general in the western Middle Ages, see Robert Delort, "Les animaux en occident du Xe au XVIe siècle," in *Le monde animal et ses représentations au moyen-âge (XIe-XVe siècles* (Actes du XVème Congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes, Toulouse, 25-26 May, 1984; Toulouse: Univ. of Toulouse-Mirail, 1985), 11-45. See also Zoltan Kadar, *Survivals of Greek Zoological Illuminations in Byzantine Manuscripts* (Budapest: Akademiai Kaido, 1978), 16- 22. Gretta Krautkramer, an ornithology student at Marlboro College, contributed to this study by gathering statistics on bird populations in the specialized "ecologies" of medieval art. The question of naturalistic depiction of fauna in medieval art, especially bestiaries, is addressed from the zoologist's viewpoint in articles by Wilma George and W. B. Yapp (see Bibliography). Both make convincing identifications of some specimens, and George (1985) provides statistics showing the difference between the *Physiologus* and the Second Family bestiary in the geographic distribution of identifiable animals. For both George and Yapp, however, the initial premise is that "the animals are real and that the [*Physiologus* and bestiaries] are being read as natural history and the illustrations are being seen as descriptive" (George, 1985, 161). By taking the animal-moral works out of their proper context, and making them the preludes to the Renaissance revival of empirical science, both George and Yapp miss the real significance of whatever naturalism is portrayed.

especially monastic artists—would have had access to these animal collections. Aviary versions of the Ostrich range widely, from something resembling a duck to a fairly naturalistic bird (fig. 9a) In some cases the Ostrich holds a horseshoe or metal bar in its beak (fig. 9b), probably reflecting Pliny's comment that the bird will eat anything; or, perhaps the popular notion, reported by the early thirteenth-century bestiarist Pierre of Beauvais, that an ostrich will eat iron.[1] The Aviary's Ostrich sometimes appears as a chunky bird with short legs, recalling the textual tradition of the *Physiologus*, where the form of the bird is likened to a vulture. *Physiologus* also claims that an ostrich has hooves and ears like a camel, and it is so depicted in several Aviaries and many bestiaries (fig. 9c). The Aviary's two fantastic birds, the Phoenix and Caladrius, are often shown as nondescript song birds; the Caladrius is sometimes white, as in the text, and the Phoenix brown (fig. 55a). Occasionally the Caladrius is portrayed as a duck (fig. 19, right side).[2]

When the Aviary appears in a manuscript with a bestiary, the two works can have interesting relationships. Regardless of the bestiary version, the Aviary and bestiary will have a few birds in common, but these are usually portrayed differently, reflecting the separate models.[3] Sometimes the Aviary and bestiary in a manuscript will exchange designs. No clear pattern of such exchanges, either in type or frequency, emerges, and they may be due only to the whim of the artist or patron. In most cases it is the Aviary which borrows anecdotal scenes from the bestiary to replace the simple, iconic pictures of Part 2. When the Aviary is incorporated into the bestiary in England, some of the Part 1 Aviary designs are kept, but a number of the Part 2 "portraits" are replaced with bestiary bird illustrations. In only four copies (Bodley 602, Caius, da Silva Neto, St. Victor), three of them with a bestiary, does the standard program entirely disappear, replaced by designs newly invented or drawn from the bestiary tradition. There are also three copies (Notre Dame, Bodley 602, Christie's) in which moralizations are illustrated (fig. 39).[1]

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[1] Pliny, *Natural History* 10,1. Pierre of Beauvais's statement is noted by McCulloch, *Mediaeval . . . Bestiaries*, 147; he cites the *Physiologus* as authority, but the latter says nothing of this trait. The earliest example of the Ostrich with horseshoe is in the oldest Second-Family bestiary, Brit. Lib. MS. Add. 11283, an English manuscript of ca. 1170.

[2] For the Phoenix, see above, p. 33, n. 1. For the Caladrius, see George C. Druce, "The Caladrius and His Legend Sculpted upon the Twelfth-Century Doorway of Alne Church, Yorkshire," *The Archaeological Journal* 69 (1912): 381-416.

[3] In the Lorvão and Bardney Aviary manuscripts the bestiary consists of excerpts only and in each instance is unillustrated.

The Groups

As noted above, textual relationships, often confirmed by iconographic similarities, provide the basis for grouping the illustrated copies of the Aviary. The critical notes to the edition contain text variants for the key manuscripts in each group. The typical variants as well as the iconographic peculiarities of a group are noted in the discussion of that group. When bestiaries are present they too can provide evidence of manuscript relationships, but this evidence is usually visual, as the discussions also show. In the groups each manuscript is listed with its date or assigned date, place or suggested place of production, its earliest known provenance, and its assigned name. Subsequent discussions define the manuscripts as individuals in their particular groups and place them in their artistic contexts. I address matters relating to place of production when a heretofore unpublished manuscript is introduced, or when there are problems involved, as in the manuscripts of the Aberdeen Group. Otherwise I summarize particulars relating to the physical book and its history in the catalogue. In the groupings to follow, the capital letter in brackets before each listing refers to monastic provenance, as follows:

(A) = Augustinian (including Victorine)
(B) = Benedictine
(C) = Cistercian
(D) = Dominican
(F) = Franciscan

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[1] Moralizations are illustrated also in the A-version Latin *Physiologus*, Brussels Bibl. Roy. MS. 10074, which dates from the 10th century, and in an English-made William the Norman bestiary, Paris Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 14969, where, as in the Turtledove diagram of the Bodley 602 Aviary, monks are included in the pictures. For a summary of the fr. 14969 iconography, Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts* 2, no. 129. The famous Smyrna *Physiologus* of the 11th century, destroyed in 1922, also illustrated the allegories; see Josef Strzygowski, *Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus* (*Byzantinisches Archiv* 2, 1899, 1–30). These several sets of illustrated moralizations are unrelated. Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibl. MS. 151, an Ulrich of Lilienfeld, *Concordantia caritatis* made in the 14th century, uses numerous bestiary scenes as types for people and events of the Old and New Testaments and for various saints.

1. The Heiligenkreuz Aviary Group

This group is named for the Aviary at Heiligenkreuz Abbey in Austria, a manuscript made almost certainly in France. As noted, in its text and illustrations the Heiligenkreuz Aviary is probably closer than any other copy to the original. It is therefore the standard against which all other copies are judged in this book. The group also includes the manuscript that may be the oldest extant Aviary: the Lorvão Abbey copy from Portugal and one of only two dated Aviary manuscripts. In fact, all the Latin Aviaries made in Portugal belong to the group. Among the other manuscripts, one is Flemish, one is Italian and the rest French or probably so. The Heiligengkreuz Group is the largest of the Aviary groups and is strongly Cistercian. It includes the following:

(C) Heiligenkreuz Abbey MS. 226—late 12th c., probably French—Heiligenkreuz (13th c. *ex libris*, fol.153v).
"Heiligenkreuz Aviary"

(A) Bordeaux, Bibl. Mun. MS. 995—second half 13th c., French—no provenance.
"Bordeaux Aviary"

(?C) Brussels, Bibl. Royale MS. 8536-43—ca. 1250, Flemish—no early provenance, probably Cistercian.
"BBR 8536 Aviary"

(F) Cambrai, Bibl. Mun. MS. 259—last quarter 13th c., French—Abbey of St. Louis near Noyon (14th c. *ex libris*).
"Cambrai Aviary"

(B) Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo MS. 90—1184, Portuguese—Abbey of St. Mamede of Lorvão (colophon fol. 68).
"Lorvão Aviary"

(C) Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional MS. ALC. 238—c. 1200-1210, Portuguese—Abbey of Alcobaça.
"Alcobaça Aviary"

New Haven, CT, Yale Univ. Beinecke Lib. MS. 189—ca. 1200, ?French—no early provenance.
"Yale Aviary"

(?C) Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Lyell 71—ca. 1300, Italian—no early provenance.
"Lyell Aviary"

Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 2495—early 13th c., ?south French—given in

15th c. to St. Pierre-de-Luxembourg (Celestins), Avignon (note fol. 167v).

"Avignon Aviary"

(A) Porto, Bibl. Públ. Mun. MS. 43—early 13th c., Portuguese—Abbey of Santa Cruz, Coimbra.

"Santa Cruz Aviary"

Rome, Bibl. Casanatense MS. 444—ca. 1220-30, French—?at Reims in the 15th c. (note fol. 22).

"Rome Aviary"

(C) Troyes, Bibl. Mun. MS. 177—ca. 1200, Portuguese or French—Clairvaux Abbey (13th c. *ex libris*).

"Clairvaux Aviary"

(C) Zwettl MS. 253—ca. 1200, south German—Zwettl Abbey.
"Zwettl Aviary"

All but the Lorvão and Cambrai Aviary manuscripts contain at least one other work by Hugh of Fouilloy. Some characteristic Aviary text readings of all manuscripts in the group are: p. 172, n. 5 *Christi*; p. 184, n. 2 *castra*; p. 194, n. 6 *vertitur*; p. 44, n. 8 *pravae*. The Portuguese manuscripts have relationships with the Clairvaux, Avignon and Rome Aviaries that raise complex questions of localization of production for these copies. In seven of the thirteen manuscripts in the group (Alcobaça, Bordeaux, Clairvaux, Heiligenkreuz, Lorvão, Santa Cruz, Yale, Zwettl) the illustrations are line drawings, most partly colored or in colored inks; some are frameless. In some cases these modest drawings are sure to reflect the manuscript's Cistercian ownership, in others perhaps a Cistercian model (figs. 7a, 7c-e). Two designs stand out as particularly typical of the group. The first is the Ostrich which, in all but the Lorvão and Lyell Aviaries, is a strange-looking bird resembling an eagle with outspread wings (fig. 9d). The other is the design for the Pelican (missing in the Yale fragment), in which one or more chicks climb the frame in order to reach streams of blood from the parent bird's breast (figs. 10a-c). The peculiar configuration of this design may come from the B-Is Bestiary which was one of Hugh's sources, for the chicks are in similar positions in the earliest known B-Is copy, Oxford, Bodleian Lib. MS. Laud. Misc. 247 (fol. 143), a manuscript of English origin. There is a strong likelihood that the Alcobaça, Clairvaux, Heiligenkreuz, Lorvão, Santa Cruz, and Zwettl Aviaries were painted by monastic artists, suggested not only by the unpretentious drawings in each, but also by the secure monastic provenance of these manuscripts. The awkward drawings in the unlocalized Bordeaux Aviary could also be monastic. Although the decoration in manuscripts of this group is modest, the painting in all but Zwettl and Bordeaux has a charming, ornamental quality.

Heiligenkreuz Abbey was founded in 1133 by Margrave Leopold III of Babenberg, who called monks of Morimond, in Lorraine, to establish and inhabit this first Cistercian monastery of lower Austria.[1] The relationship of Heiligenkreuz and Morimond has a bearing on discussions below. The Austrian abbey quickly became an important institution, and by the end of the twelfth century had founded four daughter houses, including Zwettl, also in lower Austria.[2] The drawings of the Heiligenkreuz Aviary are in a style which is still entirely Romanesque. They are sufficiently well executed to suggest that the artist was a trained painter, perhaps a lay-brother, and probably unlettered, for he managed to set the Hawk upsidedown to the text.[3] The prologue miniature shows Hugh at his writing desk and Rainier with horse, hounds, and falcon, recalling the medieval calendar symbol for May (fig. 1a). Above the two figures is the Dove and Hawk motif, which is the standard design of the prologue miniature. In a charming conceit the Hawk's body here takes the shape of a heart, illustrating *ad litteram* Rainier's cognomen, "Corde Benignus," the Kindhearted. The boughs of the Cedar are stylized in a pattern much like quilting and are enclosed in an oval set on a tall, spikey trunk (fig. 7a). The Cedar in the majority of Aviaries is one or another variation of this type. The Part 2 bird pictures appear in frames of varying shapes—round, rectangular, lozenge, quadrilobe, and several in combination—a variety which announces the incipient Gothic (figs. 11, 13), but which, as noted already, is not standard for Aviaries.

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[1] Dagobert Frey, *Das Stift Heiligenkreuz* (Vienna, Augsburg, 1926), 3-4, gave the date as 1135, but more recent writers put the founding in 1133; see Christine Fleck in *Die Kuenringer* (exhib. cat. Zwettl Abbey, 1981), no. 225 and p. 224.

[2] The four are: Zwettl (1137), Machland (1142), Czikador (1142), and Monostra (1197); Fleck, *Die Kuenringer*. The life of lay-brothers at Zwettl is described by Ernst Englisch, "Zisterziensische Lebensform und Konversen," in *Die Kuenringer*, 695-700.

[3] Such an error might occur if the artist drew the illustrations before the parchment was folded and cut but after the text had been written, a working method called "imposition." It is usually associated with printing, but there is some archaeological evidence of it in manuscripts, although mostly from the later Middle Ages. See most recently Carla Bozzolo and Ezio Ornato, "La constitution des cahiers dans les manuscrits en papier d'origine française et le problème de l'imposition," in *Pour une histoire du livre manuscrit au moyen âge* (Paris: Editions du C.N.R.S, 1983), 123-212. A professional artist with little or no reading skills might not have noticed the text was upside-down to his picture, especially if half the texts on the uncut sheet were similarly positioned; as usual, the text in this instance was copied before the pictures were drawn.

No element of this late Romanesque art, nor of the script, relates to work in other Heiligenkreuz manuscripts, and it is obvious that the Heiligenkreuz Aviary was made elsewhere.[1] In the human figures the facial features are well proportioned, the eyes surmounted by heavy, arching brows, the nose and the mouth both small, and the hair a cap of thick curls; the drapery is nested in hard "U" or "V" forms that contrast with the flowing lines of the hems and edges of the cloth (fig. 1a). The figure style relates to the art of certain Cîteaux manuscripts of the previous generation, such as the famous Legendary (Dijon, Bibl. Pub. MSS. 641 and 642, especially Vols. 4 and 5; fig. 14), and it is not unreasonable to imagine a manuscript made by or for the Cistercians of Morimond, fourth daughter of Cîteaux, who then sent the book to their daughter house of Heiligenkreuz.[2]

The Zwettl Aviary designs are often slavishly close to those of Heiligenkreuz (figs. 1a, 1b), but certain details point to a common model (see catalogue no. 54). The Zwettl artist's style is distinctly German, the figures drawn in thick lines, with a strong Byzantine darkening about the eyes and on the cheeks. The frailties of his draughtsmanship mark him as an amateur artist. He was probably one of the monks, perhaps even the scribe, whose writing resembles scripts in other Zwettl manuscripts.[3]

Thorny but interesting questions remain concerning the localization of and interrelationships between the Portuguese copies of the Aviary, from the abbeys of Alcobaça, Lorvão and Santa Cruz. They are marked as a sub-group by modest textual variations which they share (e.g., p. 140, n. 3, *ad volatum: ad volandum*; p. 158, n. 2, *despe-*

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[1] Franz Walliser, *Cisterzienzer Buchkunst. Heiligenkreuzer Skriptorium in seinem ersten Jahrhundert 1133-1230* (Heiligenkreuz, Vienna, 1969), 17, puts the manuscript into his Group 5, a collection of 13th-century books of varying scribal and decoration styles.

[2] Cahn, "The *Rule* and the Book," discusses matters of book production for Cistercian houses; for catalogues of extant Morimond manuscripts, see his footnote 7, and Laura Light, *The Bible in the Twelfth Century: An Exhibition of Manuscripts at the Houghton Library* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard College Library, 1988), no. 1 (includes several Morimond manuscripts).

[3] Joachim Roessl, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Zwettler Skriptoriums im 12. Jahrhundert," in *Handschriftenbeschreibung in Oesterreich*, ed. Otto Mazal (Vienna, 1975), 100.

rant : formidant; p. 166, n. 2, *isti: iusti*), and, despite discrete painting styles, by shared design characterists. The latter include a diamond-shaped Cedar with a "finial" at the top (figs. 7c–d, 18a) and a Jay with a line of hairy projections on its head. The birds in each manuscript have thick, blunted tails (fig. 1f) and often similar decorative body patterns, especially scallops on the wings and rows of circles on the necks (figs. 10b, 16). Curiously enough, the Portuguese Aviaries have these traits in common with the Clairvaux Aviary, for reasons to be discussed (fig. 10a).

St. Mamede at Lorvão, near Coimbra, is best known as a Cistercian house, but was Benedictine until about 1200, some sixteen years after the Lorvão Aviary was made.[1] The writing of the Lorvão Aviary is dated AD 1184 by an interesting colophon which also names the abbey as place of production.[2] In 1189 the scribe of this volume copied an Apocalypse Commentary for Lorvão (Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo MS. 160) and in a colophon there gives his name as Egeas.[3] The Aviary painter appears in the Apocalypse Commentary as the less accomplished of two artists. In addition, the hand of the Commentary's better artist appears briefly in the Aviary at the end of the prologues, in two extraneous figures of archers (fol. 2v), perhaps added as space fillers (fig. 15a). Both painters work in the same conservative but decorative late

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[1] St. Mamede came under the protection of Dona Teresa, daughter of King Sancho I, about 1200, and not long after that she replaced the Benedictine men with women and introduced Cistercian rule, confirmed by the pope in 1213 ("secundum statuta cisterciensis ordinis."; Migne, *PL* 216: 348–49). Portuguese monastic history is not well studied; on Lorvão see Maur Cocheril, "Le problème des fondations cisterciennes au Portugal au XIIe et XIIIe siècles," in *Mélanges à la mémoire du Père Anselm Dimier* Pt. 2, vol. 4, ed. Benoît Chauvin (Beernem: De Windroos, 1984), 631–33, and *Routier des abbayes cisterciennes du Portugal* (Paris: Fund. Calouste Gulbenkian, 1978), 194, who says, without citation, that in 1206 Pope Innocent III confirmed Teresa's possession of the abbey which she had received from the king in 1200; I am grateful to Gérard Leroux of Lisbon for the latter reference.

[2] For the colophon text, see catalogue. The date is in Spanish *era*, which begin with the advent of Roman rule in Spain in 38 BC. The bestiary excerpts interpolated in the Aviary text correspond to the Second Family version, which is English and is not otherwise known to have been on the Continent until well into the 13th century.

[3] *Iam liber est scriptus qui scripsit sit benedictus. Era M.CC.XXVII. Ego Egeas qui hunc librum scripsi. . . .* The colophon is printed in Anne de Egry, *Um estudo de O Apocalipse do Lorvão e sua relação com as ilustrações medievais do Apocalipse* (Lisbon, 1972), 30. It is not unusual to find scribes' names in Portuguese manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; their names are collected in Lisbon, Bibl. Nac. MS. 299–301 (ca. 1688), fol. 199.

Mozarabic style, and like the Heiligenkreuz artist, were probably trained draughtsmen. Typical features of the style are the large eyes, stocky bodies and widely-spaced drapery lines of the figures, and the horseshoe arches of the prologue miniature (fig. 1f). A characteristic decorated initial is shown in figure A.

The abbey of Santa Cruz was located in Coimbra, and its Aviary was probably also made locally, for Santa Cruz had an active scriptorium.[1] The Santa Cruz designs, and even the script (e.g., the exaggerated Tironian *et*), resemble those in the Lorvão Aviary. The smaller archer on fol. 2v (fig. 15a) in the Lorvão Aviary has an almost exact counterpart in a slightly later Bible from Santa Cruz (fig. 15b). There are resemblances between the floral forms and decorative markings on birds in the Lorvão Aviary and on flowers and animals in a late 12th-century Old Testament volume from Santa Cruz (Porto, Bibl. Publ. Mun. MS. 31A,SC 3). If the painting in the Lorvão Aviary represents an old-fashioned outlook in the region, the Santa Cruz Aviary looks to the future with its nervous, windblown drapery and overall liveliness, revealing the influence of late Romanesque French art (figs. 18a, 7c). Yet the Lorvão Aviary, with its several textual interpolations, was not the model for either of the other Portuguese copies. The Santa Cruz Aviary text usually agrees with the Aviary variants of Lorvão, but sometimes has either a Heiligenkreuz reading or variants peculiar to the Alcobaça Aviary, suggesting a common model for all three manuscripts.

It is possible that the Alcobaça Aviary too was made at Coimbra. Among many design details which also occur in the Lorvão and Santa Cruz Aviaries is the crowing Cock which appears elsewhere only in the Alcobaça Aviary (fig. 18b). The "sunburst" motif on the knees of the Cedar figure of the Santa Cruz Aviary (fig. 18a) is seen, although less prominently, on the shoulders of several birds in both Lorvão and Alcobaça. In addition, the Alcobaça Aviary has at the beginning of chapter 1 a spartan decorated initial with infills of strapwork held at the point of bifurcation by a large, round bead, a design which is similar to (but not identical with) initials in a Bible from Santa Cruz (Porto, Bibl. Publ. MS. 31,SC 2). Yet there are also clear differences between the three Aviary copies, and the localization of the Alcobaça Aviary remains problematic. For example, as already noted, the painting styles in the three manuscripts are unrelated. From the Ostrich onward the Alcobaça Aviary miniatures are frameless, whereas pictures in the other two manuscripts have round borders throughout, as so often in Aviaries. A survey of scripts in contemporary books from Alcobaça and Santa Cruz revealed no exact matches for the scribes of the two Aviaries, although the Santa Cruz Aviary script is congenial with scripts in other Santa Cruz manuscripts. In the Alcobaça Aviary the rounded script and brown ink of the main scribe is uncommon in books from either house, but a second hand, which wrote the *tituli* in the latter half of the text and made textual corrections, used an elongated late Romanesque script in black ink, a script common at both Alcobaça and Santa Cruz.

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[1] The relative uniformity of styles and techniques in scripts, decoration and bindings in Santa Cruz manuscripts of the late 12th and 13th centuries testifies to well established local production. On scriptorial traits, see António Cruz, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra na cultura Portuguesa da idade média* (Porto: Edições 'Marânus,' 1964), 130–36. There is no evidence to support the statement by de Clercq, "La nature et le sens," 302, that the Lorvão Aviary was copied from the original manuscript.

If the Alcobaça, Lorvão and Santa Cruz Aviaries were all made in or near Coimbra, it is likely that Santa Cruz, the first Augustinian house in Portugal (founded in 1130), was also the first Portuguese monastery to own a copy, now lost, of Hugh's Augustinian text. Early in its history Santa Cruz became an important center of learning; its canons studied in Paris, and Paris-trained scholars and scribes are known to have joined the community.[1] It would be reasonable to assume that Santa Cruz was quick to acquire a new teaching text like the Aviary, and that the copy was made by a Santa Cruz canon in Paris or elsewhere in northern France. With a twelfth-century model at Santa Cruz, the Benedictine Lorvão copy becomes comprehensible as the earliest extant Aviary, considering Lorvão's proximity to Coimbra.

The greatest puzzle of all is the Clairvaux Aviary, in which the frameless drawings and decorative patterns are virtually identical with those of the Alcobaça Aviary, although the art of the former is more assured than that of the latter (figs. 7d, 9d, 10a). Both Cedars omit the third roundel on the left (fig. 7d). The texts of the Clairvaux and Alcobaça Aviaries are also very close, and where they differ from Lorvão and Santa Cruz, they usually do so together (p. 188, n. 2 *habet*; p. 196, n. 13 *sparsa*). It should be noted, however, that where Alcobaça omits a word, Clairvaux has the usual (Heiligenkreuz) reading. When Alcobaça was founded in 1153 it was populated by monks from Clairvaux,[1] and based on the evidence just outlined it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Alcobaça Aviary is a copy of the Clairvaux Aviary. On the other hand, there are small differences which urge caution: Clairvaux's Cock does not raise its head and crow as it does in Alcobaça, Santa Cruz and Lorvão (fig. 18b); the letter "C" which begins Prologue 2 is mistakenly omitted in Alcobaça and a "D" put in its place in Clairvaux to make a unique variant. It remains therefore uncertain if either manuscript served as model. If, as seems likely, the Alcobaça and Clairvaux manuscripts had a common model, an easy conclusion would be that it was at Clairvaux and copied *in situ* by visiting monks from Alcobaça. A more likely inference, however, can be drawn from the evidence of the Clairvaux Aviary's style, which is probably not French at all but also Portuguese. The colorful, folk-like drawings are different from any contemporary work associated with Clairvaux or even northern France. Moreover, the similarity between the Alcobaça and Clairvaux illustrations includes the idiocyncratic decorative patterns, except for the "sunburst," seen in the three Portuguese Aviaries. The Pelican miniatures of Clairvaux and Lorvão are good examples of this convergence of patterns (figs. 10a-b). Several types of minor initials in the Clairvaux manuscript are found in other Clairvaux books, but also, with a variety of subtle modulations, in books of both Alcobaça and Santa Cruz (fig. F). Alcobaça's library began with manuscripts from Clairvaux, both houses maintained ties with the French abbey, and the influence of Clairvaux manuscripts on scripts and decoration at the two Portuguese abbeys was significant.[2] The ties of the Clairvaux Aviary to both France and Portugal are obviously tenuous, but there appears to be less to mark the manuscript as French than there is to label it Portuguese. If Portuguese, then it is undoubtedly one of the numerous manuscripts sent as gifts to the great French abbey from all over Europe, in this case mostly likely by Alcobaça.[1]

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[1] A. G. da Rocha Madahil, "Os códices de Santa Cruz de Coimbra," *Boletim de Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra* 8 (1927), 386-87, 391.

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[1] Dom Maur Cocheril, *Alcobaça, abadia cisterciense de Portugal* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1989), 25-26. There are legends and falsified documents relating to the founding of Alcobaça, which became the necropolis of the kings of Portugal, and the abbey's history remains problematic. The problems are summarized in Thomas L. Amos, *The Fundo Alcobaça of the Biblioteca National, Lisbon* I (Collegeville, MN: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, 1988), introduction.

[2] Amos, *The Fundo Alcobaça*, introduction, notes the strong influence that Clairvaux scripts—and he might have added minor initial decoration—had on Alcobaça book production. The relationship between Santa Cruz and Clairvaux is mentioned by da Rocha Madahil, "Os Codices," 392-93.

Supposing the Clairvaux Aviary to be Portuguese, only one model would be needed for all four of these copies, a book with most of the design pecularities noted above and with all illustrations in round frames. The Lorvão, Alcobaça, Santa Cruz, and Clairvaux Aviaries would have been copied independently from the model, now apparently lost. While it is not yet possible to link the script, decoration, or codicology of either the Alcobaça or Clairvaux copy convincingly with any specific institution, Portuguese or otherwise, the painting in both is entirely at home in Portugal. Study of Portuguese manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries has only recently begun, and solutions to the problems that remain with regard to all four of these Aviaries depend on further information on manuscripts made throughout the country, and the relationship of Portuguese manuscript production to that of neighboring regions and of France.[2]

The complications of the Portuguese Aviaries are reflected in the Avignon and Rome Aviaries, which have a number of text variants in common with the Portuguese copies, and illustrations which are a version of the Alcobaça and Clairvaux designs (fig. 10c). The connection with the Portuguese Aviaries is strengthened by the fact that at the beginning of Hugh's *De medicina animae* in Avignon and Rome as well as in the Lorvão and Alcobaça Aviaries Hugh is identified as the prior of St. Laurent, and with exactly the same wording.[3] Nevertheless, from the standpoint of text overall, Avignon and Rome stand somewhat to one side of all manuscripts in the group, and it is only because of their relationships with the Portuguese copies and of iconography in common with Heiligenkreuz Group manuscripts that they are discussed here. Of the two the Avignon Aviary has the greater number of variant readings, but in some cases they are alike.[1] Sometimes, and especially in the Avignon Aviary, the variants coincide with those of the Paris Group. Illustrations in the Avignon and Rome Aviaries are fully colored; some are frameless in the latter. The Avignon Aviary predates the Rome Aviary by as much as fifteen years, although its provincial style is difficult to place securely in time (fig. 21). Its garish colors and heavy decorative forms point to a southern origin, a factor which may be reflected in the manuscript's provenance, albeit late, and by its relationships with the Portuguese Aviaries. In contrast, the more reserved style of painting in the Rome Aviary is influenced by north French illumination of the 1230s or 1240s (fig.22). A fifteenth-century note in the manuscript refers to Rheims (see catalogue no. 49), but the elongated and somewhat mannered script and the routine painting appear provincial, and could have originated either to the south or the north of Paris. At present both manuscripts remain unlocalized, and their connections with the Portuguese Aviaries unexplained.

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[1] The manuscript bears a late 12th or early 13th-century *ex libris* of Clairvaux, and thus would have been given soon after its completion. Patricia Stirnemann is studying the manuscripts given to Clairvaux, and was kind enough to discuss her findings with me. She also made helpful suggestions for comparisons of minor initials in the Clairvaux Aviary and other Clairvaux manuscripts. Cahn, "The *Rule* and the Book," 166–68, lists manuscript donors to Clairvaux, and their gifts.

[2] Maria Adelaide Miranda is studying the manuscripts of Alcobaça. See her M.A. thesis, "A Iluminura Românica dos Manuscritos Alcobacenses" (Lisbon, Universidade Nova, 1984) and article, "A inicial ornada nos manuscritos Alcobacenses. Um percurso atráves do seu imaginário," *Ler história* 8 (1986): 3–33. A good study of Alcobaça bindings is found in Aires Augusto Nascimento and Antonio Dias Diogo, *Encadernacão portuguesa medieval, Alcobaça* (Lisbon: Imp. Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1984).

[3] *Incipit tractatus Hugonis de Folieto prioris canonicorum Sancti Laurentii in pago Ambianensi.* The *De medicina animae* does not now appear in the Santa Cruz manuscript, and there is no way of knowing what may have preceded the Aviary, which is incomplete at the beginning.

The Yale, Bordeaux, and Cambrai Aviaries are more or less independent manuscripts within the Heiligenkreuz group. The frameless drawings of the Yale fragment are unpretentious but nonetheless well executed and lively (fig. 19). It is difficult to place this work stylistically. It has been described as English,[2] but considering its close textual relationship with the group, the Yale Aviary is more likely to be of French production. The Bordeaux Aviary is a workaday volume of treatises by Hugh of Fouilloy. Its drawings are in a provincial style, but unlike the Clairvaux drawings, more awkward than ornamental (fig. 7e). The only unusual feature of the Bordeaux illustrations is the Trinity motif created in the Cedar by a dove placed above the head of Christ. The Cambrai Aviary is the best executed and most fashionable of the three, in a style characterized by strong draftsmanship and bold colors, all on an intimate scale (figs. 20a-b). Nothing in these manuscripts suggests localization of production.

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[1] For example, p. 152, l. 19, *Vox* : *Lex*; p. 200, l. 17, *sublevat* : *sublevavit*; p. 232, l. 27, *incenditur* : *succenditur*.

[2] Walter Cahn and James Marrow, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts at Yale: A Selection* (Exhib. cat., *The Yale University Library Gazette* 52 [1978]), no. 17, where the Yale Aviary is dated to the late 12th century.

The text of the BBR 8536 Aviary agrees for the most part with Heiligenkreuz, although there are a few congruences with variants in the Avignon Aviary of this group and in the Paris group.[1] The single miniature, illustrating Prologue 1, shows a (?)lay-brother in grey and a monk in white with a brown cowl, the latter indicating very likely a Cistercian destination (fig. 24). The manuscript with which this Aviary is bound was later owned by a Bernardine. The style is good but routine, and would be at home in north France or Flanders. Figures have delicate faces and the drapery is flat, with folds suggested by a few lines. The BBR 8536 copy is a rare example of an Aviary with a complete, standard text that lacks a full complement of illustrations.

Despite its late date and geographic remove from most manuscripts of the group, the Lyell Aviary is as central textually and iconographically as any manuscript in the group. The colorful illustrations are in a very good north Italian style. The close textual relationship of Lyell to Heiligenkreuz is a possible clue to Lyell's original owner. One particular detail is especially revealing: in the main circle of the Dove diagram the phrase *qui inter haec duo* is omitted, as it is in the Heiligenkreuz and Zwettl diagrams and nowhere else (for diagram texts, see Appendix 2). The Lyell manuscript may have been copied from the Heiligenkreuz Aviary, or from its model, and thus could well have connections with Morimond. If so, it is possible that Lyell was made at or for the abbey of Morimondo Coronato in Lombardy, which, like Heiligenkreuz, was a daughter of Morimond.[2] Unfortunately, very little is known of scribal or painting styles at either Morimond or Morimondo Coronato at this period, which hinders further efforts to localize the production of the Lyell manuscript.[3]

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[1] The B-Is bestiary in this manuscript is not mentioned in the literature. Despite Hugh's use of the B-Is version as a source, it is rarely used with the Aviary, appearing only in this manuscript, Bodley 602 (Paris Group), in the two Getty Museum manuscripts (Ter Duinen Group), and in a brief excerpt in the Lyell manuscript of this group.

[2] Founded 1136; Lekai, *The Cistercians*, 36.

[3] On books at Morimondo, see Alfio Rosario Natale, "Miniatura e codici cisterciensi del sec. XII," *Aevum* 32 (1958): 253-58. The argument of Jean Leclercq, "Les peintures de la Bible de Morimondo," *Scriptorium* 10 (1956): 22-26, for bestiary influence in this Bible is unconvincing. The Bible's style bears no resemblance to that of the Lyell Aviary.

2. The Paris Group

All manuscripts of this group date from well into the thirteenth century. Most are from Paris of the 1230s and 1240s, which would seem to indicate an unusual interest in beast-moral manuscripts in the capital at that time. Although no reason for such interest is documented, perhaps the needs of the friars, who in these years rose to prominence as preachers and teachers in Paris, were a factor.

Based on Aviary variants, and to some extent on iconography, these manuscripts could be seen as a subgroup of the Heiligenkreuz Group. Features which set them apart from the latter are the bestiaries which usually accompany the Aviaries here, and chapters for the Ibis and the Coot, from a B-Is bestiary, which are appended to the Aviary. There are three different bestiary versions—H, *Dicta Chrysostomi* (DC), and B-Is[1]—and it will be shown that these bestiaries are curiously intertwined in the manuscripts. In five of the manuscripts there are no texts other than the Aviary and bestiary, making them single volumes of moralized animal lore. Five can be securely associated by style with Parisian production, and there is good reason to believe that a sixth was also made in Paris. The group includes the following manuscripts:

Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. lat 2495B—ca. 1230—no early provenance.
"Paris lat. 2495B Aviary"

(C) Chalon-sur-Saône, Bibl. Mun. MS. 14—1240s—Abbey of La Ferté-sur-Grosne (13th c. *ex libris* fol. 38).
"La Ferté Aviary"

(B) Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun. MS. 101—1240s—Abbey of St. Amand at undetermined date.
"St. Amand Aviary"

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[1] For the B-Is version, see above p. 38, n. 2; for the H version, McCulloch, *Mediaeval . . . Bestiaries*, 30-33, and Migne, *PL* 177: 55-84. McCulloch's proposal, 32, n. 36, that the H bestiary derives from the B-version *Physiologus* is not entirely supported by text comparison; the Isidore material in H suggests a B-Is bestiary as model. The H bestiary contains only two birds, the Pelican and the Caladrius. There is no evidence to support the suggestion of Charles de Clercq, "La nature et le sens," 278, that the H bestiary is by Hugh of Fouilloy. For the DC or *Dicta Chrysostomi* version, McCulloch, 41-44 and Nikolaus Henkel, *Studien zum Physiologus im Mittelalter* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1976), 29-34. The DC text is edited by Friedrich Wilhelm, *Denkmäler deutscher Prosa des 11. und 12 Jhs.* (*Münchner Texte* 8, Munich, 1914/16; reissued 1960).

(C) Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 2495A—early 13th c.—Abbey of Foucarmont (13th c. *ex libris* fol. 72v).

"Foucarmont Aviary"

Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS. 100—ca. 1250—no early provenance.

"Sidney Sussex Aviary"

Cambridge, MA, Harvard Univ., Houghton Lib. MS. Typ 101—ca. 1240-1250—no early provenance.

"Harvard Aviary"

Leningrad, Gos. Publ. Bibl. Saltykova-Shchedrina MS. lat. Q.v.III,1 —ca. 1240-1250—no early provenance.

"Dubrowsky II Aviary"

London, British Lib. MS. Sloane 278—third quarter 13th c.— no early provenance.

"Sloane Aviary"

(?D) Oxford, Bodleian Lib. MS. Bodley 602—ca.1240-1250—possible Dominican provenance.

"Bodley 602 Aviary"

The Paris lat. 2495B Aviary and its direct copy, the La Ferté Aviary, have a number of variants of their own (e.g., p. 204, n. 3, om *Si autem cadat*; p. 208, n. 9 *initium* : *januam*), but variants in the rest tend to agree with the Portuguese manuscripts of the Heiligenkreuz Group (e.g., p. 150, n. 1, *enim* : *erunt*; p. 200, n. 4, *qui* : *quia*). An H-version bestiary appears with the Paris lat. 2495B, La Ferté, Sidney Sussex, and St. Amand Aviaries; a DC with the Harvard, Dubrowsky II, and Sloane Aviaries; and the B-Is bestiary appears in Bodley 602.[1] The H-version bestiary is found only in the manuscripts mentioned here, and like most of these books, it is almost certainly Parisian in origin.

There are several pictorial features shared by most manuscripts of the group. Except for Bodley 602 and St. Amand, the Aviaries are unified by a Cedar design much like that of the Heiligenkreuz Aviary, in which the tree has "quilted" foliage (fig. 38a). The kinship with Heiligenkreuz is further strengthened by the appearance in the Paris lat. 2495B prologue miniature of Hugh (but not Rainier), and Count Thibaut in the Cedar (fig. 26). In Part 2 there is often a frame type consisting of a circle enclosed by a rectangle, sometimes with white arabesques in the corners (fig. 31b). In several cases the Ostrich is shown with a horseshoe in its beak.[1] Moreover, certain iconography is shared by the accompanying bestiaries. The visual programs of the H-version and DC-version are for the most part distinct, but they have two pictures in common: the Sawfish and the Whale (figs. 31a, 34). Not surprisingly, some of these manuscripts are stylistically related: La Ferté and St. Amand, and Harvard and Dubrowsky II.

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[1] The H bestiary is also found, with an Aviary unrelated to those of the Paris group, in Paris Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 14429 (catalogue no. 46).

The oldest manuscript of the group is Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 2495B, which has no indication of early provenance or original destination. Among notable features, the text for several birds of Part 2 is glossed by marginal verses from the *Aurora* of Peter Riga.[2] Lat. 2495B includes not only a full H-version bestiary after the Aviary, but also a fragment of another copied by the same scribe. The Aviary artist illustrated the complete bestiary, while the fragment was decorated by a hand which copied fairly literally the flattened loop-fold drapery of the complete bestiary's figures (figs. 28a, b). The subservience of the second painter may be the result of his insecurity in the medium, for his own stylistic traits suggest that he was a stained glass painter by training. His figures have large semi-circular eyes and markedly linear drapery, traits more suited to art seen at a distance (fig. 28a). His style resembles that in several stained glass panels now at the abbey of St. Denis near Paris, but which probably originated elsewhere in Paris, making it likely that lat. 2495B is also of Parisian origin (fig. 29).[3] Even the Aviary painter's work is rather coarse, but his bright colors give the manuscript a certain robust quality. Both painters may have been

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[1] See above, p. 39, n. 1.

[2] Peter Riga (died 1209) was a canon of the same abbey of St.-Denis at Rheims which had called Hugh of Fouilloy to be its abbot. For the *Aurora* excerpts in this manuscript, see catalogue no. 45. I am indebted to Peter K. Marshall for recognizing the *Aurora* as source; the verses are identified also in a typescript account of the Chalon Aviary at the I.R.H.T. in Paris. For accompanying verses in several *Dicta Chrysostomi* bestiaries, Nikolaus Henkel, *Studien*, 42-47, and "Die Begleitverse als Tituli in der 'Physiologus'-Überlieferung," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 14 (1979): 256-64; for the last reference I am grateful to Howell Chickering.

[3] The panels are reproduced and discussed briefly in Louis Grodecki, *Les vitraux de Saint-Denis* 1 (C.V.M.A. France, Paris, 1976), 236-38, nos. 221, 222, 226-31; see also Louis Grodecki, *Les vitraux de Paris, de la region parisienne, Picardie et du Nord-Pas de-Calais* (C.V.M.A. France, Recensement I, Paris, 1978), 110. I wish to thank Jane Hayward for her comments affirming the Parisian origin of this style.

"piecework" craftsmen enlisted to decorate two manuscripts written by a scribe and calligrapher far more skilled in the art of manuscript production.

The fragment at Chalon-sur-Saône is from the important Cistercian abbey of La Ferté, founded in 1112 as the first daughter of Cîteaux. The texts in this manuscript are unquestionably copies of those in lat. 2495B, yet in what remains of the Aviary illustrations the artist either used another model for some of the designs, or more likely his own imagination. For some of the bird "portraits" he substituted anecdotal scenes, which are sometimes literal interpretations of the text. In one of the most appealing illustrations in any copy of the Aviary, a melancholy looking Heron flies before a red sun, presumably escaping the storm clouds mentioned in the text (fig. 31b). The figures are stocky, their heads large, their gestures lively, and the faces have a round-eyed, surprised look which is typical of the later, Parisian phase of the Amiens Atelier defined by Robert Branner (fig. 31a).[1] The style is the same as that of one hand in the earliest known French-made Second Family bestiary, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. 11207 (fig. 33); it also relates closely to the style of the St. Amand manuscript (fig. 32). These manuscripts, not mentioned by Branner, are interesting additions to a "paintshop" which otherwise is known for Bible production. The La Ferté decoration is full of ornamental flourishes and is a well wrought manuscript worthy of an abbey of the first rank among Cistercian houses.[2]

The painting of the Aviary from the Benedictine abbey of St. Amand is a workaday example of art from the Amiens Atelier (fig. 32).[3] The St. Amand manuscript is the largest in size of all Aviaries (350 x 230), yet the pictures are very small, like illustrations in the vernacular romances being produced in Paris at the time. They are free interpretations of the usual program and do not include the diagrams. The single painter is the second hand in the bestiary of Paris lat. 11207, mentioned above.

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[1] Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of St. Louis* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: Univ. of California Press, 1977), 67-69, who does not mention these beast-moral manuscripts. La Ferté was not the first Cistercian house with manuscripts decorated in Paris; for Parisian manuscripts given to Clairvaux, see Branner, 47, 70, 202, 212.

[2] On La Ferté, Archdale A. King, *Cîteaux and Her Elder Daughters* (London: Burns & Oates, 1954), 106-47. I wish to thank the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris, and M. J. F. Bonnin of the Municipal Library of Chalon-sur-Sâone for providing me with information on the La Ferté Aviary manuscript.

[3] *Manuscript Painting in Paris*, 67-69, 210. The St. Amand manuscript's style most closely resembles that of one hand in a glossed Pentateuch (Paris, Mazarine Lib. MS. 71) which Branner placed in the Paris phase of the shop's activity.

The Foucarmont Aviary, another fragment, belonged to a Cistercian abbey not far from Amiens. Only one Aviary miniature and three miniatures from the accompanying bestiary remain, but these designs, and the Aviary miniature's rectangular, texted border can be seen in other Paris Group manuscripts. As much as can be determined, the style of the Foucarmont Aviary is congenial with that of other manuscripts in the group and is probably Parisian. Parisian connections are strengthened by the presence of an H-version bestiary and of writings from the abbeys of St.-Denis and St.-Victor, although these last would have been known throughout northern France. The mutilation of this manuscript may have resulted from its having been used as a pictorial *exemplar*, suggested by the one remaining Aviary miniature, which is partially punched for copying.[1] The fact that the manuscript was owned in the Amiens area, so near Hugh's priory of St.-Laurent, gives it added interest. The Foucarmont Aviary is an early copy, and had it survived intact, it might, if Parisian, have provided valuable information about the migration of the text and visual program to Paris.

There is no question about the Parisian origin of the Sidney Sussex Aviary and H-version bestiary, for the manuscript can be assigned unequivocally to the Paris "paintshop" which Robert Branner calls the Bari Atelier.[2] This "shop," active in the 1250s, produced numerous sacred and secular books. Its style is characterized by lithe figures with long faces, wide-open eyes and turned down mouths; the drapery tends to be flat, the folds described by a few pen lines. Branner notes that in late works of the "shop" the forms harden with an almost academic precision; it is to this phase that the Sidney Sussex manuscript belongs (fig. 34).

An especially interesting and informative manuscript of the group is the Aviary with DC bestiary at the Houghton Library, Harvard University.[3] It is one of the smallest of the fully-illustrated bestiaries and Aviaries (only the Christie's Aviary is smaller).[1] The manuscript is well known for the model book of Aviary and bestiary illustrations added at the beginning, the texts having only spaces for pictures; many of the miniatures have been punched for copying. It is likely that both the model book and the texts served as *exemplaria* to be used simultaneously to reduce production time for professional scribes and painters in Paris.[2] The same pictures appear, with only minor variations, in the Dubrowsky II Aviary, where they are integrated into texts virtually identical with those of the Harvard manuscript. Despite the model book in Harvard, the two manuscripts are not model and copy, but appear to have had a common model.[3] It is also noteworthy that the DC bestiaries in these manuscripts, and also in Sloane, are among the few illustrated copies of that version.[4] The several birds which usually end the DC bestiary are omitted in all three manuscripts, undoubtedly because of the presence of the Aviary. In Harvard and Dubrowsky II several new chapters from the B-Is and Second Family

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[1] For this method of copying, see chapter 3.

[2] Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris*, 102–7, 229–30, figs. 279–300. At an undetermined date the Sidney Sussex manuscript was bound with an 11th-century manuscript from Durham, but nothing else would associate the later book with the north of England.

[3] It has for many years been at the Houghton Library, but owned by

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Philip Hofer, who recently presented it to the library. While in the Hofer Collection it was unavailable to scholars, and the only study of the manuscript is S. A. Ives and Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *An English 13th Century Bestiary* (New York: H. P. Kraus, 1942). I have discussed the manuscript in detail in "The Aviary-Bestiary at the Houghton Library, Harvard" in *Beasts and Birds*, ed. Clark and McMunn, 26-52.

[1] The Harvard manuscript measures 160 x 110/115mm. The St. Sulpice Aviary (Bourges MS. 121) is even smaller, 135 x 80mm, and the Christie's Aviary is only 110 x 75mm.

[2] The particulars of this production are discussed in chapter 3 and in Clark, "The Harvard Aviary-Bestiary." The punches are also studied here in chap. 3; they were first described by Lehmann-Haupt, 24 ff. On other innovations by Parisian manuscript makers, Patricia Danz Stirnemann, "Nouvelles pratiques en matière d'enluminure au temps de Philippe Auguste," in *La France de Philippe Auguste. Le temps des mutations* (Actes du Colloque international . . . C.N.R.S., Paris, 1980 (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1982), 955-80.

[3] The relationship between the Harvard and Dubrowsky II manuscripts is studied in Clark, "The Harvard Aviary-Bestiary." All Dubrowsky II illustrations, for both Aviary and bestiary, are reproduced in I. P. Mokretsova and V. L. Romanova, *Frantsuzskaia knizhnaia miniatura XIII veka v sovetskikh sobraniakh 1270-1300* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1984), no. 10.

[4] Henkel, *Studien*, 29, states that the *Dicta Chrysostomi* version may have a French origin, but that most extant manuscripts are German or Austrian. Still, among the ten DC bestiaries with illustrations, six are French or Flemish, including the two of this group; see list of illustrated DC bestiaries, Henkel, 29 n. 43, to which should be added Munich Staatsbibl. clm 16189 (Henkel 44) and Brussels Bibl. Roy. MS. 18421-29. The DC bestiaries do not have a common pictorial model but fall into several small groups which share only the most universally familiar scenes, and in most cases have clearly distinct designs for the same animals.

bestiaries are interpolated into the Aviary; and from the B *Physiologus* and B-Is and H bestiaries into the bestiary. This textual cross-fertilization has implications for place of production, discussed below. While most pictures of the Harvard and Dubrowsky II Aviaries conform to the standard program, each has several which are anecdotal. The most interesting and certainly the most unusual of these is for the Blackbird (chap. 48), illustrating an episode from St. Gregory's life of St. Benedict in which Benedict rolls naked in nettles in order to subdue temptations conjured up by the devil in the guise of a blackbird (fig. 35).

Two artists decorated the Harvard model-book, the first painting mostly in the Aviary (fig. 35), the second in the bestiary. The artist of the Dubrowsky II volume is closely related to the second artist of Harvard but was trained in a different tradition, for he uses his own frame types and a different decorative vocabulary (fig. 36). The painting in both manuscripts is associated with Branner's Dominican Group in Paris.[1]

The Sloane manuscript does not include the textual additions of Harvard and Dubrowsky II, except for the Ibis and Coot.[2] Moreover, the Sloane illustrations have stronger pictorial affinities to lat. 2495B than to Harvard/Dubrowsky II (figs. 38a, 26). Early in the Aviary there is an interesting large picture of a monk in dark grey habit (Benedictine?) who kneels before a standing Virgin, on her left arm the Child, in her extended right hand a bowl of apples (fig. 38b). The inscription "Visio prima" probably refers to a specific event in the life of the monk, whose identity remains hidden. The picture is placed after chapter 11 describing the ten characteristics of the Dove, which may have suggested the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, with their Marian connections. The painting style is one of the more elegant in Aviary manuscripts, the figures tall and slender, with narrow faces, straight noses that curve under at the end, and tight-lipped mouths; the drapery hugs the body in sketchy tubular folds. It is a mannered art which has not so far been localized, but which seems more at home in Flanders than in Paris. A comparable figure style can be seen, for example, in a Dominican Psalter of ca. 1260–1265, Bruges, Episcopal Seminary MS. 55/171, which was probably made in Bruges.[1] The Sloane manuscript may have been painted by a Flemish painter working in Paris or using a Paris-made model.

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[1] Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris*, 59-60, 207-8, fig. 95.

[2] Clark, "The Harvard Aviary-Bestiary." Francesco Sbordone, "La tradizione manoscritta del Physiologus latino," *Athenaeum, Studi periodici di letteratura* . . . n.s. 27 (1949): 258, on the basis of content, places Sloane 278 alone in his "f" recension of the DC text, but comparison with his critical edition of selected chapters, 259-70, which excluded Sloane, shows the bestiary of Sloane, and now also of Harvard and Dubrowsky II, to be a version of his "b" family, 256. See also Henkel, *Studien*, 32. Several typical Sloane Aviary variants are given below in the discussion of Bodley 602.

The Oxford, Bodley 602 Aviary text concurs in a striking way with variants in the Sloane Aviary (conflation of chaps. 26 and 27; p. 144, n. 13, *longe* : *vita*, p. 154, l. 8, *fratribus* : *proximo*), which, however, postdates it. The Bodley 602 Aviary must therefore have been copied from a predecessor of the Sloane Aviary. The manuscript is entirely of English production and was perhaps written on the Continent by an English scribe who took it home to be illustrated (compare the Caius Aviary), which would explain its newly invented and extremely imaginative program of pictures for the Aviary. The spaces for illustrations in Bodley 602, however, are suited to miniatures of the standard Aviary program, so that the English artist's extravagant designs have been inserted with an often procrustean effort; in some cases he placed the illustration in the margin. As noted previously, the Bodley 602 artist illustrated some of the moralizations, one of only three such instances among the Aviaries.[2] For example, he painted the sleeping man of the Aviary's opening Bible quotation, "If you sleep among the midst of lots . . ." for chapter 2 (fig. 39). Some of the bird illustrations, which are both marginal and in the column, exhibit more than the usual naturalism; yet others share a single generalized form. Several miniatures indicate an influence from English bestiaries, as in the Jay illustration, with a bowman shooting at the bird, which resembles English designs for the Cinnemologus. Images of the winds in the Hawk diagram recall illustrations in encyclopedic treatises (Isidore, Bede, etc.; fig. 4b).[3]

The lively figures of Bodley 602 in their flowing drapery are at the end of a style trend which began with manuscripts such as the

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[1] Kerstin Carlvant, "Thirteenth-Century Illumination in Bruges and Ghent," 153–54, 374–78; no. 74 in *Vlaamse Kunst op Perkament* (Exhib. cat., Bruges: Gruuthusemuseum, 1981) and pl. 65. Dr. Carlvant kindly sent copies of both references.

[2] See above, p. 40.

[3] For schematic illustrations of winds, Harry Bober, "An Illustrated Medieval Schoolbook of Bede's 'De natura rerum'," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 19/20 (1956–57): 78. See also Thomas Raff, "Windpersonifikationen in der antiken und mittelalterlichen Kunst," Inaug. Diss. Munich, 1978. The winds are illustrated in the Hawk diagram of the Frankfurt Aviary.

Aberdeen and Ashmole Bestiaries. The long Bodley 602 faces with large, somewhat sad-looking eyes recall especially the faces in the Cambridge Bestiary (Univ. Lib. MS. Ii.IV.26; figs. 39, 67). The style is provincial, however, but very energetic, and bright with color washes. It has been suggested that this style relates to the art of Matthew Paris at St. Albans, but as recently pointed out, the lack of technical subtlety and the heavy tints of the Bodley paintings are not consonant with Matthew's style.[1] Nevertheless, both the figures and the ornamental plant forms seem to reflect Matthew. If a Matthew Paris influence is accepted, the manuscript was probably made in the south of England, and must be from at least the 1240s, for Matthew died in 1259, and his influence is not likely to have spread until his art was well established.[2]

Among manuscripts of the Paris Group the interrelationships are even more complex than in the other groups. An explanation for the shared bestiary versions and individual chapters, as well as bestiary iconography, may be that there was one location where a number of models were available to scribes and painters from the professional "shops" of Paris, and perhaps from as far away as Flanders (the Sloane manuscript) and England (Bodley 602). The theory of such a center is especially appealing if one remembers that these books are roughly contemporary, and that there seems to have been direct text transmission in only one instance: from Paris lat. 2495B to Chalon-sur-Saône 14. Otherwise the copies are more likely to have been made collaterally from the same models. It would have been cumbersome for copyists to borrow several models at a time to achieve the various overlaps between texts and pictures. It would have been easy, however, for copyists to work at a center which owned models of several animal-moral works. Among the models would have been an Aviary, and DC, B-Is, H and Second Family bestiaries, to judge from the material in these manuscripts. In the printed Victorine edition of the works of Hugh of St. Victor, which claims to have used manuscripts in the monastery library, the inclusion of an Aviary with added Ibis and Coot chapters, an H bestiary, as well as what amounts to a Second Family bestiary makes that Parisian abbey a prime candidate for the production center.[3] St. Victor had a busy scriptorium and was a leader in Parisian intellectual life in the thirteenth century. Moreover, St. Victor was Augustinian and may have acquired the Aviary, a work written for Augustinians, at an early date. If St. Victor were the center, then it is puzzling that the one Aviary with a St. Victor provenance (catalogue no. 46) cannot be assigned to this or any other Aviary group, despite the fact that its H bestiary relates textually to those noted above!

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[1] Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1*, 102.

[2] A southern origin is favored by Morgan, 101, who dates the manuscript, however, to about 1230.

[3] The St. Victor library catalogue of 1514 lists three bestiaries and an

3. The Ter Duinen Aviary Group

The first luxury copies of the Aviary appear in this group: the Clairmarais Aviary, made nevertheless for Cistercians, and the two Getty manuscripts, of unknown early provenance. Like the manuscripts of the Heiligenkreuz Group, most members of this group contain not only the Aviary but also other works by Hugh of Fouilloy. Five (all but Le Jardinet, Christie's, and Dubrowsky I) include Hugh's relatively rare *The Shepherds and Sheep*. The group is named for the manuscript at Bruges and consists of:

(C) Bruges, Grootsem. MS. 89/54—ca. 1190-1200—Abbey of Ter Duinen (13th c. *ex libris*).

"Ter Duinen Aviary"

(D) Bamberg, Staatsbibl. MS. Msc. Theol 233 (Q.V.26)—dated 1469—Dominicans of Bamberg (colophon).

"Friar Kilian's Aviary"

(C) Brussels, Bibl. Royale MS. II,1070—late 12th c.—Abbey of Aulne (13th c. *ex libris*).

"Aulne Aviary"

Aviary, now Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 14429 (Aviary and H bestiary; catalogue no. 46), and Maz. Lib. 742 (unillustrated Second Family bestiary); Véronika Gerz-von Buren and Gilbert Ouy, *Le catalogue de la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Paris de Claude de Grandrue, 1514* (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1983), 22. The three bestiaries are attributed to Hugh of St. Victor. Victorine editions (Paris 1526, Rouen 1617) of the works of Hugh of St. Victor include material from the Aviary and the H and Second Family versions of the bestiary, all attributed to Hugh of St. Victor. The Rouen edition states that its texts were drawn *ex manuscriptis eiusdem operibus quae in Biblioteca Victorina servantur*. Another bit of evidence for a Victorine center is the appearance of material in the Dubrowsky I Aviary which occurs elsewhere only in the Migne edition; see p. 159, n. 1. Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, 8-9, gives a summary account of book production at St. Victor.

Leningrad, Gos. Publ. Bibl. Saltykova-Shchedrina MS. lat. Q.v.I.131—ca. 1200-1210.
"Dubrowsky I Aviary"

Malibu, CA, Getty Museum MS. (Ludwig) XV.4—dated 1277—no early provenance.
"Gloucester Aviary"

Malibu, CA, Getty Museum MS. (Ludwig) XV.3—no early provenance.
"Dyson Perrins Aviary"

(C) Namur, Mus. Archiép. MS. 48—?after 1430—Abbey of Le Jardinet.
"Le Jardinet Aviary"

Private Collection (Christie's 2 Dec., 1987, "Blessing" Sale 3731, Lot 15) ca. 1190 and early 13th c.—no early provenance.
"Christie's Aviary"

(C) St. Omer, Bibl. Mun. MS. 94—ca. 1200-1210—Abbey of Clairmarais (13th c. *ex libris*).
"Clairmarais Aviary"

By pictorial as well as textual variants the group can be divided into three subgroups: (1) Ter Duinen, Clairmarais, Dubrowsky I, Friar Kilian's; (2) Dyson Perrins, Gloucester; (3) Aulne, Le Jardinet, Christie's. The Clairmarais Aviary is a faithful copy of the Ter Duinen Aviary, and the Aviary commissioned by Friar Kilian derives from Ter Duinen or its model.[1] Several important designs in the Ter Duinen manuscript occur also in Dyson Perrins and Gloucester. Text variants in Dyson Perrins and Gloucester indicate their dependence on a model distinct from the Ter Duinen Aviary; in particular they lack Ter Duinen's textual addition p. 157, n. 1, which appears also in Clairmarais and Dubrowsky. In Dubrowsky I the chapter order is that of St. Martin Group Aviaries, but the textual variants are closer to Ter Duinen, and Dubrowsky I must represent an earlier manuscript of the Ter Duinen trend that initiated the St. Martin Group. The third subgroup is almost certainly removed at least once more from Ter Duinen's model. The Aulne and Le Jardinet manuscripts, which are model and copy, have illustrations only for Part 1 and the Pelican. The Christie's fragment relates to them textually and in its Part 1 designs, but represents a manuscript that was fully illustrated. Among the typical text variants which characterize these manuscripts are p. 126, l. 9, *medias* + *sortes*; p. 136, n. 2, *inquit* : *enim*; p. 138, n. 3, *stringit* : *restringit*; p. 144, n. 13, *huius mundi longe* : *huiusmodi vita*; p. 154, n. 1, *nostram* + *quandoque*. Two sentences are added to chapter 29 in Ter Duinen, Clairmarais, Dubrowsky I and Fr. Kilian's: *Sed et turtur tempus adventus sui tunc considerat et agnoscit, cum peccator revertendi ad Dominum diem recogitat et agnoscit. Turtur in vere revertitur et in novitate vitae peccator ad Dominum revertitur.* Manuscript size varies considerably: the Ter Duinen, Clairmarais, Dubrowsky I, and Aulne manuscripts are small folio volumes, Le Jardinet a quarto, the Getty books still smaller, and Christie's is the smallest of all known Aviaries. In fact, it is easy to imagine the Christie's Aviary being used by an instructor of lay-brothers as a kind of *livre de poche.*

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[1] Although close filial ties existed between the abbeys of Ter Duinen and Clairvaux—the first Cistercian abbot of Ter Duinen was Robert, St. Bernard's friend and his successor at Clairvaux—there is nothing to suggest a direct relationship between the Aviary manuscripts of the two abbeys. On the history of Ter Duinen, A. Dubois and N. Huyghebaert, "Abbaye des Dunes à Koksijde et à Bruges," in *Monasticon belge* 3:2 (Liege, 1966), 353-445, with extensive bibliography. There is an Aviary recorded in a 13th-century catalogue of Ter Duinen (Bruges, Grootsem. MS. 55) but linked there to a Boethius text, with no mention made of other Hugh of Fouilloy works in the same book, making it unlikely that this manuscript and Grootsem. 89/54 are one; for the Ter Duinen catalogue, Albert Derolez, *Corpus catalogorum Belgii* 1 (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1966), 97-98, no. 12. After the destruction of Ter Duinen in 1577 by Calvinists, the renmants of the library were taken to various of the abbey's refuges and finally, between 1623 and 1642, to Ter Doest, its daughter house near Bruges. For the later history of the Ter Duinen

If not the oldest manuscript of the group, Ter Duinen nevertheless holds a primary position, with its reliable text, standard program of Aviary illustrations, and good painting style. It also includes the first in a series of large *Shepherds and Sheep* miniatures which appear in virtually identical form in Clairmarais and the two Getty manuscripts (fig. 43). Despite what may be a very late twelfth-century date, the manuscript retains a distinctly Romanesque spirit. Designs are still conceived of in terms of pattern (figs. 41, 42), a conservatism complemented by the earth tones of the

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library, see Joseph-Marie Canivez, *L'ordre de Cîteaux en Belgique* (Foyes-les-Chimay, 1926), 79–82; Derolez, 94; and Marie-Thérese Isaac, "Les livres manuscrits de l'abbaye des Dunes d'après le catalogue du XVIIe siècle," *Scriptorium* 37 (1983): 129–33.

colors employed. Although no style maker, the Ter Duinen artist painted with a pleasing boldness of form, as in the Cedar, where he varied the Heiligenkreuz type by replacing the borders with bent vines (fig. 41). While the letter forms of the main text are rounded and thus likewise Romanesque (fig. 41), those of the prologue miniature and diagrams are fractured, making a turn-of-the century date plausible (fig. 40).[1] Ter Duinen's sober treatment of the illustrations, and especially the minor initial forms (fig. B), are probably responses to the abbey's Cistercian affiliation. As in manuscripts of the Heiligenkreuz Group, the birds of Ter Duinen's Part 2 are often shown in a "walking" posture (figs. 9c, 42).

Gerard Lieftinck proposed that the Ter Duinen Aviary was made by the canons of the Church of St. Donatian at Bruges,[2] but there is serious doubt that St. Donatian had a scriptorium of any significance in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[3] While the scripts in the Ter Duinen manuscript are related to hands from the abbey itself, its art is not.[4] Given these facts, and Cistercian reluctance at this period to paint figures in their manuscripts, it is reasonable to suppose that the pages of text were sent out to be decorated. A likely destination was St. Omer, where Ter Duinen had ties with the abbeys of St. Bertin and Clairmarais.[1] With a long history of figure painting at St. Bertin, and, as will be shown, the likelihood of professional painters in the town early in the thirteenth century, St. Omer must have been an active center of manuscript painting by the end of the twelfth century.[2] The flowing drapery with fan-like shadows on the Ter Duinen figures appears to reflect the art of a master draughtsman who worked for St. Bertin in the 1150s (figs. 43, 44).[3] Moreover, the peculiar form of the Palm, unique in Aviaries to the Ter Duinen, Clairmarais and Dubrowsky I manuscripts, is very like the Cypress illustration in the original manuscript of the *Liber floridus* (Ghent, Univ. Lib. MS. 92, fol. 139v), written and decorated about 1120 by Lambert, canon of St. Omer, a collection of sacred and moral texts of a genre not unlike that of the Aviary (figs. 6a, b).

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[1] The main script is noteworthy for the large capital letters with long serifs to the left which begin the sentences.

[2] G. I. Lieftinck, *De librijen en scriptoria der Westvlaamse Cistercienserabdijen Ter Duinen en Ter Doest in de 12e en 13e eeuw en de betrekkingen tot het atelier van de kapittelschool van Sint Donatiaan te Brugge* (Brussels, 1953), 19, 71.

[3] The books often given by St. Donatian canons to Ter Doest, Ter Duinen's daughter house near Bruges, were apparently purchases, some from France; Kerstin Carlvant shared with me these results of her researches on book painting at Bruges. For contrary arguments, A. Dewitte, "Schrijven rond de Brugse St.-Donaatskerk," *Vlaamse kunst op perkament* (exhib. cat., Bruges, Gruuthusemuseum, 1981), 55-58.

[4] Kerstin Carlvant alerted me to the similarity of the Aviary's script to scripts in Bruges, Stadsbib. MSS. 17, 19, and 147 of Ter Duinen. On the Ter Duinen scriptorium, M. C. Hontoir, "En souvenir de l'abbaye des Dunes. La Bibliothèque," *Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorum* 14 (1952): 125-32; and R. Aubert and E. van Cauwenbergh, *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique* 4 (Paris, 1960), col. 1040. Isaac, "Les livres manuscrits de l'abbaye des Dunes," remarks, 133, that in the years following its founding Ter Duinen tended to acquire religious books soon after they were composed. The characteristic red foliation on the verso of each leaf which Lieftinck, *De librijen*, 88, found in Ter Duinen manuscripts, is not present in the Ter Duinen Aviary. On the nature and meaning of this foliation, see Richard H. Rouse, "Cistercian Aids to Study in the Thirteenth Century," in *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History* 2, ed. J. R. Sommerfeldt (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1976).

The large, luxurious Clairmarais Aviary manuscript must be counted among the more important examples of French illumination in transition from Romanesque to Gothic.[1] This manuscript and two others decorated in the same style, both with early Clairmarais ownership, are rare examples of secure Cistercian patronage of figural painting in a refined transitional style.[2] Like Ter Duinen, Clairmarais was a major religious house, one of the oldest Cistercian foundations of the Artois region, its abbots prominent in both ecclesiastical and political affairs.[3] The Clairmarais Aviary is in almost mint condition, and was probably a presentation volume used only on special occasions.

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[1] The Benedictine foundation of Clairmarais and its submission to Cistercian rule occurred through the offices of an abbot of Ter Duinen; Henri de Laplane, *L'Abbaye de Clairmarais d'après ses archives* (St. Omer: Fleury-Lemaire, 1863), 7, n. 3, and *Les abbés de Clairmarais* (*Bull. de la Soc. des Antiquaires de Morinie* 12, St. Omer, 1868), 17. Dubois and Huyghebaert, "Abbaye des Dunes," 376. Both Ter Duinen and Clairmarais are noted in the St. Bertin Chronicle at the time of their affiliations to Clairvaux (1138 and 1140 respectively): *MGH,SS* 25, 800-801. A cordial relationship between St. Bertin and Clairmarais is noted by King, *Cîteaux and Her Elder Daughters*, 235.

[2] For apparent Cistercian use of professional painters in the late 12th century, Cahn, "The *Rule* and the Book," 164. Professional book production in the 12th and 13th centuries is reviewed by Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris*, 7-8; François Avril, "A quand remontent les premiers ateliers d'enlumineurs laïcs à Paris?" *Les dossiers d'archéologie* 16 (1976): 36-37; Carl Nordenfalk, review of *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of the Decretum Gratiani* by Anthony Melnikas, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 43 (1980): 328; and Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1982), 219-21.

[3] The style, which seems to have Mosan origins, was first defined by André Boutémy, "Un tresor injustement oublié: les manuscrits enluminés du Nord de la France (période prégothique)," *Scriptorium* 3 (1949): 110-22, but he attributed it incorrectly to a certain Alexander named by an acrostic in Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibl. Mun. MS. 53, whose style does not accord with the manuscripts which I attribute to the St. Bertin Master: St. Omer, Bibl. Mun. MSS. 12, 30, 34, 48, 73, 77, 78, 220, 453, and Boulogne, Bibl. Mun. MSS. 36, 70; for MS. 12, Hanns Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1954), figs. 494-95. On the influence of Mosan style on art at St. Bertin, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France du VIIe au XIIe siècle*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1954), 55.

When the Romanesque paintings of Ter Duinen were copied into Clairmarais they were executed with a richness of color and an ornamental verve which contrast sharply with the model. Only the lack of gold gives any hint that the Clairmarais illustrations were painted for Cistercians.[4] The style is characterized by slender figures in classicizing loop-fold drapery and by distinctive facial types having long noses with pronounced nostrils and a low forehead (figs. 45, 48, 49). The abundant non-figural ornament combines late Romanesque patterns with an early Gothic and therefore somewhat routine vine-scroll (frontispiece, figs. D, 48, 49). The Clairmarais Aviary painter is closely related to another and, to judge by style, an older artist who worked for Clairmarais (fig. 50). Their art belongs to the trend of ca. 1200 known as Channel Style, and from the many refinements of both execution and color harmony the almost certain conclusion is that they were professional artists.[1] Their figure style appears, with more thoroughly Gothic ornament, in several Bibles of the 1230s made evidently for the Benedictine abbey of Corbie (fig. 51). Because the style cannot be firmly localized, the painters may have been itinerants.[2] Like the Ter Duinen manuscript, the Clairmarais Aviary manuscript and related volumes were probably written at the abbey and sent out for decoration; their scripts are markedly similar to others at Clairmarais.

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[1] This and related manuscripts, are studied in Clark, "Three Manuscripts for Clairmarais: A Cistercian Contribution to Early Gothic Figure Style," in *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture* 3, ed. Meredith P. Lillich (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1987), 97–110.

[2] The didactic content, large size, elegance, and well-preserved state of one of these books, a Papias, *Elementarium* and *Grammatica*, may indicate that it was a pendant to the Aviary volume. For initials from these two manuscripts, see my articles "The Illustrated Medieval Aviary," 39, fig. 5, and "Three Manuscripts," figs. 1–3, 10. A leaf which contains a Vices diagram with text is added at the beginning of the Papias. The diagram and text resemble a late 12th-century diagram from Cîteaux described by Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices* 63–64, n. 2, who attributes it to Hugh of St. Victor in the *De quinque septenis seu septenariis*, but Jeanne Krochalis informs me that it is a derivation from the Victorine one. From painting style and script the leaf appears to be from about 1170–1180. The pen-drawn figures are in a style which, like the Ter Duinen manuscript, recalls the face and drapery forms of the 12th-century St. Bertin Master. In the upper right corner the Clairmarais Aviary painter copied the head of Moses in the diagram.

[3] For the early history of Clairmarais, see Laplane, *L'abbaye* and *Les abbés*. Dubois and Huyghebaert, "Abbaye des Dunes," 376, n. 4, raise cautions about the facts presented by Laplane, *Les abbés*.

[4] On gold in Cistercian manuscripts, see Cahn, "The *Rule* and the Book," 141, 143.

A colophon in the Bamberg manuscript states that it was made in 1469 by the Dominicans of Erfurt for Friar Kilian of the Dominican house at Bamberg. It is probably useless to speculate on how a manuscript of the twelfth-century Ter Duinen type reached a Dominican house at Erfurt, in central Germany, in the fifteenth century, but Friar Kilian's Aviary leaves no doubt either textually or iconographically about the nature of its model. Its decoration however, is devoid of the refinements of either the much earlier Cistercian copies, or the two Getty manuscripts. The painting is the crude work of an untrained hand, perhaps that of the scribe.

As stated above, the Dubrowsky I Aviary must depend on a manuscript from the sphere of the Ter Duinen and Clairmarais Aviaries. Although the Cedar looks rather like a Jesse Tree (fig. 7f), the large round-breasted birds closely resemble the type seen in the Ter Duinen and Clairmarais Aviaries (figs. 3, 58). The Cedar figure is lively and slender, and the drapery is another fine example of loop-fold style.[3] Both the drapery and leaf ornament echo contemporary painting in manuscripts from the area of Douai (see catalogue no. 21), but the link is not direct. The chapter order like that in St. Martin Group manuscripts, of which the Anchin Aviary is one, and several text variants also in the Anchin Aviary but not the St. Martin Aviary (e.g., p. 148, l. 7: *hiemis frigore marescit*) tend to support the Douai connection. The crisp, well-proportioned colored drawings are executed with the assurance of a trained artist, whose choice nevertheless of line drawings may indicate his monastic affiliation, or at least the manuscript's monastic patronage (figs. 7f, 58).

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[1] The term "Channel Style" was first used by T. S. R. Boase, *English Art 1100-1216* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), 183. The most recent studies of the many varieties of the style include Walter Cahn, "St. Albans and the Channel Style in England," *The Year 1200 Symposium* (New York: Metropolitan Mus. of Art, 1975), 187-230; and a number of entries in Morgan, *Early Gothic* 1. To underscore the professionalism of the Clairmarais painters, probably only artists not under monastic supervision would have put black habits on the monks in the Clairmarais *Wheels of Religion* miniature. In a paper read at the International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Mich., May, 1985, Giles Constable pointed out that by the 12th century the colors of monastic habits had become significant, and the topic of contemporary comment.

[2] The relationships between the Clairmarais artists and the Corbie Bibles are discussed in more detail in Clark, "Three Manuscripts for Clairmarais."

[3] This refers only to the original hand of the illustrations; see catalogue.

The Aulne Aviary and its direct copy for Aulne's dependency of Le Jardinet were both made for Cistercians, and the routine quality of the line drawings in both manuscripts undoubtedly represents monastic production (fig. 52a). The figure style of the Aulne drawings can be studied best in an illustration for the *Wheels of Religion* (fig. 52b).[1] The round, sleepy-looking eyes and lifted brows of the faces, as well as the decorative drapery-fold patterns are traits of Mosan art; no other manuscript by the same painter has been found. In 1430 monks of Aulne and Cambron replaced a community of women at Le Jardinet,[2] and the Le Jardinet Aviary was probably copied not long after that date. Except for one change in contents, one picture omission in the Aviary, and its single-column format, the Le Jardinet manuscript is an exact copy, even to the drapery patterns, of the Aulne manuscript, made over two hundred years earlier.[3] The only significant stylistic difference between model and copy is a late medieval softening of the facial features in the copy.

The Christie's Aviary bears a relationship to the Aulne Aviary which is similar to the relationship of Dubrowsky I to Ter Duinen. It shares many variants with Aulne, as well as some of Aulne's designs, notably the curious cactus-like Palm (fig. 52a), which, however, is crudely drawn in Christie's and must be an addition. Moreover, there are two painting styles among the other Aviary pictures, and evidence of overpainting. Several designs were pen drawn by a very good hand, and almost certainly represent the original form of the illustrations (fig. 53). In several others (e.g., the Swan, fol. 17), painting in a contemporary or slightly later hand overlays inked outlines of the bird and of the borders. The script is still Romanesque, and the pen drawings, with their tendency to pattern, are probably contemporary with it.

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[1] An illustration of the *Wheels of Religion* on a single leaf in the Poole collection, Lilly Library, University of Indiana-Bloomington (De Ricci Supplement MS. 102), is identical in design and very close in style to the Aulne Aviary, even to the patterns of the drapery. The size is also comparable, 330 x 234 (262 x 175). It is tempting to suppose that there was once an Aviary which accompanied the *Wheels*, and that this manuscript and the Aulne one are model and copy. The Indiana leaf has no known early provenance, but appears to be contemporary with the Aulne Aviary manuscript. Jeanne Krochalis was kind enough to bring the interesting Indiana leaf to my attention. Another, unillustrated late 12th or early 13th c. Aviary from Aulne is in the Huntington Lib., San Marino, CA, H.M. 627, fols. 69-83v.

[2] Lekai, *The Cistercians*, 115.

[3] Le Jardinet substitutes Hugh's *The Medicine of the Soul* for Aulne's *Shepherds and Sheep*.

The two luxury Aviaries at the Getty Museum stand somewhat to one side in the group. They are named here for two previous owners, the Gloucester Aviary for its earliest known owner, Duke Humfrey of Gloucester (1391–1447);[1] its present-day companion for a twentieth-century owner, C. W. Dyson Perrins. Both books contain the Aviary and Hugh's *Shepherds and Sheep*, along with other texts related in spirit to these.[2] They have many text variants of their own, some in common, others individually;[3] the same is true of the accompanying bestiaries.[4] Their model for the Hugh of Fouilloy works was probably the one used for the Ter Duinen manuscript: the *Shepherds and Sheep* miniatures in both Getty books are identical with the Ter Duinen one in all but style (figs.

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[1] Humfrey may have acquired the book from his wife Jacqueline of Bavaria, Countess of Hainaut, or during his 1424 military campaign to recapture her lands. John Lydgate wrote of Humfrey, "To study in bokes of antiquitie, Therein he hath so great felicitie"; F. Somner Merryweather, *Bibliomania in the Middle Ages*, 259. In 1439 and 1443 Humfrey gave his extensive collection of illuminated and other manuscripts to Oxford, but through careless lending and Protestant destruction almost nothing of his gift remains at Oxford; Merryweather, 262; also Strickland Gibson, *Some Oxford Libraries* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1914), chap. 2; B. L. Ullman, "Duke Humphrey of Gloucester," *English Historical Review* 52 (1937): 670–72; K. H. Vickers, *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester* (London, 1907).

[2] Another Aviary manuscript with contents similar to those of Gloucester is Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. 24428, with the only extant French language version of the Aviary (catalogue no. 42). The manuscript most like Gloucester in contents, although without Aviary, is Paris, Bibl. Ste. Geneviève MS. 2200, also related to Gloucester in painting style. In place of the bestiary, however, Ste. Gen. 2200 has the *Bestiaire d'amour* of Richard de Fournival.

[3] Aviary variants in common: p. 142, l. 9, *earum* : *earumdem*; p. 160, n. 5, *ascendit* : *ascendens*; p. 204, l. 10, om *discretos*; p. 204, l. 17, *lapis* : *lapillus*.

[4] Based on Mann's edition of the B-Is bestiary in *Französiche Studien* 6 (1888), vol. 2, the following are examples of the correspondences which occur in the two Getty bestiaries: 39,36 *iam lassum* : *in lapsum*; 40,7 *salvi erunt* : *salvabuntur*; 40,15 om *et omnes cognoscunt . . . est*; 40,16 om *assumit*; 40:17 *se + colligit*.

43, 54). While the Gloucester Aviary had a royal owner late in the Middle Ages, the Dyson Perrins Aviary may have been a royal commission (see catalogue).

Both Dyson Perrins and Gloucester are illustrated with lively, swaying figures typical of the 1270s in northern France, and a rich repertory of high Gothic ornament liberally adorned with gold. Of the two manuscripts, Gloucester is artistically the more refined. The first Gloucester painter is responsible for most pictures in the Aviary, some in the bestiary, and the *Shepherds and Sheep* miniature. His work is rather sketchy in execution, and his figures disgruntled looking (fig. 55a). The second painter worked with the first in the Aviary and bestiary and did the Monstrous Races illustrations. His figures are stockier, more carefully drawn, and have pleasanter facial expressions (fig. 55b). Handsome gold grounds in a variety of geometric shapes serve as a backdrop for the human and animal figures. The painting style of the Gloucester manuscript has been associated with a large group of luxury books which includes Bibles, personal and institutional service books, and French prose epics (fig. 56).[1] Production in this style group has been attributed to the medieval Diocese of Thérouanne, and St. Omer in particular.

The illustrations of the Dyson Perrins Aviary adhere more than do those of Gloucester to the typical Aviary program; both contain a few bestiary images. Even at the late date of Dyson Perrins the Cedar figure is named as Thibaut (fig. 57b), surely a reflection of the fundamental model for the group and another testimony to that model's early date and importance in the tradition. In its execution Dyson Perrins appears generally less polished than Gloucester, to some extent because its script has cursive traits which give the whole a haphazard appearance (fig. 57a). Nevertheless, the Dyson Perrins painting is almost certainly professional, with its flamboyant ornament and its handsome patterned grounds, both diapered and floral (fig. 57c). The miniatures are executed by a single artist who painted figures with cheerful faces, swaying bodies, and large-fold, somewhat flat drapery. The Aviary diagrams and such details as the texted border of the Cedar were drawn in a careless manner by the scribe, detracting still further from the overall appearance of the manuscript.[1] The elaborate pen flourishing, however, is of high quality. The style of the miniatures has been related to manuscripts linked once again to the region of St. Omer.[2]

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[1] See Alison Stones, "The Illustration of the French Prose Lancelot in Flanders, Belgium and Paris 1250–1340," Unpubl. Ph.D. Diss., University of London, 1971; see also Kerstin Carlvant, in *Eighteenth Report to the Fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (N.Y., 1978), 49. In recent correspondence (March, 1984) Prof. Stones places the Gloucester Aviary-Bestiary in general stylistic terms with the following manuscripts: Paris, Bibl. Nat. fr. 110 (Lancelot), Brit. Lib. Add. 5474 (Tristan), Bonn Univ. Lib. 526, Cambrai Bibl. Mun. 99 (Breviary), Boulogne MS. 192 (Guillaume d'Orange), Douai Bibl. Mun. 797 (Vinc. of Beauvais), N.Y. Morgan Lib. 751 (Peter of Poitiers); see also Stones, "Indications écrites et modèles picturaux, guides aux peintres de manuscrits enluminés aux environs de 1300," in *Actes du colloque. Artistes, artisans et production artistique au moyen age* (Rennes, 1983), in press.

4. The St. Martin Aviary Group

The Aviary text of this group derives from a model which had much in common with the text of the Ter Duinen Aviary. Here, however, the work has undergone modifications of chapter order and number, which are substantial enough even to warrant consideration of these manuscripts as a separate version. Nonetheless, the basic text remains close to the main tradition, and it seems best to view these copies of the Aviary as eccentric parts of that tradition. A number of these manuscripts have Benedictine provenance, and as suggested in the previous chapter, the needs of Benedictines, who had few lay-brothers, may have dictated the changes which took place in the model. It is the early chapters which have the unusual arrangement: 1–11, 17–16, 12–15, 18. . . . The Anchin, Frankfurt, Grammont, Melk, Rohr, Tegernsee, and Vendôme Aviaries have a further rearrangement: 18–23, 28, 29, 24–27, which varies slightly in the Polling and Cîteaux Aviaries; the St. Sulpice manuscript may have been similar, but it ends imperfectly in chap. 29. All but the St. Martin and Frankfurt texts include just Part 1, and only as far as the Cedar. St. Martin is fully illustrated; the others have only the diagrams. The two sentences added to chapter 29 in four manuscripts of the Ter Duinen Group are also found in these manuscripts, except for St. Martin (chapter 29 is missing in Cîteaux, St. Sulpice, and Tegernsee). There are several textual variants (e.g., p. 148, l. 16, *marescit frigore* : *hiemis frigore*

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[1] Compare the diagrams in the the text of the Harvard Aviary.

[2] Ellen Beer, "Zum Problem der 'Biblia Porta'," *Festschrift Hans R. Hahnloser* (Basel and Stuttgart, 1961), 282 and 286. Another manuscript of the group is Ghent Univ. Lib. MS. 3088; Kerstin Carlvant, "Thirteenth-Century Illumination," 77–78, where further evidence is given for a Thérouanne Diocese provenance for these books, and *Gent duizend jaar kunst en cultuur* (exhib. cat., Ghent: Bijlokemuseum, 1975), no. 570.

marescit) which appear in most of the group, but not in St. Martin. Only St. Martin has a bestiary, also illustrated, and its Aviary, with fewer alterations, stands somewhat apart from other manuscripts of the group. In fact, the St. Martin Aviary heads the group only because it is the only fully illustrated copy here. Specific positions of manuscripts within the group, comparable to the positions of certain manuscripts of the Heiligenkreuz, Ter Duinen, and Aberdeen groups, could not be determined. The group is especially interesting for its strong German and Benedictine components and includes:

(B) Brussels Bibl. Roy. MS. 18421-29—ca. 1200—Abbey of St. Martin, Tournai (13th c. *ex libris*).
"St. Martin Aviary"

(B) Bourges, Bibl. Mun. MS. 121—mid-13th c.—Abbey of St. Sulpice.
"St. Sulpice Aviary"

(C) Dijon, Bibl. Mun. MS. 225 (187)—late 12th c.—Cîteaux Abbey.
"Cîteaux Aviary"

(B) Douai, Bibl. Mun. MS. 370—early 13th c.—Abbey of Anchin.
"Anchin Aviary"

(?C) Frankfurt, Stadtbibliothek MS. Barth. 167—ca. mid-13th c.—probable Cistercian origin, based on contents.
"Frankfurt Aviary"

(B) Ghent, Univ. Lib. MS. 546—13th c.—Abbey of St. Adrian, Grammont.
"Grammont Aviary"

(B) Melk, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Mell. 6(154, C32)—ca. 1200— Melk Abbey.
"Melk Aviary"

(A) Munich, Staatsbibliothek clm 11315—first half 13th c.—Polling Abbey.
"Polling Aviary"

(B) Munich, Staatsbibliothek clm 18368—dated 1358—Abbey of Tegernsee.
"Tegernsee Aviary"

(A) Munich, Staatsbibliothek clm 15407—14th c.—Abbey of Rohr.
"Rohr Aviary"

Vendôme, Bibl. Mun. MS. 156—first half 13th c.—no known provenance.
"Vendôme Aviary"

In all manuscripts the illustrations are pen drawn, some in colored paints (fig. 4a). The draughtsmanship in most of these Aviaries is amateurish, although not without a decorative charm, and is probably monastic work (fig. 69). To judge by painting and scribal styles the Brussels and Ghent manuscripts are probably Flemish, the Melk and Munich ones south German, and the rest French. The Polling Aviary is interesting for being the only copy of the work known to have been owned by an institution for women.[1]

5. The Aberdeen Bestiary Group

Beyond any doubt the most luxurious of Aviaries are those which are incorporated directly into a Second Family bestiary in the famous Aberdeen and Ashmole Bestiaries. The two manuscripts were decorated by closely related painters, and before the Aberdeen Bestiary was mutilated (at an unknown date), they were virtually identical in contents. In both, the Aviary text appears as part of the bestiary section on birds and has lost nineteen whole chapters and parts of others, and some, but not all of the typical Aviary iconography.[2] As in the St. Martin Group, in this group the text which is present is faithful to one branch of the main tradition, even in the Harley and Bodley 764 Aviaries, with only thirteen Aviary chapters each. Moreover, these manuscripts preserve many of the typical Aviary illustrations. Unlike the situation in Aviary-bestiary manuscripts of the Paris Group, the Aviary here is an addition to, not a replacement for the bestiary's birds: often both the Aviary and bestiary texts, or portions thereof, are included for a given bird. All but the last two manuscripts listed below follow closely an Aberdeen/Ashmole-type model in text and picture. These two are also Second Family bestiaries which incorporate at least part of the Aviary, and which have iconographic affinities to Aberdeen and Ashmole. The astonishing thing about the Aviary transformation which occurs in this group is that it appeared so early in the tradition, by about 1200. Hugh's book of birds must have been perceived very quickly as a work valuable not only for itself, but also as a source for expanding the beast-moral literature which began with the *Physiologus*.

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[1] The Lorvão Aviary was made for Benedictine men, although it apparently came into the hands of Cistercian women when they took over that abbey; ownership of the University College Bestiary (with Aviary), with a nun in the Cedar design, is undetermined.

[2] M. R. James, *The Bestiary* (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1928), 10 and passim, was the first to notice this presence of the Aviary in the bestiary text; see also his "The Bestiary in the University Library," *Aberdeen University Library Bulletin* 36 (1928): 2; and Clark, "The Illustrated Medieval Aviary," 64. The subdivision of bestiary manuscripts by Brunsdon Yapp, "A New Look at English Bestiaries," *Medium aevum* 54 (1985): 1-19, on the basis of the presence of the Aviary is not valid. For a recent study of the Ashmole Bestiary, Xenia Muratova, "Etude du manuscrit," in *Bestiarium. Fac-simile du manuscrit du bestiaire Ashmole 1511. . .* (Paris: Club du Livre, 1984); Dr. Muratova very kindly sent me a copy of this essay.

Manuscripts of the group share certain elements of bestiary iconography which relate closely to British Library MS. Add. 11283, an English manuscript and the earliest surviving Second-Family bestiary.[1] All manuscripts of the Aberdeen Group are English, but nothing is known of their original provenance or place of production, although there has recently been much speculation about the latter.[2] It is a group composed of manuscripts for which there remain a number of unsolved problems, and about which there is considerable divergence of scholarly opinion.

The Aberdeen Group includes:

Aberdeen University Library MS. 24—ca. 1200—no early provenance.

"Aberdeen Bestiary"

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Ashmole 1511—ca. 1200-1210—no early provenance.

"Ashmole Bestiary"

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[1] For Brit. Lib. Add. 11283, C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066-1190* (London: Harvey Miller, 1975), no. 105. I am preparing an edition of the text of this manuscript. There are other bestiaries which have interesting and important iconographic connections with Aberdeen and Ashmole, especially certain bestiaries of the Transitional family (McCulloch, *Mediaeval . . . Bestiaries*, 33-34).

[2] Two Second-Family bestiaries without Aviary, Cambridge Univ. Lib. MS. Ii.4.26 and Oxford, St. John's College MS. 61, are linked textually, iconographically, and in a general way stylistically with Aberdeen and Ashmole. See Morgan, *Early Gothic* 1, nos. 21 and 42.

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Douce 151—14th c.—no early provenance.

"Douce Bestiary"

Oxford, University College MS. 120—14th c.—no early provenance.

"University College Bestiary"

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS. 372/621—ca. 1300—?Franciscan.

"Caius Bestiary"

London, British Library MS. Harley 4751—ca. 1230-1240—no early provenance.

"Harley Bestiary"

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Bodley 764—ca.1230-1240—evidence of aristocratic patron.

"Bodley 764 Aviary"[1]

The Aviary text of this group relates somewhat to that of the Ter Duinen and St. Martin Groups, with a particularly large number of variants in common with the St. Martin Aviary. In addition to the omissions of chapters and passages, it also has many variants of its own. Among the significant variant readings are: p. 140, n. 5, om *Alas quippe nostras*; p. 148, n. 10, *vincendo mundum* : *vivendo*; p. 170, n. 2 *natura* : *fragilitas*; p. 208, n. 2, *tempus adventus sui* : *adventus sui diem*. In all but Harley and Bodley 764, the order of bird chapters follows that of the Aviary. The opening of Prologue 1, with its references to Hugh and Rainier, is omitted, undoubtedly as irrelevant to the bestiary. Omission of other elements seems to have been made rather arbitrarily, but very likely in an effort to achieve a balance between the enhanced birds section of the bestiary and sections for the other species. Most of the Part 1 Aviary illustrations are retained, but only some of the typical Part 2 ones. Among the distinctive pictorial features of the Aberdeen Bestiary and directly related manuscripts is the transformation of the Cedar miniature into an abstract geometry with a woman at the center, perhaps to represent Ecclesia holding a symbol of the Holy Spirit (chap. 2), but more likely because the painter had no idea of the meaning of his model (fig. 7b).

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[1] Still another manuscript should be mentioned in connection with these, a Second Family bestiary from the 14th century in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS. 379, which incorporates the Sparrow chaps. 33-37 (ending imperfectly) of the Aviary. See Francis Wormald and Phyllis M. Giles, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Additional Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum Acquired between 1895 and 1979* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1982), 391-94, especially 392. Because this is such a limited use of the Aviary, this bestiary has not been included among the Aviary manuscripts.

The fragmentary Aberdeen Bestiary has until recently been overlooked by modern writers in favor of the complete and more accessible Ashmole Bestiary, but in terms of artistic quality the Aberdeen manuscript is certainly Ashmole's equal.[1] They are painted by different artists who worked in more or less the same style, and although Ashmole is slightly smaller overall, the text-spaces of both have virtually the same dimensions (ruling patterns, however, differ considerably). The two are decorated in a striking version of the Channel Style and are painted in dramatically contrasting colors.[2] The excellent draughtsmanship and decorative elegance of both books put them in the first rank of illumination in their period. With their large Creation miniatures (fig. 59a, 60a) and a full complement of Aviary and bestiary illustrations (figs. 59c, 60b), they are lavish expressions of the medieval Church's view of Creation and the natural world, and the lessons to be learned therefrom.[3] They are wonders in both their art and their subject matter. The texts of both manuscripts are written in excellent book hands which are related but not identical, and both books have the look throughout of professional production.

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[1] The Aberdeen Bestiary received recent attention at the London exhibition *English Romanesque Art 1066–1200* (exhib. cat. April–July, 1984; London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1984) no. 86, although the descriptive entry is brief.

[2] For a summary of this style in England see Boase, *English Art 1100–1216*, 275–278; and more detailed discussions by Larry M. Ayres, "A Tanner Manuscript in the Bodleian Library and Some Notes on English Painting of the Late Twelfth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969): 41–54, and "The Work of the Morgan Master at Winchester and English Painting of the Early Gothic Period," *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974): especially 213–23.

[3] Johannes Zahlten, *Creatio mundi* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1979), 179 and figs 151, 156, and 157, draws attention to the similarity between the Creation pictures of God standing before the spheres of the universe, and pictures of God-Creator in a *Hexameron* manuscript of ca. 1150 from the Abbey of St. Emmeram, Munich Staatsbibl. clm 14399, fols. 14v and passim. For the scene of "Adam naming the animals" in both Aberdeen and Ashmole, see Xenia Muratova, "Adam donne leur noms aux animaux. L'iconographie de la scene dans l'art du Moyen Age et ses traits particuliers dans les manuscrits des bestiaires enluminés du XIIe et du XIIIe siècles," *Studi medievali* 18 (1977): 367–94, and also *Storia del Arte* 28 (1976): 171–79.

Occasional iconographic variations from one manuscript to the other appear to be responses to the individual artist's taste in design; none are substantive.[1] The Aberdeen Bestiary miniatures were painted by two artists, one of them a master of considerable talent, the other almost equally gifted.[2] The static poses of the figures and their strong rhetorical gestures relate to the Romanesque past, but the loose-fitting, volumetric drapery belted at the waist, and the delicate non-figural ornament and highly burnished gold belong to the early Gothic. Comnenian Byzantine influence is seen in the facial patterns and darkened eye sockets (figs. 7b, 59a).[3] In the master's work these forceful elements are softened by wavy hair, rosy cheeks, and a fullness of form achieved through careful blending of light and shadow (fig. 59b). No other artist of the period handled facial highlights with more subtlety. His colleague merely laid the facial highlights in over darker flesh tones. With this second artist the eyes have a tendency to stare, the hair has a sketchy quality, the gestures are a bit wooden, and the drapery less volumetric (fig. 7b). The large features, especially the eyes, and the statuesque proportions of the Aberdeen figures suggest that the illuminators were influenced by stained glass painting, where such exaggerations enhance readability at a distance.[4]

The Aberdeen Bestiary may have been intended as an *exemplar*, for the text is corrected, and there are many miniatures punched for copying (see catalogue no. 1).[5] So far, however, there is no specific evidence that the manuscript served as a model for any other manuscript, including the four directly related to it; Ashmole may in fact have been the model for the two fourteenth-century copies. There are also several marginal sketches for illustrations in Aberdeen, as well as notations for color (see catalogue).[1] The elegant marginal penscroll "sprays" on a number of Aberdeen's smaller minor initials are one more indication of the exceptional quality of this manuscript (fig. E).[2]

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[1] Examples are the shepherd in the Wolf illustration of Aberdeen but not Ashmole, and a second Ape scene in Aberdeen showing the capture of an ape by tricking it into putting on boots (from Pliny, *Natural History* 8.80).

[2] The master is responsible for all but one Creation scene (fols. 2–4v), the Hyaena, the Wolf, the Caladrius, the Magpie, the Salamander, and Isidore (fols. 11v, 16v, 36v, 57, 81) (figs. 59a,b). The colleague painted one Creation scene (fol. 1), Adam naming the animals (fol. 5), the Aviary Cedar (fol. 34), the Beaver, the Ape, the second Dog miniature, the Asp, and the Firestones (fols. 11, 12v, 18v, 67v, 93v).

[3] The Byzantine influence on the style of these manuscripts is described by Morgan, *Early Gothic* 1, 64.

[4] Nigel Morgan, *The Medieval Painted Glass of Lincoln Cathedral* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1983), 44, sees parallels between the Ashmole Bestiary style and the earlier style of the north rose at Lincoln. See below for my suggestion of parallels in other stained glass.

[5] The dark pigment on the back of some punched designs is the black paint of the outlines which was carried through by the punching instrument, not pouncing powder as in Muratova, "Workshop Methods," 58. For details

The Aberdeen and Ashmole Bestiaries were obviously decorated by painters trained in the same tradition, yet there is good evidence in the Ashmole painting that it postdates Aberdeen by perhaps five or more years.[3] Again there are two artists, and their closely related work is a somewhat mannered version of the Aberdeen painting.[4] The figures are even more attenuated than Aberdeen's, and the resulting tensions are enhanced by the small heads and energetic poses (figs. 60a, b). The facial types are similar to those of Aberdeen but less delicately modeled, and figures by the first painter, who did most of the Creation miniatures, have less eye darkening (fig. 60a). Faces by the second Ashmole artist, who painted the majority of the remaining illustrations, have a prominent upper lip with dark lines at either side of the mouth, giving the face a slightly simian appearance (fig. 60b). Facial highlights are laid in without blending. The drapery hangs more freely than on the Aberdeen figures and has more complexity of fold, especially in the Creation painter's work. Hemlines by the second painter show an exaggerated angularity and eccentricity of line. A tendency in Ashmole toward less complex versions of the common Aber-

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of punch-transfer technique, see chapter 3.

[1] Meradith McMunn helped in the search for these often extremely faint sketches in Aberdeen, and she also researched the Old French meanings for the color notations. On color notations in medieval manuscripts, see most recently Stirnemann, "Nouvelles pratiques," 962-66.

[2] Marginal penscroll sprays culminate in England in the art of William de Brailes (ca. 1230-1240; see Morgan, *Early Gothic* 1, no. 68). They also appear on the Continent in the early 13th century, especially in manuscripts of canon law. The origin and diffusion of such decoration remain to be studied.

[3] Morgan, *Early Gothic* 1, nos. 17, 19, also places Aberdeen somewhat earlier than Ashmole.

[4] Muratova, "Etude," 46-47, finds three painters, but some of the distinctions she draws, relating mainly to drapery forms and color, may be more a function of technique (modelling with shadow or hatching) or of scale than of separate artists. On the basis of drapery forms and facial types, however, it is likely that her first artist (Majesty, Tiger, Antelope, etc.) and third artist (Caladrius, Wolf) are indeed two different people.

deen-Ashmole designs may have been an unconscious way of accommodating the increased mannerism of the figures.[1] Notable in the non-figural ornament of Ashmole are the aurum-like "boughs" of the tree forms, which are more organic and open than the patterned ovals of Aberdeen (figs. 60b, 59c). Overall, the painting in Ashmole has a freer, more elaborate appearance than that of Aberdeen, due not only to the figural mannerisms, but also to the more vigorous ornament. Rich effects are achieved by ground patterns of dots-and-hatching or delicate floral designs tooled into the gold. In short, the art of the Ashmole Bestiary is entirely Gothic, in contrast to the lingering Romanesque formalisms in Aberdeen.

No discussion of these two books can ignore their astonishing range of colors in body color and rich washes. In both books, color is an essential ingredient of form. Contrasting hues, usually white with red, green, or blue, are used to delineate the drapery or define the structure of a bird or animal. Here too one can see the formal differences between the two pairs of painters. In Ashmole the color tones are generally somewhat lighter than in Aberdeen, yet the Ashmole painters, in keeping with their mannered aesthetic, tend to emphasize the color contrasts on the animals more than their Aberdeen counterparts (figs. 59c, 60b). The Aberdeen artists sometimes use white filigree designs as highlights on animals, while both manuscripts have white hatched highlights.[2] The special sensitivity of these artists to color surfaces is demonstrated in the Swan of Aberdeen (fol. 58v), where the feathers are painted with a white mixed with heavy amounts of glair, so that the bird appears to be covered by a gossamer coat of shiny plumage.

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[1] In my view Muratova, "Etude," 47, and "Workshop Methods" misreads the evidence when she points to what she considers a better artistic quality in the Ashmole Bestiary and, in interpreting several preliminary drawings in Aberdeen, concludes that Aberdeen was copied from Ashmole. She correctly recognizes the Romanesque qualities of the Aberdeen style, but in an apparent contradiction, assumes that the Aberdeen painter was a somewhat clumsy pupil of the more progressive Ashmole painter. In fact, there is no justification for calling the vigorous Aberdeen style clumsy, only conservative. Furthermore, nothing in the physical or stylistic evidence justifies a conclusion that either manuscript was copied from the other: the preliminary drawings in Aberdeen could just as well have come from a common model for the two manuscripts. Moreover, Johannes Zahlten, *Creatio mundi*, 12, notes that in the first Creation scene the Ashmole artist may have misunderstood his model in putting God on three hills of varying size. In Aberdeen the Creator stands on four hills, in tones of blue-green, pink, blue, and pink, most likely representing the four elements, water, earth, air, and fire (fig. 59a).

[2] For English manuscripts with white filigree highlights, see Kauffmann, *Romanesque*, nos. 56, 68, 70, 96 (from Bury St. Edmunds, Canterbury, and probably the north of England). There are contemporary Continental examples, mostly from the Mosan region (fig. 8). The origin of this ornament is in Byzantine white cross-hatch highlighting, but the beginning of its Western transformation is yet to be defined.

The style of the Aberdeen-Ashmole painters is found in Psalter cuttings from a Bible of which nothing else is known, and in a *Decretum* from the abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer (fig. 61) (see catalogue no. 36). Speculation as to the production place of these manuscripts has been considerable. Current proposals suggest that they or their style originated in either York or Lincoln, based on iconographic and general stylistic relationships to manuscripts with links, often tenuous, with those cities and their dioceses.[1] Resemblances to sculpture and stained glass in these areas have also been adduced to support the central or northern English theories.[2] The problem with such proposals, apart from their basis in uncertain provenance and unspecific style relationships, is that there is no evidence of concomitant large-scale luxury book production at either York or Lincoln, despite the acknowledged importance of both as ecclesiastical and educational centers.[3] In fact, a case can be made on just as many and almost as inconclusive pieces of evidence that the Aberdeen/Ashmole style is of south English origin.

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[1] Muratova, "Adam donne leurs noms," 390–94; Morgan, *Early Gothic* 1: 94–95. More recently, on the basis of a parallel between the Majesty designs of the Aberdeen and Ashmole Bestiaries and the Peterborough Psalters, Muratova has proposed, "Etude," 54, that the Aberdeen/Ashmole style was produced there, but by a circle of artists of Lincoln origin. The role of Peterborough in book production, especially luxury books, of this period and later is uncertain; Bishop Lindesey may well have acquired his books elsewhere. For discussions of styles in Peterborough books, see Morgan, *Early Gothic* 1, 94–95, where the style of these early 13th-century Peterborough manuscripts is left unlocalized, and in *Medieval Art in East Anglia 1300–1520*, ed. P. Lasko and N. Morgan (Norwich: Jarrold & Sons Ltd., 1973), 7. For questions about later manuscript production in Peterborough, Lucy Freeman Sandler, *The Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and other Fenland Manuscripts* (London: Harvey Miller, 1974), chap. 5, and the review by Adelaide Bennett, *The Art Bulletin* 64 (1982): 502–8; and Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285–1385*, 24–26. Muratova, "Etude," 53–54, adduces another tenuous link with the north in the close but not direct link between the Aberdeen-Ashmole style and another Decretals, Evreux Bibl. Mun. MS. 106, the art of which relates to that of the Saint Louis Psalter (Leyden, Univ. Lib. MS. 76a), probably made for Geoffrey Plantagenet, bishop of York.

[2] Morgan, *Early Gothic* 1: 67, and his *The Medieval Painted Glass of Lincoln Cathedral* (C.V.M.A Great Britain, Occasional Papers 3; London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1983), 44; Muratova, "Etude," 51.

[3] Dorothy M. Owen observed that there are few examples of books produced in medieval Lincolnshire; further, that many of those surviving from the monastic libraries had been the personal property of the monks or canons, and thus had diverse origins; *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire* (History of Lincolnshire 5) (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee,

In favor of a southern production, the Aberdeen and Ashmole Bestiaries relate equally well, as scholars have already shown, to a style trend of ca. 1200 expressed in a number of manuscripts with strong southern connections. Examples can be found in two psalters associated with Peterborough, and a leaf in the British Library associated with Canterbury.[1] The white filigree used as highlight in the Aberdeen miniatures (fig. 59c) is found predominantly in the south.[2] In the period of the Aberdeen/Ashmole style it occurs, for example, in a *Decretum* with stylistic ties to St. Albans or Oxford, which has illustrations of the same iconographic type as in the St. Omer *Decretum* in the Aberdeen/Ashmole style.[3] Moreover, the two-line chapter initials in Aberdeen have a good deal in common with minor initials in the last Utrecht Psalter copy (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 8846), generally viewed as a Canterbury product.[4] The Aberdeen/Ashmole style overall is compatible with stained glass in Canterbury Cathedral, especially in the Trinity

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1981), 80–81. Patricia E. Danz, "The Copenhagen Psalter" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ., 1976), 174, states that Lincoln was an importer, not exporter, of styles, and that there is a lack of codicological consistency among 12th-century books in the Cathedral library. Early Lincoln Cathedral catalogues are printed in R. M. Woolley, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1927).

[1] London, Soc. of Antiquaries MS. 59, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus. MS. 12, and British Library MS. Cott. Vesp. A.1; Morgan, *Early Gothic* 1, nos. 47, 45, 46. See also R. Marks and N. Morgan, *The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting* (New York: Braziller, 1981), pl. 4.

[2] See above, p. 79, n. 2.

[3] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 10, of ca. 1190; see Morgan, *Early Gothic* 1, no. 6. The type is apparently a Continental one. See also Rosy Schilling, "The *Decretum Gratiani* formerly in the C. W. Dyson Perrins Collection," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 26 (1963): 27–39; and Anthony Melnikas, *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Decretum Gratiani* (Rome: Studia Gratiani, 1975), figs. 10, 12. The "foxes-have-holes" motif (Matt. 8:20, Luke 9:58) used in the Fox miniature of Aberdeen and Ashmole may also have originated in Canterbury; see Adelheid Heimann, "The Last Copy of the Utrecht Psalter," in *The Year 1200: A Symposium* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975), 321. This motif occurs also in several other bestiaries: the Cambridge Univ. Lib. MS. Ii.4.26, a Second-Family bestiary, and several Transitional bestiaries, all with strong iconographic and even some stylistic links to Aberdeen and Ashmole, and with equally uncertain localization.

[4] A color reproduction showing these initials is in Morgan, *Early Gothic* 1, fig. 1.

Chapel.[1] There might be another small link to Canterbury in the Aberdeen/Ashmole-style *Decretum* being from St. Bertin, for that Continental house had a close and longstanding friendship with the ecclesiastical institutions of Canterbury.[2] There is even some evidence that Canterbury, a well-established center of illuminated manuscript production, was active in the production of bestiaries. Whereas most medieval monastic library catalogues might list one, rarely two bestiaries, if any at all, the medieval book-lists of the two abbeys of Canterbury together count seven, four at Christ Church, three at St. Augustine's.[3] A case could therefore be made for Canterbury as the source of the Aberdeen/Ashmole style. An extensive search in manuscripts of known Canterbury provenance, however, failed to reveal other examples of the scribal hands in either of the two bestiaries, although the Aberdeen script and, as noted, the minor initials are much like those of the Paris Utrecht Psalter copy. As with many fine English manuscripts, nothing in hand affords a convincing localization of production for the two splendid bestiaries.

Two later English bestiaries, Oxford, Bodleian Douce 151 and University College 120, also unlocalized, are directly related by text and iconography to the Aberdeen and Ashmole Bestiaries. The Douce Bestiary may be a copy of the Ashmole Bestiary, with a few iconographic changes. Both the Douce and University College Bestiaries are smaller still than Ashmole, but they retain about the same text-space measurements as their two predecessors. The late-fourteenth-century painting in Douce is so routine as to make stylistic associations very difficult (fig. 62).

The Aviary text variants in the University College Bestiary separate it somewhat from the Ashmole and Douce Bestiaries, although pictorially it resembles them closely, especially Douce. Its model remains uncertain, but was probably one of these two. The Cedar is inhabited by a nun, evidence perhaps that the manuscript was made for a female patron or community (fig. 63). The style is even more nondescript than that of Douce 151, but the bright colors add a certain decorative flair. The book is in poor condition, but from the first it was an inexpensive product on inferior quality parchment and executed in a careless manner.

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[1] In the Becket Miracle window (number n.IV) the slender figures with darkened eyes, large noses and flowing drapery caught loosely at the waist are closely related in type to the Aberdeen and Ashmole figures. Madeline H. Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1981), pl. 117, dates the window sometime after 1213.

[2] The relationships between Canterbury and St. Bertin are summarized by C. R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1954), 55, 110.

[3] M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1903), 59, 70, 122, 290, 455, 487. The dates of the catalogues I surveyed ranged from the 12th to the 15th century.

In the Caius Bestiary the text is essentially the same as that of Aberdeen/Ashmole, with only minor variants.[1] It is surprising then that the Caius illustrations have nothing to do with those of Aberdeen and Ashmole, despite the fact that Caius even has an opening Creation cycle (fig. 64). The most likely explanation is that the text and the pictures were executed in different locations, otherwise the painter would surely have followed what must have been a model on the order of Aberdeen or Ashmole, if indeed not one of these.[2] The manuscript is interesting to ornithologists for the marked naturalism of some of its birds, for example a fine, green ring-necked Parrot and a handsome pair of Cranes with grey body plumage and red crowns. On the other hand, the Stork, which was familiar at least on the Continent, is illustrated by a small roseate songbird, demonstrating again the curious mixture of the real and unreal among beast-moral illustrations. The line drawings with washes of the Caius Bestiary are indisputably English (fig. 65). Swaying figures, flat, linear drapery, and concave faces beneath high brows (fig. 64) mark the painting as a provincial version of a later thirteenth-century high style such as that in the Douce Apocalypse (Bodleian Lib. MS. Douce 180).

British Lib. MS. Harley 4751 and Oxford Bodley 764 are both luxury bestiaries of the 1230s to 1240s. Their texts have been expanded not only by selections from the Aviary, but also by new bestiary chapters, newly written moralizations for standard chapters, and animal lore from several sources, including the famous account of the Barnacle Goose in Gerald of Wales's *Topographia hibernica*.[3] Both contain the same thirteen Aviary chapters, with many of the same omissions and additions. There are no Creation scenes in either book, and some of their iconography is closer to the earliest Second Family bestiary, British Library Add. 11283, than to the Aberdeen and Ashmole Bestiaries. It is thus very likely that Harley 4751 and Bodley 764 reflect a model predating the Aberdeen Bestiary.

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[1] The Caius Bestiary is bound with a volume which had later Franciscan ownership; see M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College* (Cambridge, 1908), 421.

[2] Compare the situation in the La Ferté Aviary-Bestiary, catalogue no. 13.

[3] Morgan, *Early Gothic* 2, nos. 76 and 98, correctly dates both books well into the 13th century, later than previous writers have done. For details, catalogue nos. 25, 38.

In both the Harley and Bodley 764 Bestiaries the chapters selected from the Aviary and certain elements of the iconography offer hints of secular patronage. From Part 1 of the Aviary only the Hawk chapters were chosen by the compilers. In Bodley 764 dogs are added to several bestiary hunting scenes (the Beaver, Ibex, and Ape); for the Boar in both manuscripts there is a graphic hunting scene with a hound being gored. In both Bodley and Harley domestic animals are sometimes shown in familiar activities, for example the Ass carrying grain to a mill, the Cow being milked, the Sow suckling piglets. In the Stag miniature of both books a wild doe is pictured suckling her young. Such interest in blood sport, game animals, and mundane events of daily life might indicate a secular as much as an ecclesiastical patron. In fact, recent research on the numerous heraldic devices in miniatures of Bodley 764 makes a strong case for its original owner being a lay member of the higher nobility.[1]

The style of the Harley Bestiary accords well with a date of 1230–1240. The large miniatures with their heavy color washes have a robust vitality which the artist enhances by allowing certain elements of the design to extend beyond the frame. The drapery has ribbon-like folds at the waist and wind-tossed hems, and might be viewed as a later version of drapery in the well known Cambridge Bestiary (Univ. Lib. Ii.4.26), with which Harley also has certain iconographic similarities (figs. 66, 67).[2] In the contrasting colors there are resonances of some of the Aberdeen and Ashmole animals. The fully colored Bodley miniatures, often on gold, are more elaborate even than those of Harley (fig. 68). The style has been recognized as a prelude to mid-century painting in Salisbury.[3] The wide-eyed figures with their stiff drapery and zigzagging hems anticipate painting in a manuscript such as the Amesbury Psalter (Oxford, All Souls College MS. 6), in which patterns incised in the gold closely resemble those of Bodley 764.[1] Bodley 764 is a handsome manuscript, comparable in luxury to the Aberdeen and Ashmole Bestiaries.

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[1] Roland Baxter, "A Baronial Bestiary. Heraldic Evidence for the Patronage of Manuscript Bodley 764," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 50 (1987): 196–200, who remarks, 199, that evidence of lay patronage is rare in English 13th-century manuscripts. Some of the miniatures of everyday life in these manuscripts can be see in Rowland, *Animals with Human Faces*, 25, 97, 113.

[2] For example, the distinctive Whale miniature; see White, *The Book of Beasts*, 196, and Morgan, *Early Gothic* 1, fig. 266.

[3] Morgan, *Early Gothic* 1: 125; R. Marks and N. Morgan, *The Golden Age*, 14, 54–57. Salisbury illumination is discussed in A. Hollaender, "The Sarum Illuminator and his School," *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 50 (1943): 232–38. According to Baxter, "A Baronial Bestiary," arms

Harley's close relationship to Bodley 764 in textual content and in many points of visual iconography prompted a recent suggestion that the two were made in close proximity, perhaps, based on the Bodley 764 style, in the region of Salisbury.[2] Without better evidence, however, it seems more prudent to leave the Harley Bestiary for the present unlocalized.

6. The Independent Aviary Copies

The Aviary texts of these manuscripts do not have clear kinship with any others. Their illustrations vary the standard program to a greater or lesser extent and in some cases have nothing to do with it.

a. (B) London, British Lib. MS. Royal 10.A.vii—second quarter 13th c.—Bardney Abbey (15th c. *ex libris*).

"Bardney Aviary"

This manuscript appears to have been made for, and probably at, the important Benedictine abbey of Bardney in Lincolnshire. Unfortunately its decoration was left incomplete. Several chapters are reordered or omitted, and for the Ostrich the scribe provides the opening biblical quotation, then laconically refers the reader to the section in St. Gregory's *Moralia in Job* which Hugh quoted for the rest of the chapter (*Quaere de structione ad sufficientiam in tercia parte moralium beati Gregorii papae fere in fine*). The English origin of the manuscript probably explains the close resemblance of the Cedar to the tree of barnacle geese in Gerald of Wales's *The History and Topography of Ireland* (fig. 70).[3] As in a number of Avi-

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depicted in Bodley 764 include those of Monhaut (the Marches), Clares (the Marches), and Bristol (Berkeley).

[1] For example, Peter Brieger, *English Art 1216-1307* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), fig. 64a; Marks and Morgan, *The Golden Age*, fig. V.

[2] Morgan, *Early Gothic* 1:125.

[3] The Barnacle Goose is pictured in the Gerald of Wales manuscript British Lib. MS. Roy. 13.B.vii, fol. 8v, and in two bestiaries, Vatican, Bibl. Apost. MS. 258, fol. 25v, and the Harley Bestiary, fol. 3. The Harley miniature is reproduced in White, *The Bestiary*, 267.

aries with known monastic provenance, the illustrations are line drawings, here uncolored and most likely of local production.

b. (A) Paris Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 14429—ca. 1250-1260—Abbey of St. Victor, Paris, by at least 1514.

"St. Victor Aviary"

The variants of the Aviary text tend to agree with those in the *Patrologia latina* edition of the Aviary, which was prepared from the seventeenth-century Victorine edition,[1] but in chapter order and number the text conforms to the standard. It is possible that the illustrations are those which Migne mentions in the introduction to his edition.[2] If so, he may not have known the standard program, for the St. Victor Aviary illustrations are independent of the tradition. Curiously enough, the H-version bestiary text of this manuscript relates closely to H-version bestiaries of the Paris Group, where most Aviary illustrations are standard ones. If the abbey of St. Victor was a center for bestiary and Aviary production, as suggested in discussions of the Paris Group, then this manuscript may have been made in some other context. The St. Victor Aviary is interesting for its unique depiction of the ship of Solomon (chap. 59; fig. 71). The painting style is routine but good, the figures having a delicate yet lively appearance. The style can be associated generally with secular illumination in later thirteenth-century Paris. As in the St. Amand Aviary of the Paris Group the miniatures are in small rectangles in the manner of secular narrative illustration.

c. (A) Cremona, Bibl. Governativa MS. 199—late 12th/early 13th c.—Abbey of St. Augustine, Cremona (14th c. *ex libris*).

"Cremona Aviary"

The manuscript is an anthology of five treatises by Hugh of Fouilloy, including the rare *Shepherds and Sheep*, yet it is unrelated either textually or pictorially to the Ter Duinen group of which the last is so characteristic. With imaginative modifications the illustrations for the Aviary and *Wheels of Religion* are modelled on the traditional French types, but the Virgin with saints miniature at the end of the *Shepherds and Sheep* appears to be an independent devotional picture. This miniature suggests a localization of production at Cremona, or more likely Milan (Cremona was a suffragan of the Milan diocese), and provides a *terminus post quem* for dating the manuscript. The saints pictured are Ambrose, Simplician, his successor as bishop of Milan, and Galdin, archbishop of Milan, who died in 1176 and was canonized in 1188. The style is characterized by decorative linear patterns, bright colors and stilted gestures. Both the figure style and the ornamental motifs are consistent in general terms with decoration in several late twelfth and early thirteenth-century north Italian manuscripts (fig. 1e).[1] The text has many variants (and errors).

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[1] See above, p. 8, n. 2.
[2] Migne, *PL* 177:15.

d. (?F) Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 24428—1260s—possibly Franciscan; from the library of the Cathedral of Notre Dame, Paris.
"Notre Dame Aviary"

This is one of only two Aviaries in the vernacular, the other being the Portuguese version discussed below, both of which exist in unique copies. Here a few chapters of the Aviary have been freely adapted and set into French verse by a minor cleric named Ormond (*Omons le clers*) who completed the poem about 1265. The manuscript is a collection of works of interest to students of medieval French literature.[2]

The two miniatures of the Aviary and those of the manuscript's William the Norman (or *Guillaume le Clerc*) bestiary are notable for illustrating the moralizations.[3] The Aviary illustration for the Cedar shows the tree flanked by monks in grey, probably Franciscans (fig. 72); the manuscript was owned by a Franciscan in the fifteenth century. While the painting is not of the first rank, the finely drawn faces with almond eyes and the abundant large-fold drapery (seen best in miniatures of the bestiary) relate this painting to court styles in Paris of the 1260s.

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[1] For example, San Daniele del Friuli, Bibl. Guarn. MS. 42 (Giuseppe Bergamini and Gian Carlo Menis, *Miniatura in Friuli*, no. 7, Friuli: Inst. per l'Enciclopedia del Friuli Venezia Giulia, [1985]). The arguments by Laura Carlino, "Un manoscritto spagnolo in Lombardia: Il Cod. 199 della Biblioteca Governativa di Cremona," *Miniatura* 1 (1988): 19-35, for Spanish production of this manuscript and its location for a time at Pavia are not persuasive. Walter Cahn kindly informed me of this article.

[2] The French verse Aviary is edited by Hartmut Kleineidam, "Li volucraires," *Zeitschrift für romanische philologie* 86 (1970): 1-21; the reference was provided by Meradith McMunn. Compare the contents of fr. 24428 with the Gloucester Aviary manuscript (catalogue no. 29). The best known of such 13th-century collections of encyclopedic works is MS. 2200 at the Bibl. Ste. Geneviève in Paris.

[3] Compare Bodley 602; see above, p. 40, n. 1.

e. Rio de Janiero, Collection late Prof. Serafim da Silva Neto—14th c.—Portugal.

"da Silva Neto Aviary"

The second of the two vernacular Aviaries, this fragment of only nine damaged leaves is a Portuguese prose translation of Hugh's text, with additions and some modifications, probably by the translator (compare Ormond the Clerk's changes in the French verse translation in Paris MS. fr. 24428).[1] Neither text nor miniatures have any demonstrable relation to the other Portuguese Aviaries. The style is probably local, but the uncluttered compositions, simple planes of color, heavy drapery and lively gestures indicate French influence. A treatise on Ezekiel's vision provides the only informative example of the style (fig. 73). In addition to its interest for the Aviary, the version is an important example of medieval Portuguese vernacular literature.

f. (C) Charleville, Bibl. Mun. MS. 166B—late 13th c.—Abbey of Signy, uncertain date.

"Signy Aviary"

This manuscript has only diagrams, and it has not been possible to associate it with another copy of the Aviary. The chapter order of the Signy Aviary is something like that of the St. Martin group, and the manuscript contains a life of St. Martin, but the Aviary lacks the other characteristics of that group.

Destroyed in World War II

(These do not appear in the catalogue)

1. (B) Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 1036—14th c.— Abbey of St. Père-en-Vallé.[2]

It is likely but not certain that this manuscript contained the

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[1] All folios are reproduced in J. Mota, R. Matos, V. Sampaio, N. Rossi, eds., *Livro das aves* (Rio de Janeiro: Inst. Nac. do Livro, 1965).

[2] Florence McCulloch provided me with the reference to this interesting manuscript.

Aviary; the library catalogue quotes the following rubric from fol. 72 of the manuscript: *Le Bestiaire espirituel selon la nature des oiseaux, et premierement du colon. De voste ame et religieuse se seduit et delite en toutes choses. . . .* Other works in the manuscript included Hugh's *Cloister of the Soul* and several items originating at the Benedictine abbey of St. Père, including the *Apothecarius moralis* and a catalogue of the St. Père library.

2. (C) Vitry-le-François Bibl. Mun. MS. 23—13th c.—Abbey of Trois Fontaines.[1]

The manuscript also included the *Cloister of the Soul*, and *Medicine of the Soul* by Hugh of Fouilloy.

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[1] A second, unillustrated copy of the Aviary at Vitry-le-François, MS. 63, from the Cistercian abbey of Cheminon, was likewise destroyed.

CHAPTER THREE

Copying the Aviary

The fidelity of transmission, both visual and textual, in the illustrated Aviary tradition has already been noted. Except for the Parisian university Bibles, where there were official controls, few other medieval traditions are at once so extensive and so faithful in both text and pictorial program. The Aviary thus provides a clearer than usual view of details within a tradition, for even modest changes are highlighted by the relative sameness of the major elements. Such conditions facilitate study of the relationship between models and copies, and what that relationship reveals of the attitudes and techniques of copyists in the Middle Ages. The following investigation of the known models and copies among Aviary manuscripts, as well as those manuscripts for which models can be more or less imagined, reveals that scribes and painters are strikingly similar in their approach to copying. The present state of research does not permit comparison with other traditions of illustrated texts, but it is likely that the same attitudes can be observed elsewhere, if not as clearly.[1] If the copying principles observed in the Aviary tradition hold true elsewhere, they will provide still another analytical tool to those who study medieval manuscripts. It should be noted that the practices outlined here are based on information gained directly from the manuscripts, their scribes, and their painters.

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[1] Perhaps the most extensive illuminated text tradition, apart from liturgical books, is the *Roman de la rose*. Studies to date of its illustrations are essentially iconographic investigations. Most recently, Philippe Ménard, "Les représentations des vices sur les murs du verger du 'Roman de la Rose': le texte et les enluminures," in *Texte et Image* (Actes du Colloque International de Chantilly, 1982; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984), 177–90, looks at the development of a visual stemma for a single motif in the *Roman* and relates the branches to descriptions, or lack thereof, in the text.

Only four Aviaries have pictures which are entirely independant of the standard program as represented by the Heiligenkreuz Aviary.[1] As pointed out in chapter 2, significant modification of the program occurs usually in copies with more than the ordinary textual changes; the Bodley 602 and La Ferté Aviaries, with very good texts, are exceptions. Thus, major pictorial changes occur in the two vernacular Aviaries, the English manuscripts in which the Aviary becomes part of the Second Family bestiary, and copies in which chapters are reordered or omitted. The visual changes usually consist of the omission of many or most of the miniatures. Not surprisingly, then, and supporting the idea of an illustrated original, all unillustrated copies examined had substantial textual changes: omissions of prologues and chapters, reordering and/or conflation of chapters, and contamination by new material. In the mainstream illustrated tradition, however, the uniformity does not produce boring, mindless copies, but a rich variety of illuminated manuscripts, each with its own special interest.

Those familiar with medieval manuscripts know that exact reproduction is rare and thus cannot have been the goal of the people who either made or commissioned manuscripts. Among known pictorial copies of the Aviary there is only one exact replication, the fifteenth-century Le Jardinet manuscript based on the twelfth-century Aulne Aviary, where the model, except for one miniature omitted, is reproduced down to the last drapery fold. In the rest there are stylistic changes, unconscious or not, as well as conscious variations on the transmitted designs. The result is that each set of illustrations has an individual character of its own. The textual situation is similar. A recent guide to medieval vernacular text editing states that "exact fidelity to a model was never achieved, and seldom desired, by medieval scribes copying a ... work which they understood. It is, in fact, axiomatic that the dullest scribes produced the most faithful copies, for the brighter, more imaginative ones sought to improve on their models."[2] In most Aviaries both artists and scribes sought to "modernize" or at least personalize the copy, despite their allegiance to the standard.

Hanns Swarzenski divided pictorial copies into two categories, those in which the goal was merely a transmission of iconography, and those where the copy seems intended to explore new styles using old forms, as in the Romanesque Eadwine Psalter's stylization of the naturalism in the Carolingian Utrecht Psalter.[1] The artist, says Swarzenski, "often betrays in his copies, unconsciously as well as deliberately, a degree of personal freedom and artistic license," and the copy "reveals and defines more clearly than any abstract terminology or analysis the artistic aims and stylistic changes" of a period or place.[2] Even where the artist is merely copying iconography, as in most Aviaries, there are nevertheless modifications which tend to result more from conscious choice than from unwitting changes or blunders. When a set of Aviary illustrations is compared with a known model or with the standard Aviary program, many of the pictures demonstrate beyond a doubt that the artist knowingly took liberties, garnishing the basic motifs with his own touches, adding or subtracting details, and changing decorative effects. Henry Martin in his study of preparatory sketches and written instructions for executing miniatures remarked on the artists' frequent divergence even from these models so specific to the new illustrations.[3]

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[1] See above, p. 31, n. 1.

[2] Alfred Foulet and Mary Blakely Speer, *On Editing Old French Texts* (Lawrence: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1979), 51.

In general the visual variants in Aviary manuscripts are relatively more numerous and freer than the textual ones. One reason is certainly because the authority of the picture was never as strong in the Middle Ages as the authority of the word.[1] And unless the painter copies mechanically, there is of necessity an element of creativity in his manipulation of line and color, whereas the copying of script has no component which affects the text in a comparable manner.

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[1] Hanns Swarzenski, "The Role of Copies in the Formation of the Styles of the Eleventh Century," in *Romanesque and Gothic Art. Studies in Western Art* (Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art I; Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1963), 7–18.

[2] The influence of time, place, and person on the results in medieval copying is discussed in more general terms by E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1960), 75–79, 150–52. It is surprising that Peter Springer, "Modelle und Muster, Vorlage und Kopie, Serien," in *Ornamenta ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler der Romanik* (exhib. cat., Cologne, Schnütgen Museum, 1985), 1:301–14, persists in seeing little individuality in medieval artists. For an anthropological approach to these questions, see Herbert L. Kessler, "On the State of Medieval Art History," *Art Bulletin* 70:2 (1988): 166–87, especially 182 f.

[3] Henry Martin, "Les esquisses des miniatures," *Revue archéologique* 4 ser. 4 (July–Dec., 1904): 26. Dorothy Miner, "More about Medieval Pouncing," in *Homage to a Bookman. Studies in Honor of H. P. Kraus* (New York, 1967), 105–6, describes a sketch and variant copy relationship in a late Roumanian manuscript. Other examples are noted by R. W. Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books* (Haarlem: De Erven F. Bohn, 1963; repr. University Microfilms), 14. The only preparatory sketches in Aviary manuscripts are the examples in the Aberdeen Bestiary/Aviary (see chap. 2 and catalogue no. 1). Martin assumed that it was always the shop master who made the sketches, but the artist could just as well have taken the new copy to the model and made the sketches or written notes for himself.

Varieties of Pictorial Copying in the Aviary

The known Aviary model-copy pairs are few and include only Aulne and Le Jardinet, Ter Duinen and Clairmarais, and Paris lat. 2495B and La Ferté. The copying is slavish in Le Jardinet, close but imaginative in Clairmarais, but in La Ferté, as noted in the previous chapter, there are several newly devised Aviary miniatures. A good example of the dynamic of pictorial variation in Aviary designs can be found in the relationship between the Clairmarais and Ter Duinen Aviaries. Both manuscripts were produced in Flanders, and both may have been decorated at St. Omer, although some ten or so years apart. Contents vary overall in these manuscripts, but the two are virtually identical in the Hugh of Fouilloy works they contain, and it is obvious that the Clairmarais copyists were at pains to maintain the model's integrity. In the Clairmarais miniatures Ter Duinen's designs, with their somewhat provincial, Romanesque formalities, are transformed by a lively, more sophisticated and more luxurious early Gothic manner. In the Clairmarais Cedar the stiff pose and patterned drapery of Ter Duinen are replaced by natural gestures and flowing, form-defining cloth (figs. 41, 45). In the *Shepherds and Sheep* miniature of Ter Duinen the figures are contained within the frame, while in Clairmarais their heads and feet overlap the frame and enliven the picture space (figs. 43, 49). Equivalent modifications occur in non-figural designs, and here the intentional changes become even more apparent. The prologue miniature of Ter Duinen has striped columns and starkly plain capitals, towers at the three juncture points of the arches, and for borders two slim lines of differing width (fig. 40). In the Clairmarais miniature the columns are plain, but the capitals are foliated, an entire city rests on the arches, and there are organic, voluted leaves in the single wide border (frontispiece). In Part 2 of the Aviary the Clairmarais painter provides the simple designs of Ter Duinen with patterned grounds, and as with the human figures, an increased naturalism (figs. 47a, b). The change is from art as symbol to art as narrative, a change in the way an artist thinks about form. Certain major alterations in Clairmarais—the striking increase of architectural ornament, the more active poses of the figures, the more elaborate borders—indicate that important conscious choices about design were being made by the copyist as he recreated the program of illustrations.

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[1] Michael Camille, "Seeing and Reading," describes the subservience of the picture to the oral tradition.

When two artists who are closely related in style, of equal talent, and apparently working in the same shop copy the same pictures, the changes can, of course, be extremely subtle. Such a case is illustrated by the Aberdeen and Ashmole Bestiaries, which were almost certainly copied from a common model, as discussed earlier, probably already incorporating the Aviary. The Ashmole artists executed a program of illustrations virtually identical with that of the Aberdeen Bestiary, which was made probably a few years earlier. Yet variations occur, especially in the Creation and bestiary miniatures: an extra tree or figure, a change in pose, different highlighting devices and different ground patterns.[1] Except for the style changes described in chapter 2, these variations result from the Ashmole painters putting their own touches to miniatures which are otherwise identical with those in Aberdeen.[2] In the other case of stylistically related copyists, the Harvard and Dubrowsky II Aviaries, the two artists, although working with the same group of painters or in the same shop, were probably not trained in the same tradition and are of unequal talent. Here pictorial variation is more frequent and somewhat more obvious than in the Aberdeen and Ashmole Bestiaries.

The Heiligenkreuz and Zwettl Aviaries were also probably copied from a common model. Their designs are virtually the same, but they were decorated by artists who not only are stylistically unrelated, but also of markedly different levels of skill (figs. 1a, b). The relationship between the two painters is a good example of Foulet's view that the least talented copyists make the most slavish copies, for those pictorial variations which occur in Zwettl, unlike the variations in the Ashmole Bestiary, can be assigned more to the painter's clumsiness than to his imagination. In the Heiligenkreuz Cedar there is a complete figure enthroned with arms outspread (fig. 7a), while in Zwettl the figure is seen from the waist up with arms in an *orant* position. The Zwettl illustration may be a conscious variant of the Heiligenkreuz one, but more than that it is an awkward version of the motif, in which an uncertain draughtsman may have wished to avoid the complexities of a seated figure by simply omitting the lower body. In reproducing frame shapes from his model, the Zwettl painter's shortcomings, and his misunderstanding of decorative form, are obvious in the carelessly drawn, scalloped frame for the Owl in place of the encircled quadrilobe which appears in Heiligenkreuz (figs. 11, 12). Overall, the Heiligenkreuz designs are by far the more interesting simply by virtue of their competent handling.

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[1] Examples are the differing varieties of animals in the "Adam naming" miniatures, Aberdeen fol. 5, Ashmole fol. 9; the capture of the Ape with a shoe included with the usual Ape iconography in Aberdeen, fol. 12v, but not in Ashmole, fol. 18v; the Cat climbing and leaping in Aberdeen, fol. 23v, and catching mice and birds in Ashmole, fol. 35v, all changes easily attributable to artistic license rather than to a second model.

[2] An example of very close copying in English bestiaries can be found in the unusual early 16th-century bestiary picture books Oxford, Bodleian MS. Ashmole 1504 and its twin, the Helmingham Bestiary now in the Mellon Collection in Virginia. Here the same artist is responsible for the miniatures in both manuscripts.

Non-direct transmission of the visual program does not produce the interesting and informative relationships which result from direct transmission, but here the richness of the dialogue between what is known of the original Aviary designs and the imagination and stylistic inclination of artists is particularly evident. Moreover, what were surely conscious changes far outweigh errors or misunderstandings of the usual Aviary program. The prologue miniature in a number of main-line Aviaries demonstrates the process of change. The basic motif of Dove and Hawk, each under an arch (fig. 1c), is almost always recognizable as the foundation of the design, although the original probably also had pictures of Hugh and Rainier as in Heiligenkreuz, Zwettl, and Lyell (figs. 1a, b, d). Paris 2495B includes Hugh, but not Rainier; Ter Duinen and Clairmarais show the birds under arches with the Prologue 1 text between the supporting piers (fig. 40 and frontispiece); the Lorvão Aviary houses the two birds under Mozarabic horseshoe arches; the late thirteenth-century Dyson Perrins Aviary shows the birds as though in a church (fig. 57a). The Cedar, already a stylized tree, is seen in all manner of botanical and artistic transformations. Taking the Heiligenkreuz Cedar as a standard (fig. 7a), the variations range from a tree with vine-like branches forming the oval and without texts in the Ter Duinen and Clairmarais manuscripts (figs. 41, 45); to the spiky borderless, textless form of Paris lat. 2495 (fig. 21); a tree with two sparrow roundels but no human figure in the Cambrai Aviary (fig. 20b); to the total breakdown of the tree motif but not the design in the Aberdeen Bestiary (fig. 7b). Except for the Aberdeen-type Cedar, these variations do not differ so much in kind as they do in degree.They are the product of individual taste and style, and again of predominantly conscious choices in manipulating the basic motif.[1]

Drawing upon a large number of main-line Aviaries, the following descriptive table demonstrates for a few of the illustrations the variety which artists achieved while "copying" Aviary designs. The variations are described in brackets and do not include color, which regularly varies so much in medieval copies that it was not considered to be a useful element in this study.

Prologue miniature: Dove and Hawk [wings folded / wings held up] stand [on a perch / on a drawn line] under [rounded / pointed / horseshoe] arches [with and without] other decoration above [the prologue text / a figure of the author / figures of author and Rainier].

Cedar: Tree trunk [tall / short / spikey / smooth] surmounted by an oval area [of leaves / "quilting" / solid color] [with / without] borders [with / without] text, inhabited by a human figure [a man / a king / a woman] and sparrows [birds / birds in nests / nests] set in various positions [spaced evenly / spaced unevenly / in groups of three top and bottom].

Pelican: Large bird with [curving / twisting] neck, pecking breast, its chicks [below / below and to one side / to one side; in nest / no nest] who are [receiving / about to receive] a flow of blood from the parent's breast.

Hawk in diagram: Large bird [with / without] curved beak facing [frontally / in profile / in three-quarter view] with wings [folded / raised] and feet [with / without] talons.

Swallow: Small bird [thin / fat] with forked tail [long / short].

Hoopoe: Small bird with [short / medium length] legs, bill [short / long] and [tall / short / fuzzy / scalloped / rectangular] crest set [on top of / at back of / all along] the bird's head, and a [short / long] tail.

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[1] Model-copy relationships similar to those in the Aviary are also found in bestiaries, although the texts and pictorial programs in bestiaries tend to be more fluid, gathering new material with almost every new copy. One of the puzzles of bestiaries is the cross-fertilization, both textual and pictorial, which takes place within a single version, a situation now under study.

Like the artists, the Aviary scribes usually did not hesitate to individualize their copies in subtle ways. The relationship of the Aviary text copy to the model can vary, but rarely is the copying slavish. There are, of course, the errors to be expected with hand copying of text, and which have their occasional counterparts in the illustrations: the Hawk upside-down in its diagram in the Heiligenkreuz Aviary, for example. More interesting are those instances when it is certain or probable that a scribe (or person dictating) knowingly varied individual words, phrases, or word order without actually corrupting the text.

The Heiligenkreuz and Zwettl Aviaries demonstrate the kinds of changes which are typical of Aviary scribes. Assuming that Heiligenkreuz best represents the model, the Zwettl scribe has a tendency to "decorate" by substituting synonyms, less frequently homonyms, and even the occasional word or phrase with a variation in meaning. He changes Heiligenkreuz's *in aeterna felicitate gloriantur* to *in aeterna felicitate laetantur* (p. 150, l. 9), and more substantively, *intelligentia* to *vigilantia* as a characteristic of the Cock (p. 180, l. 28). The most frequent changes are in word order, sometimes probably through erroneous recollection of a phrase, but also consciously to achieve a different emphasis, or even, it would seem, merely for the sake of variation. An example of the latter is Heiligenkreuz's *Haec volucres in cedris ut rapiant latent* altered in Zwettl to *Haec volucres ut rapiant in cedris latent* (p. 160, l. 3). In copies which are less closely related in text, for instance across the groups described in chapter 2, the difference is more of quantity than quality, as the variants given with the Edition indicate. The Vulture chapter provides good examples of typical textual alterations made by Aviary scribes within the main tradition. The following is a selection of word choices, given in brackets, from ten manuscripts representing all groups. These variations should be compared with the above table of visual variants, and with pictorial variations on the prologue and Cedar motifs in figs. 1a–f and 7a–f.

> Quis hoc loco avis nomine nisi ille signatur qui corpus carneum quod assumpsit ascendendo ad aethera libravit? Qui apte [etiam / quoque etiam / quoque] vulturis appellatione exprimitur. Vultur quippe dum volat si iacens cadaver conspicit ad esum se cadaveris deponit, et plerumque sic in morte capitur dum ad mortuum animal de summis venit. "Recte ergo Mediator Dei et hominum Redemptor noster vulturis [significatione appellatur / signatur / appellatione signatur], qui manens in altitudine divinitatis suae, quasi quodam volatu sublimi,

cadaver mortalitatis nostrae conspexit in infimis, et sese de caelestibus [ad ima / om. ad ima] summisit. Fieri [quippe / quoque] propter nos homo dignatus est; et dum mortuum animal periit, mortem apud nos [qui / quia] apud se erat immortalis invenit."

"Sed huius vulturis [oculus / om. oculus] fuit ipsa intentio nostrae [resurrectionis / moralitatis], quia ipse a triduum mortuus ab aeterna nos morte liberavit. Ille enim perfidus Iudeae populus mortalem vidit, sed quod morte sua mortem nostram destrueret attendit minime." Conspexit quidem vulturem, sed oculos vulturis non [aspexit / attendit]. Qui dum humilitatis eius vias, quibus nos ad alta [sublevat / sublevavit / sublevant], considerare noluit semitam ignoravit avis. Neque enim pensare studuit quod eius nos humilitas levaret ad caelestia, et mortis eius intentio reformaret ad vitam. "*Semitam igitur ignoravit avis, nec intuitus est oculos vulturis*, quia etsi vidit eum quem in morte tenuit, videre noluit quanta vitae nostrae gloria de eius morte sequeretur. Unde ad crudelitatem quoque persecutionis exarsit, verba vitae percipere [renuit / om. renuit]. Praedicatores Regni Caelorum prohibendo, saeviendo, feriendo reppullit." Qui scilicet repulsi, Iudeam ad quam missi fuerant deserentes in Gentilitatis collectione dispersi sunt.

Sed [+ et] natura vulturis talis esse dicitur, ut per vulturem quisque [peccator / om. peccator] intelligi videatur. Vultur sequidem exercitum, sequitur ut mortuorum cadaveribus satietur, quia peccator [perversos / pravos] homines qui sunt in exercitu Diaboli sequitur, ut pravos eorum mores imitetur. Mortuorum cadaveribus [vescitur / pascitur], quia carnalibus desideriis quae mortem generant delectatur.

[Vultur etiam / om. Vultur etiam] pedibus libenter graditur, unde et a quibusdam gradipes appellatur, quia terrena peccator amat, et terrenis inhiat. Quando etiam vultur in altum volat, quia peccator ad caelestia mentem quandoque levat, [si / sed] qua intentione hoc faciat alter ignorat. Quis enim intuetur oculos vulturis, id est, intentionem cogitationis? Hoc enim Omnipotens Sibi reliquit, quod cogitationes hominum solus novit. Nota [etiam / om. etiam] quod vultur, ut ait Isidorus, a volatu tardo nominetur. Tarde enim cum volare ceperit a terra recedit, quia peccator aut [vix / vir] aut nunquam terrena desideria derelinquit.

Modest changes such as these are of course familiar to all editors

of medieval texts, but their counterparts in the illustrations of a given text have not heretofore been studied. An investigation of these parallels reveals, at least in the case of the Aviary, a good bit about the way medieval copyists viewed their task. A cursory look at several other traditions suggested that the kind of artistic and scribal license evident in Aviary copying is common. One likely source of this liberal approach to copying in the Middle Ages is the medieval system of primary education in which rhetoric, with its mosaic of forms designed to achieve persuasive elegance and variety of expression, was a principal feature. Quintilian, one of the most popular classical sources of educational theory for medieval Europe, urged the following for children's first lessons in composition:

> [The] pupils should learn to paraphrase Aesop's fables . . . in simple and restrained language and subsequently to set down this paraphrase in writing with the same simplicity of style: they should begin by analysing each verse, then give its meaning in different language (*mutatis verbis*), and finally proceed to a freer paraphrase in which they will be permitted now to abridge and now to embellish the original, so far as this may be done without losing the poet's meaning.[1]

Children were thus instructed from the beginning in the art of varying the texts they read. In the more advanced curriculum, among the many rhetorical forms which students learned were the *figurae*, special uses of words to ornament speech and written composition. In his chapter on *figurae* in the *Etymologies* Isidore states that "since straightforward and uninterrupted speech produces weariness and boredom, as much for the speaker as for the audience, you must change it and direct it to other patterns."[2] Athough these statements are not about the copying of texts, but rather about speaking and composition, such ideas foster an inventive approach to communication which surely became an integral part of every lettered person's attitude toward the written word.

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[1] Marcus Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 1.9.2 (The Loeb Classical Library, Quintilian vol. 1; Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958), 157. For discussions of Aesop fables in the school curriculum, see Pierre Riché, *Les écoles et l'enseignement dans l'occident chrétien de la fin du V^e^ siècle au milieu du XI^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1979), 228; and Klaus Grubmüller, *Meister Esopus. Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Funktion der Fabel im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1977), 87-97.

[2] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies, Book II, Rhetoric*, ed. and trans. Peter K. Marshall (Paris: Société d'Editions "Les Belles Lettres," 1983), 21.1, pp. 74-75.

Nevertheless, the word also carried the weight of authority in the Middle Ages, and such scribal freedom was not always appropriate. An early objection to the liberties taken by medieval scribes occurs in a verse which Alcuin appended to a set of his poems. In this case the texts to be copied are sacred ones, requiring particular fidelity to the model, and it is interesting that Alcuin nevertheless anticipates a certain display of freedom on the part of the scribes:

> May those seated here writing the texts of Holy Law
> And the sacred writings of the holy Fathers
> Avoid inserting their own trifles into these words
> Lest the hand err because of these follies. . . .[1]

Alcuin's use of the word "trifles" (*frivola*) suggests just the sort of modest "ornamentation" of the text which so often appears in Aviary copies. In the late Middle Ages there seem to have been serious efforts to curtail this individualism, and for good reason. A late fifteenth-century treatise on scribal practice by John of Trittenheim (Johannes Trithemius) urged scribes to check their copies carefully against the original.[2] The author knew they were competing with the exact copies produced by that formidable new technology, printing, and that the old, liberal approach to textual reproduction was no longer appropriate if the handmade book was to compete with the one made by machine.[3]

No such instructions or statements of caution to artists-copyists in the Middle Ages have come to light to confirm a similarly liberal view of copying on their part. Certainly, however, many artists received at least a grammar school education in which the precepts of Quintilian would have been applied, and through which they too would have learned the art of variation. John of Trittenheim might have done well to address a caution also to manuscript illuminators, for with the advent of printing, the illustration of books by fine, individualized hands went out of fashion in favor of comparatively clumsy wood-block designs which not only ensured speed of production, but also exact reproduction of pictures. The blocks were sometimes even passed around from printer to printer as cheap, standardized production of illustrations became the goal.

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[1] W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, 4th ed. (Leipzig, 1896; repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1958), 432: *Hic sedeant sacrae scribentes famina legis, / Nec non sanctorum dicta sacrata patrum. / His interserere caveant sua frivola verbis, / Frivola ne propter erret et ipsa manus.*.

[2] Johannes Trithemius, *In Praise of Scribes*, ed. Klaus Arnold, trans. Roland Behrendt (Lawrence, KA: Coronado Press, 1974), 68–69.

[3] The struggle between the conservative advocates of manuscript books and those who preferred the new, cheaper, and more efficient technology of printing is described vividly by Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1979). Curt F. Bühler describes the practice of late medieval scribes copying from printed books, *The Fifteenth-Century Book* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1960), 34–39. The variety of choices in the compilation copying of Chaucer, noted by A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes, "The Production of Copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio Amantis* in the Early Fifteenth Century," in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries. Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. M. B. Parkes and A. G. Watson (London: Scolar Press, 1978), 163–210, appears to respond to the requests of patrons, but it is a matter of whole passages, not just words or phrases.

Other Reasons for Variation in the Aviary Copy

So far the variety seen in medieval manuscripts has been attributed to the creativity of the medieval copyist as well as to error. There are many other reasons, of course, for variables in the relationship between a copy and its model: differences of purpose, patron, place of production, period of production, funds and effort expended, quality of materials available, skill of the workers, and so on. It would be impossible and also unproductive to describe them all as they apply to the Aviary, but a few examples will illustrate some of the issues.

The effects of an artist's skill on design transmission were demonstrated above in the Zwettl Aviary. Patronage may have occasioned the line drawings in the Aviaries for Cistercian houses such as Heiligenkreuz, Aulne, Clairvaux, Alcobaça, and others. More important in affecting the Aviary tradition is a copy's distance from the Aviary's homeland. Often, and as might be expected, the greater that distance is, the more changes occur in the text, designs, and painting style. In England, where the bestiary was a popular genre by the time an Aviary appeared there, the new work was altered by being integrated into the established animal-moral text and pictures. In one of the Italian copies, the Cremona Aviary, the model was probably French and fairly standard, yet there are many variants in both text and illustrations. Since the Cremona patron was probably an Augustinian house, and the date early in the thirteenth century, only a very different taste in style and design in a distant region is left to explain why the copyists chose to make so many changes. The German copies of the Aviary are also distinctive, with their truncated text, reordering of chapters, and exclusion of all illustrations except the diagrams. So far, however, it is not possible to say if these variants originated with the German manuscripts or with another copy, even a French one, in their St. Martin Group.

In the Portuguese copies of the Aviary, however, distance modified only the painting style (figs. 7c, 16, 18a,b); the text and illustration designs follow the tradition closely. The reason is undoubtedly that the model, whether at Santa Cruz or Alcobaça, must have been a French manuscript in the mainstream and given considerable authority through its owner, for Alcobaça was a royal abbey and Santa Cruz the first Augustinian house in Portugal.

A similarly authoritative model may be responsible for the regularity of the Lyell Aviary, an Italian manuscript which is faithful in both text and illustrations to a model close to the Heiligenkreuz Aviary (cf. figs. 25 and 7a). The most pronounced design change is in the prologue miniature and consists only of an elaboration of the arches above Hugh and Rainier (cf. figs. 1d and 1a). Time and distance, however, produced obvious changes in painting style. If, as suggested in chapter 2, there was an Aviary *exemplar* made at or sponsored by the mother house of Morimond which served as model for manuscripts for her daughters Heiligenkreuz and Zwettl, as well as for another daughter, Morimondo, a similarly commanding model could have required the allegiance of the Heiligenkreuz, Zwettl and Lyell copyists, even though they worked a hundred years apart.

Large time differences mean pronounced changes in the painting style of the illustrations. In the fourteenth-century Douce and University College Bestiaries, separated by a century or more from their forebears, the illustrations are simplified versions of designs like those in the Aberdeen and Ashmole Bestiaries (compare figs. 63 and 7b), but in each a careful analysis reveals the intrusion of several miniatures from other sources. In addition, there are numerous differences in design details in both Aviary and bestiary illustrations. It may have been a patron's choice which put a nun at the center of the Cedar in University College (fig. 63) in place of the elegant woman in both Aberdeen and Ashmole.

Where an Aviary is accompanied by a bestiary, the copyist often substituted one or more anecdotal bestiary scenes for an Aviary one, as noted earlier, but complete or large-scale substitution of new pictures seldom occured in any Aviary. In two of the four manuscripts where there is total pictorial change, the reason may have been the model's inaccessibility to the artist (Bodley 602 and Caius Aviaries).

To summarize pictorial copying in the Aviary tradition, good painters, like Foulet's good scribes, bring an active imagination to their copies even when executing faithful copies of their models. The changes are fairly predictable. They can take the form of slight variations by related painters, as in Aberdeen and Ashmole, or more obvious changes affected by regional or period style differences, as in Ter Duinen and Clairmarais. They tend to increase in both number and substance with increased differences of time and place between the copy and its model, yet an authoritative model can diminish some of those differences. Evidence for other traditions is presently slim, but these findings have counterparts at least in the differences between groups of painters decorating Bibles in mid-thirteenth century Paris;[1] further research will probably show parallels elsewhere. More significantly, the often intentional nature of the pictorial modifications in Aviary copies is similar to that of textual changes made by the scribes, although the degree of pictorial changes in a given copy usually surpasses that of scribal ones.

The fidelity in the Aviary tradition can almost surely be attributed to the work's predominantly monastic patronage and to its circumscribed audience. The monastic world by and large did not like change. Because of the Aviary's conservative tradition, the findings for the manuscript reproduction of this work may constitute a paradigm with limited application. Still, an overview of the Aviary is instructive, for it seems to reveal the most basic views of medieval copyists. By contrast, the conditions of bestiary copying are far more complex. Even within the tradition of a single version there are many textual and visual variants, and among versions much cross-fertilization, suggesting more liberal patronage and more varied use.

Copying Techniques Seen in Aviaries

The medieval copyist's apparent need for variety is superficially at odds with a method of picture reproduction implied in several Aviaries where designs or parts of designs are punched for an essentially mechanical transfer from model to copy. By this method, the outlines and sometimes the details of images are punched with a fine-pointed instrument. A sheet of parchment was almost certainly placed below a miniature to receive the design as a series of tiny holes. This sheet could then be used to retransfer the design to another book by "pouncing," that is, by daubing its holes with a bag filled with dark powder.[1] The practicality of the intermediary step is obvious. First of all it would prevent the discoloration that pouncing directly on the model design would create. In addition, it would be difficult if not impossible to punch directly from the design in a bound book—and most models were probably completed, bound manuscripts—to exactly the right spot on a new leaf, even if the latter were unbound. A second sheet would not only facilitate punch-transfer at any time, but also, if desired, in multiple copies.

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[1] See Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris*, which is organized by paintshops and groups of painters.

In most cases of punched miniatures there is no way of knowing for certain when in the life of the manuscript the punching was done. It is possible that the Harvard Aviary-Bestiary, with its numerous punched miniatures, was in fact left unbound for many years as a copyist's model book. On the other hand, it will be shown below that some miniatures in the Aberdeen Bestiary appear to have been punched before it was bound and others afterwards. In most manuscripts where punching appears, it occurs only in one or two designs, often letter shapes or a single figure in a miniature, as though specific circumstances required only certain elements of a design, for instance in a heraldic device. The incidence in general of punched miniatures in medieval manuscripts is very low. This fact and the seemingly random choice of designs that were punched suggest that the use of punch-transfer was never systematic or even very popular. Furthermore, it is by no means certain even that the device was employed to copy from one manuscript to another; known copies from punched miniatures are extremely rare.

Perhaps the most compelling reason for the relative scarcity of punched designs is the destructive effect of even tiny punch holes; when direct transfer was sought, some form of tracing would have been preferable.[1] Thus it is all the more interesting that punched miniatures are more frequent in Aviary and bestiary manuscripts than in any others. Moreover, in several animal-moral manuscripts, notably the Harvard Aviary-Bestiary and the Aberdeen Bestiary (and the Second Family bestiary Brit. Lib. MS. Add. 11283), not just a few, but many designs are punched for copying. The frequent use of a damaging transfer technique in animal books may reflect a casual regard for their semi-popular texts, but more likely the inherently decorative character of their designs, suited to a variety of contexts and media.[2] So far no verifiable examples of designs based directly on punched miniatures in Aviary and bestiary manuscripts have come to light. Perhaps the reason is that media differences mask the relationships, or that the customary inventiveness of the medieval copyists in finishing the new designs has obliterated the evidence. As to when in the history of a manuscript the punches were made, if the need for punch-transfer was only sporadic and to suit a variety of purposes, punching might have occurred at most any time, as the need arose.[3]

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[1] Lehmann-Haupt, *An English 13th Century Bestiary*, 37, 40, notes the relationship between the punch-pouncing method and the procedures used by Renaissance fresco painters as well as artists of the ancient world. The pioneering studies of punching-for-transfer in manuscripts are Lehmann-Haupt, 35–41, and Dorothy Miner, "More about Medieval Pouncing," 87–107; on various design transfer methods, see James Douglas Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation* (Fort Lauderdale: Nova/NYIT Univ. Press, 1976), 61–74, and "The Manuscript as a Book," in *Pen to Press: Illustrated Manuscripts and Printed Books in the First Century of Printing* (exhib. cat. Baltimore, 1977), 11–99; and R. W. Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books.*

One of the most famous and extensive instances of punched miniatures is in the Harvard Aviary-Bestiary model book, in which forty-two of the sixty-seven miniatures are punched (see catalogue no. 10), often in only the bird or animal, and always with a very fine point.[1] More Aviary than bestiary pictures are punched, perhaps because the Aviary was the less familiar work. The randomness of punched miniatures, however, appears to confirm a variety of reasons for punching. If punch transfer were used in a model book for a complete work, one might expect every design to be punched. The punches in this case could represent, for example, transfers to manuscripts of other texts, for which the simple bird designs were more useful than the animal ones. There may also be several indications of tracing from the Aviary part of the Harvard manuscript. One is the many smudged miniatures; another is the fairly large center hole in miniatures with round borders, where a compass point was inserted after the designs had been painted. Although some of the borders are also punched, and a newly pounced design could be given its round border by means of the border holes, if the whole design were traced the circle might be somewhat uneven and the copyist doing the tracing could make a neater job with a compass.

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[1] Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation*, 61–69, describes tracing methods, with specific examples.

[2] McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries*, 75, n. 17, was the first to remark on punches in bestiaries other than the Harvard manuscript. Compare the many birds and animals used as decorative motifs in the famous early 13th-century Reuner Musterbuch (Vienna OeNB Cod. 507; Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books* no. 9), along with several bestiary illustrations there. It is pertinent that punches occur on the fox and bird designs, but no others, in a 13th-cent. Byzantine Gospels, Leningrad, Gos. Publ. Bibl. MS. Gr. 105, fols. 8, 8v: Inna P. Mokretsova, "Priem Priporokha i Srednevekovikh Miniatiuristov," *Khudozhestvennoe nasledie. Khranenie, issledovanne, restavratsija* 4:34 (Moscow, 1978), 222–26, who showed me these punches. Non-bestiary animal motifs became increasingly popular in the later Middle Ages, but these later animal designs are often studies from nature, as in the model books and pattern sheets which Scheller discusses, nos. 16, 18, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 31.

[3] To explain both the apparent lack of identifiable copies and the frequent selectivity of the punching, Dorothy Miner, "More about Medieval Pouncing," 96–103, has already suggested that in many cases the punching occurred some time after the manuscript was made and was used to transfer a design, or part of one, to another manuscript not necessarily of the same text.

In the Aberdeen Bestiary seventeen of the eighty-eight remaining miniatures are punched, in this case mostly among the animal illustrations (see catalogue no. 1).[2] Two leaves containing punched designs, the Creation of Eve (fol. 3r) and the Phoenix (fol. 56r), are blank on the verso. Fol. 4r after the Eve is also blank, while the verso of the Phoenix leaf and recto of the next leaf are glued together, providing an undamaged new verso for fol. 56. It is therefore likely that fols. 4v and 5r were also to have been glued together to achieve the same end. This implies that the punches were made on these two miniatures shortly after they were painted but before the text copying proceded, although the reason for the punching at this point in the production is not evident. The lavish use of parchment to achieve new versos did not extend, however, to other punched leaves, on which the damage is not mitigated in any way. The explanation for the changed policy lies probably not in economy, but in the fact that punching could have occurred at various times in the life of the manuscript, before and after it was completed and bound. None of the other three manuscripts with iconography like that of Aberdeen show evidence of any transfers from Aberdeen, nor do the designs in any other known manuscript.

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[1] See catalogue no. 10. In one case, the Goose fol. 7, it is difficult to say which are the punches for the Goose, which for the miniature on the other side of the leaf, or even for another design.

[2] A related and well-known bestiary in which punchings have gone undetected is Cambridge University Library MS. Ii.4.26, where the three Lion scenes, fol. 1v, are punched. In addition to the Aviary manuscripts to be discussed, extensive punching occurs in two Second Family bestiaries without Aviary, British Library MSS. Add. 11283, and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus. MS. 379. One or two punched miniatures occur in another Second Family bestiary, British Library MS. 12.F.xiii; in the Third Family Fitzwilliam Mus. MS. 254; and in the Klagenfurt Landesmus. MS. VI.19 (Millstatt *Physiologus*).

Two minor examples of punching are found in other Aviary manuscripts: the birds in two miniatures in the Gloucester Aviary, and the bird in the one remaining miniature of the Foucarmont Aviary.

The Harvard model book of illustrations raises still another issue in Aviary production.[1] The model book is contained in two quires which codicological evidence shows to have originally been independent of the text. For its part, the text has been corrected by a second hand, and could have served, like the model book, as an *exemplar* for scribes working with the professional illuminators in Paris who did the model book paintings. That the model book was a useful tool for copyists is attested by the considerable damage to the majority of miniatures, either by punching or from the rubbing probably caused by laying tracing material over a miniature. Professional painters would profit from any device which could increase the speed of production, and punch-transfer may have been such a device. The division of the Harvard manuscript into two parts, however, could have provided even more saving of time. Working from the text model as a separate booklet, the scribe could write the first quire, drawing the geometries for the diagrams and leaving spaces for the miniatures, and then hand the new quire immediately to the artist, who could fill in the illustrations using the model book pictures, while the scribe continued with the next quire of text. This would enable the two to work side by side, one quire apart, and the manuscript would be finished in about half the time of a book first completely written and then illustrated from a single illustrated model.[1] There is no reason to suppose that other model books were used similarly, nor do any other known model books or pattern sheets appear suited to such a use.[2] Moreover, work done in this manner would necessitate more of a "team" effort than recent proposals about Parisian manuscript production of the 1240s would allow.[3] In this case, however, such team production might explain how it was that separate text and picture sections of the Aviary might have remained together so that the two could eventually be bound as one volume.[4]

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[1] The fundamental work on model books is Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books*. See also J. D. A. Ross, "A Late Twelfth-Century Artist's Pattern Sheet," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 25 (1962): 70–71, 78–86; Ives and Lehmann-Haupt, *An English 13th Century Bestiary*, and the review by Miner, *Art Bulletin* 25 (1943): 88–89. Scheller, 18, states that model books typically provide the copyist with a choice of pictures, but in the Harvard Aviary-Bestiary, each Aviary illustration is present and it must be assumed that the intention was that the copyist reproduce them all.

Clearly, this chapter raises more questions than it answers. Yet the data about manuscript production which the Aviary presents suggest new ways in which these matters can be viewed, and thus serve as a guide to the expansion and enrichment of future studies.

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[1] Clark, "The Aviary-Bestiary," where the proposed practice is compared with the use of *peciae* in the copying of university Bibles in 13th-century Paris.

[2] For descriptions of most other model books or pattern sheets (exclusive of architectural drawings), Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books.* Scheller himself, 15, states that "medieval and later sources verifying the existence and use of pattern-books are extremely scarce." Moreover, extant examples of model books are also scarce, of greatly varying character, and from a variety of contexts. The evidence does not warrant the frequent assumption that model books were used often by medieval artists. See Michael Cothren's recent caution about postulating model books for stained glass, "The Choir Windows of Agnières (Somme) and a Regional Style of Gothic Glass Painting," *Journal of Glass Studies* 28 (1986): 52, n. 23.

[3] Branner, 10, discusses the "dissociation of the different steps in bookmaking"; see also J. J. G. Alexander, "Scribes as Artists: The Arabesque Initial in Twelfth-Century English Manuscripts," in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries*, 90. Conversely, Karen Gould, "Terms for Book Production in a Fifteenth-Century Latin-English Nominale (Harvard Law School Library MS. 43)," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 79 (1985): 75–99, points out, 92, that even in the 15th century specialization was not rigid and that artisans had to cooperate in given circumstances.

[4] For a recent study of various problems of manuscript reproduction see Alison Stones, "The Medieval Alexander Legend and Romance Epic," in *Essays in Honour of David J. A. Ross*, ed. P. Noble, L. Polak, C. Isoz (Millwood, London, Nendeln: Kraus Int'l Publications, 1986), 193–241, especially 195.

Summary and Conclusions

Hugh of Fouilloy's treatise on birds was written to teach simple and basic lessons of Christian life to lay-brothers, most of them uneducated men who had come to the monastic life as adults. It is a text for which the author intended illustrations, so that, as he states in the first prologue, the brother who could not comprehend the teaching through words alone might do so through reference to a picture. Hugh might have added that the pictures would also serve as aids to remembering the lessons. The Aviary achieved considerable popularity within its cultural sphere, the many surviving manuscripts attesting to a wide geographic distribution. The quality of these manuscripts varies considerably, however, from the luxury editions of the Aberdeen, Ashmole, and Clairmarais Aviaries to the amateurish, probably monastic productions in the Aulne and Bordeaux Aviaries. Most copies are somewhere in the middle, decorated in a provincial or routine style, in keeping with the unpretentious audience to which the text was directed. It is not clear for what purpose or audience the few luxury copies were made; one suspects that these were not simply teaching books but presentation copies, perhaps for a much revered teacher, for a lay-brother of the upper classes, such as Rainier the Kind-hearted, or in the case of the English luxury copies, perhaps for lay patrons. The Aviary is nevertheless a monastic text, and all indications of early provenance in the illustrated copies are monastic, the leading patrons being the Cistercians, followed by the Benedictines, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Victorines. Among non-illustrated copies, the main patrons are Cistercians, Benedictines, Augustinians, and Dominicans.

The transmission of both text and picture in the surviving illustrated copies of the Aviary is surprisingly faithful. The text and picture variants are modest, except when the Aviary is integrated into the bestiary in England, or when chapters are reordered or omitted, as in the St. Martin Group and several ungrouped copies.

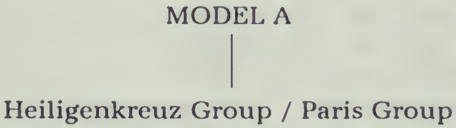
The illustrated Aviaries are best grouped in accordance with text variants, with confirming evidence in iconography, for style relationships among them are few. The largest manuscript group, with thirteen copies, is the one centered upon the Heiligenkreuz Aviary, the copy which appears to be closest in both picture and text to a reconstruction of Hugh's original. This group includes manuscripts of widespread French production, as well as Italian and Portuguese, many with an early Cistercian provenance. In the Paris Group, a subgroup of the Heiligenkreuz Group, there are nine manuscripts, five, perhaps six of which are of certain Parisian production; one is English. The Ter Duinen Group, which is north French and Flemish, contains nine manuscripts, and the English Aberdeen Group seven. While the Ter Duinen Group is regular in both text and iconography, the Aberdeen Group consists of bestiaries incorporating the Aviary, with some loss of Aviary text and pictures. The eleven manuscripts of the Saint Martin Group all have reordered chapters, and some have truncated texts; most are illustrated by diagrams alone. Six Aviaries, including the two vernacular versions, could not be fitted into any of the groups because of their independent textual and visual variants.

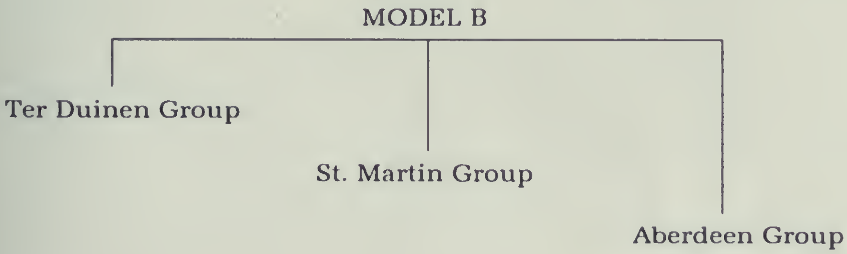
For Hugh of Fouilloy's treatise on birds there remain a number of open questions. Among these is the matter of provenance in some of the most interesting and important copies, such as Paris lat. 2495B and the English bestiaries with the Aviary; and for a number of Aviaries, determining the place of production continues to be a challenging problem. More work is needed to define certain matters of style, especially the relationships between the superb art of the Aberdeen and Ashmole Bestiaries and other high-style English and Continental painting of the early thirteenth century. There must be more study of the relationships between text and picture transmission as seen in the Aviary and in the traditions of other illustrated texts. Much also remains to be learned about the production techniques suggested by various Aviary manuscripts, particularly punching for transfer. The aim here has been to review what is known of Aviary manuscripts and the Aviary tradition; broader conclusions are for the future.

Remaining questions aside, anyone reading the Aviary text and looking at the illustrations from one or another of the manuscripts will find delightful reminders that medieval monasticism had its less serious, even lighthearted side, and that among the weighty tomes of patristic and theological writings, and of edifying saints' lives, there was a modest spiritual work written with a humanistic understanding of the needs of "simple folk." For readers and scholars of today, the Aviary has a warmth and charm which are difficult to surpass in all the sacred literature of the Middle Ages.

The Aviary Tradition

The Aviaries in the five principal groups defined in chapter 2 appear to descend from two closely related models, both with the full program of illustrations, and both now apparently lost. To judge from their descendants, the models must have been anthologies of Hugh of Fouilloy's writings and differentiated more by their illustrations than by their texts. The Aviary of Model A was either the original or the closer to it. The Model B Aviary may have been copied from the original, but with modest simplifications in the illustrations. In extant anthologies with an Aviary descending from model A the choice among Hugh's six major works varies almost from copy to copy, which suggests that the Model A manuscript included all of Hugh's principal writings. The Model B manuscript probably included the four works which appear in the Ter Duinen and Clairmarais manuscripts.





Editorial Sigla

The following editorial conventions are used:

( )	enclose biblical references in the translation
[ ]	enclose text from the Aviary manuscripts surveyed for variants where there are errors or omissions in Heiligenkreuz, and text in one instance from Migne, *PL*
< >	enclose text added by the editor/translator to provide greater clarity.

The Douay Bible, a translation of the Latin Vulgate version, has been used for the translation of biblical quotations which accord with the Vulgate. Chapter numbers added by the editor.

Manuscripts

A	Aberdeen, Univ. Lib. MS. 24
B	Bruges, Episc. Sem. MS. 89/54
Br	Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS. 18421
H	Heiligenkreuz Abbey MS. 226
L	Lisbon, Arq. Nac. Torre do Tombo MS. 90
P	Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 2495B
T	Troyes, Bibl. Mun. MS. 177

Hugo de Folieto
Aviarium

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

<Prologus I>
Incipit prologus primi libri

Desiderii[1] tui, carissime, petitionibus satisfacere cupiens, columbam[2] cuius pennae sunt[3] deargentatae et posteriora dorsi eius in pallore auri pingere et per picturam simplicium mentes aedificare decrevi, ut quod simplicium animus intellegibili oculo[4] capere vix[5] poterat, saltem carnali discernat; et quod vix[6] poterat auditus percipiat visus. Nec tantum volui columbam formando pingere sed etiam dictando describere, ut per scripturam demonstrem picturam; velut[7] cui non placuerit simplicitas picturae, placeat saltem moralitas scripturae. Tibi ergo cui datae sunt pennae columbae, qui elongasti fugiens ut in solitudine maneres et requiesceres, qui non requiris dilationem in voce corvina, "cras, cras," sed contritionem ingemitu columbino, tibi inquam, non tantum ad praesens columbam, sed etiam accipitrem pingam.

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[1] *om* Desiderii . . . cupiens A
[2] columbam : columbae LT
[3] *om* sunt P
[4] oculo : animo P (*corrected*)
[5] vix : non Br
[6] vix : non Br
[7] velut : vel P

<Prologue 1>
Here Begins the Prologue of Book One

(illustrations: frontispiece, fig. 1a–f, 24, 40, 57c)

Desiring to fulfill your wishes, dearest friend, I decided to paint the dove whose wings are *silvered and the hinderparts of the back in pale gold* (Ps. 67:14), and by a picture to instruct the minds of simple folk, so that what the intellect of the simple folk could scarcely comprehend with the mind's eye, it might at least discern with the physical eye; and what their hearing could scarcely perceive, their sight might do so.[1] I wished not only to paint the dove physically, but also to outline it verbally, so that by the text I may represent a picture; for instance, whom the simplicity of the picture would not please, at least the moral teaching of the text might do so. Therefore, for you to whom the dove's feathers are given, who fled the world in order that you might stay and rest in solitude, who do not seek delay with a raven's cry, *cras*, *cras*,[2] but repentance with a dove's sigh, for you I say, I shall now paint not only the dove, but also the hawk.[3]

Texts in the diagrams and in the *tituli* which accompany miniatures appear in Appendix 2.

Where motifs relating to the birds are not biblical, their textual traditions in Hugh's sources are given either by reference to the appropriate section of Nikolaus Henkel's *Studien zum Physiologus im Mittelalter*, and to footnotes in Jacques André's edition of Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*; or in summaries by the editor.

[1] Compare the statement in the prologue to Richard of Fournival's *Bestiaire d'amour* (mid-13th cent.), that "Memory has two doors: Sight and Hearing. And to each of these doors a pathway leads, namely Depiction and Description. Depiction serves the eye and Description serves the ear."; trans. Jeannette Beer, *Master Richard's Bestiary of Love and Response* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: Univ. of California Press, 1986), 1.

[2] The pun on the Latin word *cras* ("tomorrow") cannot be easily recreated in English.

[3] In my article, "The Illustrated Medieval Aviary and the Lay-Brother-

Ecce in eadem pertica sedent accipiter et columba. Ego enim de clero, tu de militia. Ad conversionem venimus ut in regulari vita quasi in pertica sedeamus; et qui rapere consueveras domesticas aves, nunc bonae operationis manu[1] silvestres ad conversionem trahas, id est saeculares.

Gemat igitur columba, gemat et accipiter; vocem doloris emittat. Vox enim columbae gemitus, vox accipitris questus. In principio huius operis idcirco columbam praeposui, quia Sancti Spiritus gratia semper praeparatur cuilibet poenitenti; nec nisi per gratiam pervenitur ad veniam. De accipitre vero post columbam subiungitur, per quem nobilium personae designantur. Cum enim aliquis nobilium convertitur, per exemplum bonae operationis pauperibus praesentatur. De[2] quibusdam vero tam volucribus quam animalibus quae ad exemplum morum Divina Scriptura commemorat, quam citius potero breviter assignare temptabo.

<Prologus II>[3]

Cum[4] scribere illiterato debeam, non miretur diligens lector si, ad aedificationem illiterati, de subtilibus simplicia dicam. Nec imputet levitati quod accipitrem vel columbam pingam, cum beatus Job et propheta David huiusmodi volucres nobis reliquerint ad doctrinam. Quod enim doctoribus innuit Scriptura, hoc simplicibus pictura. Sicut enim sapiens delectatur subtilitate scripturae, sic simplicium animus detinetur simplicitate picturae. Ego autem plus

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[1] manu : manum T

[2] *om* De quibusdam vero . . . temptabo. A

[3] *om* Prologue II Br (*in later hand, lower margin*)

[4] Cum : Dum T

See how the hawk and the dove sit on the same perch. I am from the clergy and you from the military. We come to conversion so that we may sit within the life of the Rule, as though on a perch; and so that you who were accustomed to seizing domestic fowl, now with the hand of good deeds may bring to conversion the wild ones, that is, laymen.

Therefore, let the dove sigh and the hawk sigh; let <each> utter the cry of grief. For the voice of the dove is a sigh, the voice of the hawk is a lament. Thus I have placed the dove at the beginning of this work because the grace of the Holy Spirit is always provided to any penitent; nor does one attain forgiveness except through grace. The discussion of the hawk, by which people of nobility are represented, is added after the dove. For when some nobleman is converted, he is made known to the poor through <his> example of good deeds. But I shall try to provide information as briefly as I can about certain birds as well as animals which Holy Scripture cites by way of an example of conduct.[1]

<Prologue 2>

Because I must write for the unlettered, the diligent reader should not wonder that, for the instruction of the unlettered, I say simple things about subtle matters. Nor should he attribute it to levity that I paint a hawk or a dove, because the blessed Job and the prophet David bequeathed to us birds of this sort for our edification. For what Scripture means to the teachers, the picture means to simple folk. For just as the learned man delights in the subtlety of the written word, so the intellect of simple folk is engaged by the simplicity of a picture.[2] I, however, work more to please the

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hood," *Gesta* 21 (1982): 63-74, I translated *accipiter* as "falcon," but the contexts of chaps. 31 and 42 make plain that the proper reading is "hawk."

[1] This sentence suggests that Hugh intended to write an entire bestiary as well. In the Aviary of Cambrai Bibl. Mun. MS. 259 the reference to animals was omitted.

[2] This line is a slight variation on the statement of St. Gregory the Great, "What Scripture is to the educated, images are to the ignorant," which could be the basis of Hugh's goals as expressed in the two prologues; St. Gregory to Bishop Serenus of Marseille (Migne, *PL* 77:1128-30), translated in Caecilia Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art 300-1150* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1971), 48. See the interesting study of this idea in the Middle Ages by Michael Camille, "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy," *Art History* 8 (1985): 26-49.

laboro ut simplicibus placeam, quam ut doctoribus loquar, et quasi vasculo pleno[1] latices infundam. Qui enim sapientem verbis instruit, quasi vasculo pleno latices infundit.

<Pars I>

Caput I Incipit libellus cuiusdam ad Rainerum conversum cognomine Corde Benignum. Incipit de tribus columbis.

Si dormiatis inter medios cleros pennae columbae deargentatae et posteriora dorsi eius in pallore auri.

In Scriptura sacra, frater, tres columbas legendo[2] repperi, ex quibus, si attente considerentur, simplicium mentes ad perfectionem[3] poterunt edoceri: columba scilicet Noe, columba David, columba Jesu Christi. Noe requies, David manu fortis, Christus Salvator interpretatur. Peccatori autem dicitur,[4] "Peccasti, quiesce." Si igitur[5] vis esse Noe, quiesce a peccatis; ut David esse possis, operare fortia. Si salvari desideras, a Salvatore salutem postula. *Diverte*, igitur,[6] *a malo,*[7] *fac bonum, inquire pacem*. Diverte ad archam Noe. Proeliare cum David proelia Domini. Inquire pacem cum Jesu in Jerusalem. Diverte ad quietem mentis, resiste temptationibus, expecta patienter salutis beneficium.

De columba vero Noe dicitur, Reversa est *columba ad vesperam ferens in ore*[8] *ramum virentis olivae*. Ad archam Noe columba revertitur cum ad quietem mentis ab exterioribus animus revocatur. Revertitur ad vesperam cum, deficiente luce mundanae felicitatis,

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[1] *om* pleno A
[2] *om* legendo AP
[3] perfectionem : conversionem LT
[4] dicitur : dixit Deus P
[5] igitur : ergo B
[6] *om* igitur A
[7] malo + et LT
[8] ore + suo A

simple folk than to speak to the teachers and as it were pour liquids into a full vase. For whoever instructs the learned man by words pours liquids as if into a full vase.[1]

<Part 1>

Chapter 1: Here Begins the Little Book of a Certain Author for Rainier, a Lay-brother Known as the Kindhearted. Here Begins the Three Doves.

(illustration: fig. 3)

If you sleep among the midst of the lots, you shall be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and the hinderparts of her back with the paleness of gold (Ps. 67:14).

In sacred Scripture, my brother, I found in my reading three doves, from which, if they are looked at closely, the minds of simple folk can be perfectly taught: that is, the dove of Noah, the dove of David, and the dove of Jesus Christ. Noah is interpreted as repose, David as strong of hand, Christ as Savior. To the sinner, however, it is said, "If you have sinned, cease from it."[2] If, however, you wish to be Noah, cease from your sins; if you can be like David, do mighty deeds. If you wish to be saved, beg salvation from the Savior. Therefore, *turn from evil,*[3] *do good, seek after peace* (Ps. 33:15). Turn toward Noah's ark. Fight with David the battles of the Lord. Seek after peace with Jesus in Jerusalem. Turn toward a tranquility of mind, resist temptations, await patiently the blessing of salvation.

Now, it is said concerning the dove of Noah, *The dove* returned *in the evening, bearing in her mouth the bough of an olive tree with green leaves*[4] (Gen. 8:11). The dove returns to Noah's ark when the spirit is recalled from external matters to a tranquility of mind. It returns in the evening when, in the failing light of worldly fortune,

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[1] There is a similar vase image in Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 1.2.28, which says that giving to children information they cannot grasp is like pouring liquid too quickly into a narrow vessel, causing a spill.

[2] J. P. Migne, *PL* 177:15, attributes this passage to Ecclesiasticus 21:1, where the meaning corresponds to Hugh's quotation, but the language differs: *fili peccasti non adicias iterum.*

[3] Vulgate: *malo + et.*

[4] Vulgate: . . . *portans ramum olivae virentibus foliis in ore suo.*

vanae gloriae fugit pompam, timens ne incurrat obscuritatem noctis, id est, profunditatem perpetuae damnationis. Olivam gerit, quia misericordiam quaerit. Olivam in ore portat, dum indulgeri sibi quod deliquerat precibus exorat.

De columba vero David dicitur, *et posteriora dorsi eius in pallore auri.* In posterioribus dorsi aurum habetur, quia bene operanti in futuro venia promittitur. Similiter et de Salvatore legitur cum in descensu columbae super eum haec vox auditur, *Hic est Filius meus dilectus in quo mihi bene complacui.* Columba est Sancti Spiritus gratia quae super Jesum in Jordane descendisse cernitur, quia cuilibet humili a peccatis mundato gratia praeparatur. Poenitenti igitur fit misericordia; bene operanti promittitur venia; diligenti datur gratia.

Caput II Mystice de columba

Si dormiatis inter medios cleros pennae columbae deargentatae et posteriora dorsi eius in pallore auri.

Columba deargentata est ecclesia, doctrina divini eloquii erudita, quae per similitudinem fertur habere praedicationis rostrum, ratione divisum, quo grana colligat ordei et frumenti, sententias scilicet[1] Veteris et Novi Testamenti. Habet[2] dextrum et sinistrum oculum, moralem et mysticum sensum. Seipsum respicit sinistro,

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[1] scilicet : videlicet LT

[2] Habet sinistrum oculum et dextrum LT

it flees the pomp of vainglory, fearing lest it encounter the darkness of the night, that is, the depth of eternal damnation. It bears the olive <branch>, because it seeks mercy. It bears the olive branch in its mouth, while through prayer it seeks pardon for its failures.

Now, it is said concerning the dove of David, *and the hinderparts of her back with the paleness of gold*. There is gold on the hinderparts of her back, because forgiveness in the future is promised to him who labors well. And likewise, one reads of the Savior when, at the descent of the dove upon Him, this utterance is heard: *This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased*[1] (Matt. 3:17). The dove is the grace of the Holy Spirit which is seen to have descended upon Jesus in the <River> Jordan, because grace is provided to any humble person cleansed of sins. Therefore, mercy is given to the penitent; forgiveness is promised to one who does good deeds; grace is given to the diligent.

Chapter 2: The Dove Mystically Considered

(fig. 2 illustrates chaps. 2–11)

If you sleep among the midst of the lots, you shall be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and the hinderparts of her back with the paleness of gold (Ps. 67:14).

The silvered dove is the Church,[2] expert in the teaching of divine eloquence, which, by analogy <with the dove> is said to have a beak of preaching,[3] by nature divided, in which it may collect the seeds of barley and corn, that is, the maxims of the Old and New Testaments. It has a right and a left eye, the moral and the mystical sense <of Scripture>. It observes itself with the left eye,

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[1] Vulgate: om *bene*.

[2] Cassiodorus, *Exposition of the Psalms* (*CC* 97:591): the Church "shines in silvered luster through divine eloquence" (*divinis eloquiis argenteo candore resplendet*). The symbolic colors of the dove in the Aviary are discussed by Friedrich Ohly, "Probleme der mittelalterlichen Bedeutungsforschung und das Taubenbild des Hugo de Folieto," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 2 (1968): 162–201. Hugh's color symbols, seen especially in chap. 7, seem to be his own invention; none derives from the B-Is bestiary which was one of his sources, and where the numerous natural dove colors are likewise moralized; see Max Friedrich Mann, "Der Bestiaire Divin des Guillaume le Clerc," *Französische Studien* 6 (1888): 37–73 for the B-Is bestiary text, 64–66 for the dove.

[3] Hugh's fondness for puns is evident in his use of *rostrum*, "beak" (cf. *rostra*, "rostrum") when referring to preaching.

Deum vero contemplatur dextro. Duas alas habet, activam et contemplativam vitam. His duabus alis sedens tegitur; his duabus volans ad caelestia sublevatur. Volamus cum mente[1] excedimus; sedemus cum inter fratres sobrii sumus. In his siquidem alis pennae sunt insertae, pennae vero sunt doctores, alis[2] rectae actionis[3] et divinae contemplationis firmiter inhaerentes.

Cleros vero Graece sortes vocamus Latine. Duae sortes, duo sunt Testamenta. Inter quas sortes dormiunt qui auctoritatibus[4] Veteris et Novi Testamenti concordant et acquiescunt.

. . . et posteriora dorsi eius in pallore auri. Dorsum columbae illam partem corporis esse dicunt cui radices alarum sese invicem naturaliter coniungunt. Ibidem cor ponitur quod, dorso proximum, auro perpetuae beatitudinis in futuro operietur. Sicut aurum preciosius est argento, sic et beatitudo futuri saeculi pretiosior est felicitate praesenti. Posteriora igitur dorsi columbae in pallore auri erunt quia iusti in aeterna beatitudine nimia claritate fulgebunt.

Caput III Moraliter de columba

Si dormiatis inter medios cleros pennae columbae deargentatae et posteriora dorsi eius in pallore auri.

Columba est quaelibet fidelis et simplex anima: deargentata in pennis, declarata in virtutibus per famam bonae opinionis. Quae tot in cibum colligit seminum grana quot ad bene operandum assumit sibi iustorum exempla. Duos habet oculos, dextrum et sinistrum, memoriam scilicet et intellectum. In uno futura praevidet, in altero transacta deflet. Hos oculos clauserunt in Egypto patres nostri, quoniam non intellexerunt opera Dei, nec fuerunt memores multitudinis misericordiae eius.

Duas vero habent alas, amorem proximi et amorem Dei. Una extenditur per compassionem ad proximum, altera erigitur[5] per contemplationem ad Dominum. Ex his alis procedunt pennae, id est, virtutes animae. Hae pennae argentea claritate resplendent quando, per famam bonae opinionis, audientibus argenti more dulcem tinnitum praebent.

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[1] mente + Deo BBr

[2] alis : animale A

[3] actionis : intentionis P

[4] auctoritatibus : auctoribus A

[5] erigitur : extenditur Br

but gazes upon God with the right. It has two wings, <that is>, the active and the contemplative life. When it is at rest, it is covered by these two wings; in flight it is lifted up to the heavens by these two <wings>. We fly when we transcend with the mind; we are at rest when we are temperate with <our> brethren. Inasmuch as feathers are set into the wings, the feathers are the teachers, adhering steadfastly to the wings of right action and divine contemplation.

Now the Greek *cleros* we call in Latin "lots." The two lots are the two Testaments. Those who are in accordance and agreement with the authorities of the Old and New Testaments sleep in the midst of these lots.

. . . and the hinderparts of her back in the paleness of gold. The back of the dove is said to be that part of the body to which the roots of the wings are naturally joined on each side. In the same area is placed the heart, which, near the back, will be covered in time with the gold of eternal blessedness. Just as gold is more precious than silver, so the blessedness of the world to come is more precious than happiness in this world. Therefore, the hinderparts of the back of the dove will be of pale gold, because the righteous will glow with exceedingly great brightness in eternal blessedness.

Chapter 3: The Dove Allegorically Considered

If you sleep among the midst of the lots, you shall be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and the hinderparts of her back with the paleness of gold (Ps. 67:14).

The dove is any faithful and simple soul: <the bird> with silvered feathers, <the soul> revealed in its virtues by report of good reputation. <The dove> collects as many seeds for its food as <the soul> takes models of righteous men in order to do good deeds. <The dove> has two eyes, right and left, that is to say, memory and perception. With the latter the soul foresees the future, with the former it weeps for past deeds. Our fathers in Egypt <i.e., the Israelites> closed their eyes, for they did not understand the actions of God, nor were they mindful of the abundance of His mercy.

Now <doves> have two wings, the love of one's neighbor and the love of God. One wing is extended in compassion toward the neighbor, the other is raised to the Lord in contemplation. From these wings grow feathers, that is, the virtues of the soul. These feathers shine with silvery brightness when, through report of good reputation, they offer to listeners a sweet tinkling like silver.

Cleros vero Graece sortes dicimus Latine. Quattuor autem sunt sortes: timor et spes, amor et desiderium. Sortes sunt quia paternae hereditatis locum nobis distribuunt. Timor et desiderium sortes sunt extremae; spes et amor mediae. Timor animum conturbat; desiderium[1] mentem cruciat, et nisi aliquod medium[2] intervenerit, animus a quiete recedit. Oportet igitur ut inter desiderium et timorem, spem ponamus et amorem. Spes enim timorem recreat, amor desiderium temperat.[3] Inter spem igitur et amorem, quasi inter medias,[4] quietus dormit, qui inter extremas, scilicet[5] inter timorem et desiderium vigilat et obstupescit. Si igitur es columba, vel columbae penna, dum times et desideras, inter extremas sortes vigilas, dum speras et diligis, inter medias quietus dormis.

... *et posteriora dorsi eius in pallore auri.* In dorso solent onera portari et per haec eadem possunt operum labores designari. Per posteriora vero dorsi denotatur expectatio praemii. Post tolerantiam siquidem praesentium laborum, in futuro subsequi credimus iustis praemia meritorum.[6] Reddet enim Deus *mercedem laborum sanctorum*[7] *suorum, et deducet eos in Via Mirabili.* Et[8] hoc in pallore auri esse credimus, quia *pretiosa* est *in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum eius.* In pennis igitur argentum, quia in linguis eloquium; in posterioribus vero aurum, id est, post labores praemium.

Caput IV Item de columba

Si dormiatis inter medios cleros pennae columbae deargentatae et posteriora dorsi eius in pallore auri.

Columba deargentata est absque felle malitiae quaelibet adhuc vivens prelatorum persona, quae inter medios cleros dormit. Cleros Graece Latine sors, unde et cleronomia proprie vocatur hereditas quae fit[9] testamento. Inde[10] contigit ut filii Levi inter

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[1] desiderium + vero Br

[2] aliquod medium : quod medium est P

[3] temperat : recreat P

[4] medias : sortes ABBr

[5] scilicet : saeculorum LT

[6] meritorum + Et hoc in pallore auri esse credimus, quia reddat *om* Reddat enim P

[7] sanctorum : sanctis A

[8] *om* Et hoc in pallore auri esse credimus + et P

[9] fit + sine P

[10] Inde contigit ... in decore suo. *mutilated* A

Now the Greek *cleros* we call in Latin "lots." Moreover, there are four lots: fear and hope, love and desire.[1] They are lots because they apportion to us the holding of the parental inheritance. Fear and desire are the outermost lots; hope and love are in between. Fear disturbs the soul; desire torments the mind, and unless some buffer comes between <them>, the spirit departs from tranquility. It is necessary, therefore, that we place hope and love between desire and fear. For hope cures fear, love controls desire. Therefore, he sleeps peacefully between hope and love, as if between mediating <lots>, who is watchful and disquieted between the outermost <lots>, that is, between fear and desire. Thus, if you are a dove, or the wing of a dove, while you fear and desire, you are wakeful between the outermost lots; while you hope and love, you sleep peacefully among the mediating lots.

... *and the hinderparts of her back in the paleness of gold.* Burdens are usually carried on the back, and by these same <burdens> can the labors of <good> deeds be represented. By the hinderparts of the back surely the expectation of reward is indicated. Indeed, after enduring earthly labors, we believe that for the righteous future rewards for good deeds will follow. For God renders just reward for the labors of his saints and will lead them in the Wondrous Way. And we believe this to be in the paleness of the gold, because *precious in the sight of the Lord* is *the death of his saints* (Ps. 115:15). Therefore, there is silver on the wings, because there is eloquence on the tongues, but there is gold on the hinderparts, that is, the reward after <earthly> labors.

Chapter 4: Further Concerning the Dove

If you sleep among the midst of the lots, you shall be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and the hinderparts of her back with the paleness of gold (Ps. 67:14).

The silvered dove is one of the priests still living without bile of any malice,[2] who sleeps among the midst of the lots. The Greek *cleros* is in Latin "lots," whence *cleronomia* is properly translated "inheritance," which is effected in a will. Thence it happened that

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[1] Note the changing symbolism of *sortes*, "lots."

[2] The dove without bile is mentioned by numerous Early Christian writers, beginning with Tertullian, *De baptismo* 8, but Hugh probably took it from one of his principal sources, Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies* 12.7.61.

filios Israel non haberent sortem, id[1] est, hereditatis partem, sed ex decimis viverent. Duae sunt autem hereditates, terrena Veteris Testamenti, et aeterna Novi. In medio igitur istarum dormit qui in contemptu terrenorum et spe caelestium finit vitam; dum nec nimis ardenter praesentibus inhiat, et futura patienter expectat.

... et posteriora dorsi eius in pallore auri. Oculi enim iustorum *videbunt Regem in decore suo*; tunc enim aurum in posterioribus habebis cum apparuerit in futuro gloria Divinae Maiestatis. Coronae siquidem regum ex auro purissimo fabricantur, ex argento vero monetae fiunt, quibus imagines regum imprimuntur. In moneta notatur imitatio formae, in corona signum victoriae. Moneta siquidem divini eloquii docet imitationem vitae Christi, corona vero victoriae post labores praesentis saeculi finem pugnae. Ibi igitur quasi in posterioribus aurum, hic in pennis praedicationis argentum, quia cum ad illa dona columba pervenerit, iam praedicationis eloquio non indigebit, sed in eo quod in retributione percipiet, in puritate perfectionis[2] sine fine vivet.

Caput V De pedibus columbae[3]

Columba de qua hic agitur rubeos pedes habere perhibetur. Haec columba est ecclesia, quae pedes habuit quibus totius mundi

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[1] *om* id est, hereditatis partem P

[2] perfectionis + suae Br

[3] *rubrics of chaps. 5 and 6 exchanged* H

the sons of Levi among the sons of Israel had no lot, that is, a part of the inheritance, but lived on tithes (Deut. 18:1–3).[1] There are, moreover, two inheritances, the earthly one of the Old Testament, and the eternal one of the New <Testament>. He sleeps, therefore, in their midst who dies in contempt of worldly things and in the hope of the celestial; while he does not long too passionately for the things of today, and patiently awaits those of the future.

... *and the hinderparts of her back with the paleness of gold.* For the eyes of the righteous *will see the King in His beauty*[2] (Is. 33:17); for then will you have gold on your hinderparts, when in the future the glory of Divine Majesty will have appeared. Indeed, the crowns of kings are made of purest gold, but the monies on which the images of kings are imprinted are made from silver. On money one sees the replica of a <human> figure, in the crown a sign of victory. Indeed, the money of divine eloquence teaches the imitation of the life of Christ, but the crown of victory <teaches> the end of struggle after the travails of this world. Therefore, in the former there will be gold as if on the hinderparts, in the latter the silver of preaching on the feathers, because when the dove has attained those gifts <i.e., the money of divine eloquence and the crown of victory> it will have no need of the eloquence of preaching, but in that which it will receive in reward, in the purity of perfection, it will live eternally.[3]

Chapter 5: The Dove's Feet[4]

The dove in question is said to have red feet. This dove is the Church, which had feet by which it wandered the breadth of the

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[1] Deuteronomy states that the patrimony of the Levites is the food offered in sacrifice to God.

[2] Vulgate: *regem in decore suo videbunt.*

[3] Hugh's references to money and crowns may reflect those of his audience who, like Rainier, came to religion from the nobility or knightly class, and for whom wealth and rulership had previously represented the summit of human achievement. The mention of the dove's gifts, however, suggests another level of meaning, one also familiar to the upper classes: the royal tradition of giving crowns to churches, or at least making a favored church the repository of regalia; see Percy Ernst Schramm and Florentine Mütherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser* (Munich: Prestel, 1962), 34. It was thought that the crowns absorbed the holy spirit of the relics nearby and were protected by them.

[4] The rubrics for chaps. 5 and 6 are reversed in the Heiligenkreuz and Zwettl Aviaries.

spatium perambulavit. Pedes sunt martyres qui tot passibus terram perambulant quot bonorum operum exemplis viam iustitiae sequentibus se demonstrant. Terram tangunt cum dignis increpationibus actus et voluntates terrenas reprehendunt. Sed dum terra premitur asperitate terrae,[1] id est,[2] terrenorum crudelitate[3] pedes vulnerantur, et sic pedes ecclesiae rubei facti sunt, quia sanguinem suum pro Christi nomine martyres effuderunt. Rubor igitur pedum est cruor martyrum.

Caput VI De pennis argentatis

Columba quae pedes rubeos habere dicitur, pennas[4] deargentatas[5] habuisse verbis propheticis demonstratur. *Pennae,* inquit David, *columbae deargentatae.* Pennae[6] columbae deargentatae sunt praedicatores ecclesiae. Est autem argentum divinum eloquium, tinnitus argenti dulcedo verbi.[7] Color candor. Candorem vero argentum retinet, dum quilibet doctor munditiam verbis praedicat, et munditiam in se habet, dum quod docet diligit, et quod intus amat foris operibus ostendit. Haec sunt eloquia Domini casta,[8] *argentum igne examinatum.* Eloquia Domini casta quia[9] nulla[10] sunt simulatione corrupta, nullo[11] sunt semine cupiditatis impregnata. *Argentum examinatum igne* solidatum in qualibet perturbatione. Candor igitur argenteus in pennis est in linguis docentium leve blandimentum sermonis.

Caput VII De colore alarum

Alarum colorem scriptum non repperi, sed ex similitudine materialis columbae potest assignari, ut si columbam pictam respicias, colorem materialis columbae eam habere non contradicas. Alarum enim superficies sapphirino colore superfunditur, quia caeli

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[1] terrae : viae Br

[2] *om* id est terrenorum crudelitate A

[3] crudelitate : cupiditate T (*expuncted*)

[4] pennas : penna Br

[5] deargentatas ... examinatum *mutilated* A

[6] Pennae columbae *om* columbae Br

[7] verbi : eloquii LT

[8] casta *om* argentum ... Domini casta Br

[9] quia : quae P

[10] nulla *om* sunt P

[11] *om* nullo sunt semine cupiditatis impregnata. A

whole world. The feet are the martyrs who wander the earth with as many steps as with examples of good deeds they show themselves to those following the path of righteousness. <Their feet> tread the earth when with appropriate rebukes they censure earthly deeds and aims. But when the earth is trod, the feet are wounded by the harshness of the land, that is, the cruelty of earthly things, and thus the feet of the Church are reddened, because the martyrs poured forth their own blood in the name of Christ. Therefore, the red of the feet is the blood of the martyrs.

Chapter 6: The Silvered Wings

The dove which is said to have red feet is shown by the words of the prophets to have had silvered wings. David spoke of *the silvered wings of the dove* (Ps. 67:14). The silvered wings of the dove are the preachers of the Church. Moreover, silver is divine eloquence, the tinkling of silver the sweetness of the word. The color is a lustre. Silver truly preserves a lustre while any teacher[1] preaches purity in his words, and has purity within, while he loves what he teaches, and his inner love manifests itself outwardly in good deeds. These are the pure words of the Lord, *silver tried by fire* (Ps. 11:7, Ps. 65:10). The words of the Lord are pure because they are unsullied by falsehood, nor are they implanted with the seed of ambition. *Silver tried by fire* is made strong in any kind of distress. Therefore, silvered lustre on the wings is the polished charm of a sermon on the tongues of the teachers.

Chapter 7: The Color of the Wings

I have not found textual reference to the color of the wings, but <the color> can be determined by reference to the real dove, so that if you should see the painted dove, you would not deny that it has the color of the real dove. For the surface of the wings is overspread with a sapphire color, because for contemplatives the soul imitates the color of the sky. But the sapphire color is set off by white lines, so that a snowy color is joined to the sapphire color. For the snowy color joined to sapphire denotes purity of the flesh and the love of contemplation.

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[1] In the context of Hugh's ideas *doctor* must be understood as "teacher," not as one of the church fathers.

speciem animus contemplantis imitatur. Sed color sapphirinus candidis lineis distinguitur, ut sapphirino colori niveus misceatur. Color enim niveus sapphirino mixtus designat munditiam carnis et amorem contemplationis.

Caput VIII De posteribus dorsi columbae

Posteriora dorsi columbae deargentatae Propheta commemorat, et per ea[1] finem vitae praesentis in quolibet homine moraliter demonstrat. In auro puritatem mentis, in pallore vero auri designat mortificationem carnis. Est enim pallor animi patientis et mortificatae carnis innatus color. Posteriora vero[2] columbae deargentatae in pallore auri erunt, dum puritas mentis[3] et mortificatio[4] carnis finem cuiuslibet morientis obtinebunt. Sed et ideo color aureus in posterioribus dorsi columbae colori[5] sapphirino iungitur, quia contemplantis animum futurae beatitudinis gloria subsequetur. Color igitur aureus in posterioribus designat aeternae retributionis munus.

Caput IX De oculis columbae

Oculi tui columbarum.

Columba super aquas saepissime sedere solet, ut cum viderit umbram supervenientis accipitris fugiens declinet. Ecclesia vero Scripturis se munit, ut insidiantis Diaboli fraudes evitare possit. Haec igitur columba croceos oculos habet, quia[6] ecclesia matura consideratione futuros casus attendit et praevidet. Color itaque croceus in oculis discretionem designat maturae considerationis. Dum enim aliquis quid agat vel quid cogitet mature considerat, quasi croco spiritales oculos adornat. Habet enim crocus colorem maturi fructus. Croceus igitur oculus est maturitas sensus.

Caput X De colore reliqui corporis

Color reliqui corporis imitatur colorem turbati maris. Mare motu fluctuum saeviens ebullit; caro motu sensuum ebulliens saevit. Mare perturbationibus suis arenas movet et sublevat; caro delecta-

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[1] per ea : postea A
[2] vero : igitur BrLT
[3] mentis : carnis Br
[4] mortificatio *om* carnis Br
[5] *om* colori A
[6] *om* quia ecclesia matura . . . et praevidet. A

Chapter 8: The Dove's Hinderparts of the Back

The prophet <David> calls to mind the hinderparts of the back of the silvered dove and through these reveals allegorically the end of the present life in any man. In the gold he depicts purity of mind, but in the paleness of the gold the mortification of the flesh. For the paleness is the natural color of the suffering spirit and the mortified flesh. But the hinderparts of the silvered dove will be of pale gold while purity of mind and mortification of the flesh will occupy the last moments of any dying person. But also therefore the golden color on the hinderparts of the dove's back is joined to the sapphire color, because the glory of future blessing will adhere to the soul of the contemplative. Therefore, the golden color on the hinderparts denotes the gift of eternal reward.

Chapter 9: The Eyes of the Dove

Thy eyes are as those of doves (Cant. 1:14).

The dove is accustomed to sit most often above water, in order that when it sees the shadow of the hawk flying above, it might avoid it by escape.[1] Surely the Church defends itself with Scripture, so that it can avoid the deceits of the Devil lying in ambush. Therefore, this dove has yellow eyes, because by mature reflection the Church is watchful and foresees future misfortunes. And so the yellow color in the eyes denotes the judgement of mature reflection. For while anyone considers in a mature way what he does or thinks, it is as if he adorns the spiritual eyes with yellow. For yellow is the color of mature grain.[2] Therefore, the yellow eye is maturity of reason.

Chapter 10: The Color of the Rest of the Body

The color of the rest of the <dove's> body resembles the color of the turbulent sea. Raging with the motion of the waves, the sea surges; surging with the motion of the senses, the flesh rages. The sea by its upheavals moves and raises the sands; the flesh by its pleasures

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[1] A dove living by water to guard against the hawk is mentioned by St. Gregory, *On the Song of Songs* 6:12.

[2] *fructus*: lit. "fruit."

tionibus suis animi levitatem pulsat. Mare terminos suos egrediens aquis dulcibus occurrit; caro lasciviens lacrimarum dulces rivulos obtundit. Mare diversis procellarum turbinibus[1] navigantium cursus impedit; caro procellosa recte viventium mores in profundum mergit. Dum tantis mare tempestatibus agitatur undarum collisione terra fluctibus immiscetur,[2] et sic ex collisione maris et terrae colorem mixtum recipit mare. Similiter dum caro suggerit et animus non consentit, quasi ex nigro et niveo quidam in corpore color efficitur, qui ex diversis factus color medius appellatur. Marinus igitur color in pectore columbae tribulationem designat in humana mente.

Caput XI De diversis proprietatibus columbae

In diversis locis diversas columbae proprietates[3] repperi, quas inserens huic operi tibi[4] superannotare[5] curavi. Prima natura columbae est quod pro cantu gemitum profert; secunda quod felle caret; tertia quod osculis instat; quarta quod gregatim volat; quinta quod ex rapto non vivit; sexta quod grana meliora colligit;[6] septima quod non vescitur cadaveribus; octava quod nidificat in petrae foraminibus; nona quod super fluenta residet, ut visa accipitris umbra venientem citius evitet;[7] decima quod geminos nutrit pullos.

Columba pro cantu utitur gemitu, quia quod libens fecit plangendo gemit. Caret felle, id est, irascibilitatis[8] amaritudine. Instat osculis quia delectatur in multitudine pacis. Gregatim volat quia conventus amat. Non vivit ex rapto quia non detrahit proximo. Colligit grana meliora, id est, moralia dicta. Non vescitur cadaveribus, id est, desideriis carnalibus. Nidificat in foraminibus petrae quia spem ponit in Christi Passione. Super fluenta residet, ut visa

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[1] turbinibus : modis Br

[2] immiscetur : miscetur P

[3] proprietates : naturas Br

[4] *om* tibi A

[5] superannotare : annotare A; superannotare : frater annotare BBrLPT

[6] colligit : eligit P

[7] evitet : devitet ABBrLPT

[8] irascibilitatis : rationalibus P

arouses an inconstancy of the soul. The sea overrunning its boundaries encounters sweet waters; the wanton flesh assaults the sweet rivulets of tears.[1] By stormy whirlpools[2] the sea obstructs the passage of ships; the stormy flesh plunges the morals of the righteous into the depths. While the sea is disturbed by such great storms, soil is mingled with waves by the crashing of breakers, and thus by the concussion of sea and land the sea receives its mixed color. Likewise, while the flesh suggests and the soul does not agree, it is as though a certain tone in the body is made from black and white, which tone, made from various elements, is called indecisive. Therefore, the sea color on the breast of the dove denotes distress in the human mind.

Chapter 11: The Various Properties of the Dove

In several sources I have found the various characteristics of the dove which, including them in this work, I took care to comment upon for you. The first nature of the dove is that instead of a song it utters a sigh; second, that it is free of bile; third, that it is eager for kisses; fourth, that it flies in flocks; fifth, that it does not live by predation; sixth, that it collects the finer grains <to eat>; seventh, that it does not feed on corpses; eighth, that it nests in the crevices of a rock; ninth, that it lives near flowing water, so that when it sees the shadow of the hawk <the dove> may more swiftly avoid its approach; tenth, that it raises twin chicks.[3]

Instead of a song the dove uses a sigh, because by wailing it laments its willful acts. It is free of bile, that is, bitterness of anger. It is eager for kisses, because it delights in an abundance of peace. It flies in flocks, because it loves the community. It does not live by predation, because it does not take from its neighbor. It collects the finer grains, that is, moral teachings. It does not feed on corpses, that is, carnal desires. It nests in the crevices of a rock, because it places hope in the Passion of Christ. <The dove> lives near flowing

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[1] Sweet in the sense of "admirable" or "gentle," for tears are salty.

[2] Lit. "whirlpools turning in different directions."

[3] Traits with Biblical sources are no. 1 (e.g., Isa. 38:14), and no. 8 (Jer. 48:28, Song of Songs 2:14). Trait no. 3: Ovid, *Ars amatoria* 2.6.56; Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.7.61. For trait no. 2, see above, p. 127, n. 2. Trait no. 4: Aelian, *Characteristics of Animals* 4.2. For trait no. 9, see above, p. 133, n. 1. Trait no. 10 perhaps from Pliny, *Natural History*, 10.79, that the dove lays two eggs.

accipitris umbra venientem citius devitet, quia in Scripturis studet ut supervenientis Diaboli fraudem declinet. Geminos nutrit pullos, id est, amorem Dei et amorem promixi. Qui has igitur naturas habet assumat sibi[1] contemplationis alas quibus ad caelum volet.

Caput XII

Aquilo frigidissimus ventus est. *Ab aquilone*, inquit,[2] *pandetur*[3] *malum* ... Ibi sedes Satanae inde ruinae[4] principium. Ventus aquilo gravis temptatio est. Flatus aquilonis suggestio temptationis. Frigus negligentiae torpor. Aquilo igitur[5] venit quando gravis temptatio mentem cuiuslibet invadit. Aquilo vero surgit quando ab animo temptatio recedit. *Ab aquilone*, inquit, *et mari*. Aquilo temptatio, mare mundus. Ab aquilone igitur et mari Christus suos congregat, cum a tumultu temptationum non tantum iustos, sed etiam peccatores sequestrat.

Caput XIII

Ponam sedem meam, inquit, *ad aquilonem, et ero similis Altissimo.* Sedem ad aquilonem ponere desiderat quem penna superbiae sursum levat. Esse similis Altissimo concupiscit, qui illi cui subesse debet per arrogantiae spiritum se aequalem facit. Et ut[6] plus dicam, non tantum se magistro suo aequiperat, sed etiam se illo meliorem esse putat. Cecidit Diabolus cum se exaltare voluit. Humiliatur homo cum se exaltare concupiscit.

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[1] *om* sibi P
[2] inquit : enim B
[3] pandetur + omne P
[4] *om* inde ruinae P
[5] igitur : inquit T
[6] ut : et A

water, so that when it sees the shadow of the hawk it can more swiftly avoid its approach, because it studies Scripture in order to avoid the deceit of the approaching Devil. It raises twin chicks, that is, the love of God and the love of neighbor. Whoever, therefore, has these traits, let him put on the wings of contemplation by which he may fly to heaven.

Chapter 12: <The North Wind>

(illustration: fig. 4b, not authentic)

The north wind is a very cold wind. *From the north*, it is said, *shall an evil break forth* (Jer. 1:14). There the throne of Satan is found, whence the beginning of disaster. The north wind is serious temptation. The blast of the north wind is temptation's subtle hint. The cold is the torpor of neglect. The north wind, therefore, comes when serious temptation invades someone's mind. But the north wind departs[1] when temptation disappears from the soul. *From the north*, it is said, *and from the sea* (Ps. 106:3). The north wind is temptation, the sea the world. Therefore, from the north wind and the sea Christ brings his own people together when he separates not only the righteous, but also sinners from the tempest of temptations.

Chapter 13: <The North Wind 2>

It is said, *I shall place my seat in the direction of the north wind, and I shall be as the Almighty*[2] (Isa. 14:13–14).

He whom the wing of pride lifts upward wishes to place his seat toward the north wind. He who through the spirit of arrogance makes himself equal to the person to whom he should be subservient desires to be like the Almighty. And furthermore, not only does he equate himself with his master, but also he considers himself to be better than <the master>. The Devil fell when he wished to exalt himself.[3] A man is abased when he seeks to exalt himself.

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[1] *surgit*: lit. "rises."

[2] Vulgate: *Sedebo in monte testamenti in lateribus aquilonis, ascendam super altitudinem nubium, ero similis Altissimo.*

[3] Rev. 12:9.

Caput XIV

Auster calidissimus ventus est. *Deus*, inquit, *ab austro veniet.* Ibi sedes Altissimi, ibi dilectionis ardor, inde sinceritas veritatis. Auster a serena regione procedit, quia Deus in serenitate morum requiescit. Ibi pascit, ibi cubat. Ibi quies mentis, ibi refectio contemplationis. Auster Sancti Spiritus[1] gratiam designat, flatus austri benignitatem Spiritus Sancti, calor amor. Auster igitur venit quotiens gratia Sancti Spiritus mentem cuiuslibet accendit. Surgit quotiens a mente gratia recedit.

Caput XV[2]

Deus, inquit, *ab austro veniet.* Ab aquilone Diabolus, ab austro Deus. Ille ignorantiae tenebras inhabitat; iste serenitatem caritatis amat. Frigus aquilonis poros carnis stringit;[3] calor austri clausos aperit. Quod enim frigus avaritiae stringendo retinet, apertis elemosinae manibus caritas larga praebet. Penna[4] siquidem vetus in infernum mergit, nova vero animum ad caelestia desideranda sustollit. Peccata enim gravant, virtutes vero sublevant.[5]

Caput XVI Beatus Gregorius de accipitre qualiter plumescat

Numquid per sapientiam tuam plumescit accipiter, expandens alas suas ad austrum?

Unde[6] beatus Gregorius, "Agrestibus accipitribus moris est ut

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[1] Sancti Spiritus : Spiritus Dei LT

[2] *not separate chapter* A

[3] stringit : restringit ABBr

[4] Penna : Prima P

[5] *interpolates Second Family bestiary chap. on Falcon* L

[6] *om* Unde beatus Gregorius Br

Chapter 14: <The South Wind>

(illustration: fig. 4b, not authentic)

The south wind is a very warm wind. It is said, *God will come from the south* (Hab. 3:3). There the throne of the Almighty is found, there the flame of love, thence the purity of truth. The south wind blows from a serene quarter, because God abides in a serenity of manner. There one feasts, there one sleeps. There peace of mind is found, there the healing power of contemplation. The south wind denotes the grace of the Holy Spirit, the blowing of the south wind the kindliness of the Holy Spirit, the warmth <Its> love. Therefore, the south wind appears whenever the grace of the Holy Spirit inflames someone's mind. <The south wind> departs whenever grace leaves the mind.

Chapter 15: <The North and South Winds>

It is said, *God will come from the south* (Hab. 3:3). From the north comes the Devil, from the south God. The former dwells in the shadows of ignorance; the latter loves the serenity of charity. The cold of the north wind tightens the pores of the skin; the warmth of the south wind opens the closed pores. For what the cold of avarice holds onto tightly, a bountiful charity offers with the open hands of mercy. If indeed the old feather plunges into the depths, surely the new feather raises the mind to desire heavenly things. For sins oppress, but virtues make lighter.[1]

Chapter 16: The Blessed Gregory on How the Hawk Grows Feathers

(illustration: fig. 4a)

Doth the hawk wax feathered by thy wisdom, spreading her wings to the south? (Job 39:26).

Whence the blessed Gregory states,[2] "It is the custom of wild

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[1] The last two sentences are out of context in chap. 15, and appear to have been copied inadvertently from the succeeding chapter, probably from the end of the second paragraph. The same sequence appears in all manuscripts, and must have occurred in the first fair copy.

[2] The rest of the chapter is quoted from St. Gregory, *Moralia in Job* 39:26 (*CC* 153B: 1613–14).

flante austro alas expandant quatenus eorum membra ad laxandam pennam veterem venti tepore concalescant. Cum ergo ventus deest, alis contra radium solis expansis atque percussis, tepentem sibi auram faciunt sicque apertis poris, vel veteres exsiliunt vel novae succrescunt. Quid est ergo[1] accipitrem in austro plumescere nisi quod unusquisque sanctorum tactus flatu Sancti Spiritus concalescit, et usum vetustae conversationis abiciens novi hominis formam sumit?

"Quod Paulus apostolus admonet, dicens, *Expoliantes vos*[2] *veterem hominem cum actibus suis et inducentes novum.* Et rursum: *licet is qui foris est noster homo corrumpatur, tamen is qui intus est renovatur de die in diem.* Vetustam autem pennam proicere est inveterata studia dolosae actionis amittere; et novam pennam sumere est mitem ac simplicem bene vivendi sensum tenere. Penna namque veteris conversationis gravat, et pluma novae immutationis sublevat, ut ad volatum[3] tanto leviorem quanto noviorem reddat.

"Et bene ait, *expandens*[4] *alas suas ad austrum.* Alas[5] quippe nostras ad austrum expandere est per adventum Sancti Spiritus nostras confitendo cogitationes aperire, ut iam non libeat defendendo nos tegere, sed accusando publicare. Tunc ergo accipiter plumescit cum ad austrum alas expandit[6] quia tunc se unusquisque virtutum pennis induit cum Sancto Spiritui cogitationes suas confitendo substernit.[7] Qui enim fatendo vetera non detegit, novae vitae opera minime producit. Qui enim[8] nescit lugere quod gravat non valet proferre quod sublevat; ipsa namque compunctionis vis poros cordis aperit, et plumas virtutum fundit. Cumque se studiose mens de pigra vetustate redarguit, alacri novitate iuvenescit. Dicatur ergo beato Iob, *Numquid per sapientiam tuam plumescit accipiter expandens alas suas*[9] *ad austrum?* Id est, numquid[10] cuilibet electo tu intellegentiam contulisti, ut flante Sancto Spiritu[11] cogitationum alas expandat; quatenus pondera vetustae conversationis abiciat et virtutum plumas in usum novi volatus sumat; ut hinc videlicet[12] colligat quia[13]

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[1] ergo : vero B
[2] vos : se LT; *om* vos P
[3] ad volatum : ad volandum LT
[4] expandens : expandit Br
[5] *om* Alas quippe nostras A
[6] expandit : expanderit BBr
[7] substernit : discernit Br
[8] *om* enim ABBrT
[9] suas : tuas A
[10] *om* numquid A
[11] Sancto Spiritu : austro spiritu P
[12] videlicet + sumat T (*expuncted*)
[13] quia : qui A

hawks when the south wind blows to spread their wings so that their members grow warm in the temperate heat of the wind, in order to loosen the old feather. Thus, when there is no wind, with wings spread and flapping in the sun's ray, they create for themselves a warming breeze, and with their pores opened, either the old feathers fall out, or new ones grow from beneath. Therefore, what is the hawk's growing of feathers in the south wind but every one of the saints growing warm, touched by the breath of the Holy Spirit, and, rejecting the ways of the old society, taking on the form of a new man?

"The apostle Paul reminds us of this, saying, *Stripping yourselves of the old man with his deeds, and putting on the new* (Col. 3:9–10). And again, *but though our outward man is corrupted,*[1] *yet the inward man is renewed day by day* (2 Cor. 4:16). However, to cast off the old feather is to drive away the long-standing fondness for deceitful deeds; and to take up the new feather is to maintain the gentle and simple sense of proper living. For the feather of the old society oppresses, and the plumage of the new change lightens, so that it may render <the man> so much the lighter as the newer for flight.

"And it is rightly said, *spreading its wings to the south wind.* Indeed, to spread our wings to the south wind is, through the coming of the Holy Spirit, to open our thoughts by confessing, so that now we should not hide by defending ourselves, but reveal <ourselves> by self-reproach. Then, therefore, the hawk grows feathers when it spreads its wings to the south wind, because then each man clothes himself in feathers of virtues when he submits his thoughts to the Holy Spirit by confessing. For whoever does not disclose the old deeds by confessing, in no way produces deeds of the new life. For he who does not know how to lament the burdens is not able to bring about an unburdening; for that very power of compunction opens the pores of the heart and spreads the feathers of virtues. Whenever the mind diligently refutes the indolent past, it grows young again with spirited newness. Therefore, let it be said to the blessed Job, *Doth the hawk wax feathered by thy wisdom, spreading her wings to the south?* (Job 39:26). That is, have you ever provided knowledge to any one of the chosen, that when the Holy Spirit stirs the air, he might spread the wings of reflection; so that he might cast off the burdens of the old society

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[1] Vulgate: *corrumpitur.*

vigilantiam sensus in semetipso ex se[1] non habet, qui hanc ex se conferre aliis nequaquam valet?"[2]

Caput XVII De domestico <et> silvestri accipitre

Duae[3] sunt species accipitris, domesticus[4] scilicet et silvestris. Idem tamen, sed diversis temporibus potest esse silvestris et domesticus. Silvestris rapere consuevit domesticas aves,[5] et domesticus silvestres. Silvestris quas rapit continuo devorat; domesticus captas domino suo relinquendas[6] servat. Porro dominus eius captarum[7] volucrum ventres aperit, et earum corda accipitri in cibum tribuenda sumit. Interiora ventris cum fimo eicit, qui intus remanens putredinem carnium cum fetore gignit. Moraliter silvestris accipiter captas volucres et rapit et devorat, quia quilibet perversus actus et cogitationes simplicium dissipare non cessat. Domesticus vero accipiter est quilibet spiritualis pater, qui totiens silvestres volucres[8] rapit quotiens saeculares ad conversionem praedicando trahit. Captas occidit dum saecula mundo mori per carnis mortificationem cogit.[9] Dominus autem eius, id est, Omnipotens Deus ventres earum aperit quia mollitiem carnalium per Scripturas increpando[10] solvit. Corda vero extrahit dum cogitationes saecularium per confessionem manifestas facit. Interiora ventris cum fimo eicit quando memoriam peccati[11] fetentem reddit. Ad mensam itaque Domini captae volucres veniunt, dum in corpus ecclesiae peccatores doctorum[12] dentibus masticati sese convertunt.

Caput XVIII Qualiter accipiter plumescere debeat

Domesticis accipitribus, quo melius[13] plumescere debeant, muni-

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[1] ex se + ipso ALT

[2] *interpolates short essay on birds' feet*: Invenimus cornicis pedes velut quibusdam digitis distantibus separatos ... latioribus aquarum fluenta propulsent. L

[3] Duae : Quae P

[4] domesticus + accipitre Br

[5] aves : volucres ABBrLPT

[6] relinquendas : relinquendo B

[7] *om* captarum P

[8] *om* volucres P

[9] cogit : quaerit LT

[10] *om* increpando P

[11] peccati : peccatorum P

[12] *om* doctorum AT

[13] *om* melius P

and take up the plumage of virtues in practicing a new flight; so that henceforth he might clearly consider that he, who can in no way on his own provide for others the vigilance of understanding, does not himself have it on his own?"

Chapter 17: The Tame <and> Wild Hawk

There are two forms of the hawk, namely, the tame and the wild. Nevertheless, they are the same, but sometimes the bird can be wild, and sometimes tame. The wild one is accustomed to prey on tame fowl, and the tame hawk on wild birds. The wild one immediately eats its prey; the tame one preserves the birds taken to be relinquished to its master. Afterwards its master opens the belly of the captured birds and takes their hearts to offer to the hawk as food. He throws away the gut with the excrement, which, if it <the gut> remains within, produces a stinking rot of tissues. Interpreted allegorically the wild hawk both seizes and eats the birds taken, because any wicked person continually disturbs the actions and thoughts of simple folk. But the tame hawk is any spiritual father, who seizes the wild birds whenever he draws laymen to conversion through preaching. It kills the prey while he compels laymen to die to the world through the mortification of the flesh. Moreover, the <hawk's> master, that is, Almighty God, opens the stomach of <the prey>, because He does away with the weakness of carnal men by rebuking them through Scripture. Indeed, He extracts their hearts when through confession He makes manifest the thoughts of laymen. He throws away the gut with the excrement while He causes the memory of a sinner to stink. And the birds seized come to the table of the Lord while sinners, chewed by the teeth of the teachers, are converted into the body of the Church.[1]

Chapter 18: How the Hawk Should Grow Feathers

Safe and warm places are needed for tame hawks, where they might more easily grow feathers. Safe places are enclosures[2] in

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[1] Compare St. Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* 2.6.7 commenting on Song of Songs 4:2 (*Thy teeth as flocks of sheep*) by interpreting the saints as the teeth of the Church who bite men off from heresy.

[2] *claustra*, meaning also "monasteries," is another of the author's puns.

ta ac tepentia requiruntur loca. Loca munita sunt claustra in quibus, dum silvestris[1] accipiter ponitur ut domesticus fiat, clausus tenetur. Ibi veteres pennas emittit et novas assumit, quia quilibet[2] claustralis quando pristinis vitiis spoliatur novi hominis virtutibus adornatur. Nec inde extrahitur nisi prius eiectis veteribus pennis novae solidentur. Sed cum[3] firmus[4] in volatu fuerit, eiectus foras ad manum venit. Similiter si aliquis conversus de claustro exeat, necesse est ut "ad manum" bonae operationis accedat; et inde emissus "volet" ut ad desideranda caelestia toto adnisu[5] mentis seipsum levet.

Caput XIX Quod accipiter in sinistra manu gestatur

Accipiter in sinistra manu gestari solet,[6] ut in dextram ad aliquid capiendum emissus volet. *Laeva,* inquit,[7] *eius sub capite meo, et dextra illius amplexabitur me.* Laeva sunt bona temporalia, dextra vero[8] aeterna. In laeva igitur[9] sedet qui bonis temporalibus praesidet, in dextra[10] vero volat qui toto affectu mentis aeterna desiderat. Ibi capiet[11] accipiter columbam, id est, quilibet mutatus in melius Sancti Spiritus recipiet gratiam.

Caput XX De pertica accipitris[12]

Pertica accipitris designat nobis rectitudinem vitae regularis, quae a terra longe suspenditur, quia a terrenis desideriis huius mundi longe[13] separatur. In hac pertica ligatus sedet qui regularis vitae statuta firmiter tenet. Duobus parietibus inhaerere dicitur a quibus ex utraque parte sustentatur. Duo parietes quibus pertica sustentatur[14] sunt activa et contemplativa vita, quae pie viventium rectitudinem[15] portant.

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[1] *om* silvestris P
[2] *om* quilibet Br
[3] Sed cum : Cum autem P
[4] firmus : infirmus P
[5] adnisu : nisu A
[6] manu gestari solet : geritur manu P
[7] *om* inquit P
[8] vero + sunt ABBrLPT
[9] igitur : ergo A
[10] dextra : dexteram Br
[11] capiet : accipiet BrLPT
[12] *om chaps.* 20–22 A
[13] huius mundi longe : huiusmodi vita BBr; longe : vita BLPT
[14] quibus pertica sustentatur : qui perticam sustentant BBrLPT
[15] rectitudinem + vitae Br

which, when a wild hawk is placed there it is kept confined in order to be made tame. There it casts aside its old feathers and receives new ones, because when any monk is stripped of his former vices he is furnished with the virtues of a new man. Nor thereafter is <the vice> drawn out unless, the old feathers first discarded, the new ones are firmly set. But when <the hawk> is strong enough to fly, brought outside, it comes to the <falconer's> hand. Likewise, if any lay-brother goes out from the monastery, he must come "to the hand" of good deeds; and then sent forth, let him "fly" so as to raise himself with all his will to a yearning for heavenly things.

Chapter 19: That the Hawk is Carried on the Left Hand

It is customary to carry a hawk on the left hand, so that when released for hunting it may fly to the right. <Scripture> states, *His left hand is under my head, and his right hand shall embrace me* (Cant. 2:6). Worldly goods are on the left hand, but those to the right are eternal. Therefore, on the left sits the person who is concerned with worldly goods, but on the right soars the one who, with all his will, desires eternal things. There <on the right> the hawk will seize the dove, that is, anyone changed for the better will receive the grace of the Holy Spirit.

Chapter 20: The Hawk's Perch

The hawk's perch symbolizes for us the righteousness of the monastic life, which is suspended far above the ground, because it is separated far from the earthly desires of this world. He who steadfastly abides by the laws of the monastic life sits tied to this perch. It is said to be attached to two walls by which it is supported from either side. The two walls by which the perch is supported are the active life and contemplative life, which sustain the righteousness of those living piously.

Caput XXI De compedibus accipitris

Quasi compedes in pedibus accipiter habere consuevit, ne cum voluerit exorta qualibet occasione evolare possit. Pedes accipitris quasi compedibus stringit qui timore iudicii et dolore supplicii mentis affectus premit. Et *humiliaverunt*, inquit, *in compedibus pedes eius*. Pedes Ioseph in compedibus humiliat, qui ad memoriam reducens praesentem miseriam et aeternam poenam, ne ad optata progrediantur, affectus animi ligat.

Caput XXII De corrigia accipitris

Corrigia per quam accipiter ligatur in pertica est mortificatio carnis, per quam conversus quilibet tenetur[1] in regulari vita. Corrigia siquidem,[2] quae fit de corio mortui animalis, designat mortificationem carnis. Non rumpitur haec corrigia, sed solvitur cum ad capiendum aliquid accipiter impellitur.[3] Similiter si quilibet frater ad aliquid lucrum temporale exeat, non rumpitur propositum, sed cum revertitur eadem corrigia qua prius seipsum firmius ligat.[4]

Explicit de columba et accipitre.

Caput XXIII Incipit de turture et passere

Post columbae gemitum et accipitris questum, rogas[5] carissime ne diutius differam, sed[6] planctum turturis et clamorem passeris tibi[7] velocius scribam. Nec[8] tantum scribam, sed etiam pingam qualiter turtur heremi secretum[9] diligat et passer solitarius in tecto clamare non desinat, ut[10] sub exemplo turturis teneas munditiam castitatis[11] et sub exemplo passeris ames custodiam callidae circumspectionis, ut et vivas caste et ambules caute.[12]

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[1] *om* tenetur P
[2] siquidem : quidem T
[3] impellitur : impellatur BBrP
[4] firmius ligat : firmiter conligat LT
[5] *om* rogas carissime A
[6] *om* sed A
[7] *om* tibi A
[8] *om* Nec tantum scribam Br
[9] secretum : solitudinem P
[10] *om* ut Br
[11] castitatis : mentis BBr
[12] caute : caste P

Chapter 21: The Hawk's Fetters

The hawk usually has a kind of fetters on its feet, lest it be able to fly away when it will at any opportunity. He who holds his emotions in check with the fear of judgement and pain of torment binds the falcon's feet with a kind of fetters. And it is said, *They humbled his feet in fetters* (Ps. 104:18). He humbles the feet of Joseph in fetters who, remembering present misery and eternal punishment, binds the emotions lest they reach toward pleasures.[1]

Chapter 22: The Hawk's Cord

The cord by which the hawk is bound on the perch is the mortification of the flesh, by which any lay-brother is held in the monastic life. Indeed, the cord, which is made of a dead animal's hide, denotes the mortification of the flesh. When the hawk is launched for hunting this cord is not broken, but is untied. Likewise, if any brother goes out for some worldly gain, his resolve is not broken, but when he returns he binds himself more firmly with the same cord just as before.[2]

Here ends the Dove and the Hawk.

Chapter 23: Here begins the Turtledove and the Sparrow

After the sigh of the dove and plaint of the hawk, you ask, dearest friend, that I should delay no longer, but forthwith describe to you the lament of the turtledove and cry of the sparrow.[3] Not only shall I describe, but also I shall paint how the turtledove prizes the solitude of the wastelands, and the solitary[4] sparrow continuously cries on the roof (Ps. 101:8), so by the example of the turtledove you may maintain the purity of chastity, and through the example of the sparrow you may favor the protection of practiced caution, so that you may live virtuously as well as walk cautiously.

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[1] It is uncertain to whom the Joseph here refers; perhaps it is Joseph of Gen. 37:8, who resists the enticements of Potiphar's wife.

[2] The duties of lay-brothers often included the transaction of monastery business with the outside world; Louis J. Lekai, *The Cistercians, Ideals and Reality* (Kent: Kent State Univ. Press, 1977), 337.

[3] Hugh reports the turtledove's lament; Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.7.60 (André, ed., n. 551) notes that the bird likes the wastelands; the sparrow's cry is from Ps. 101:8.

[4] *solitarius* as a noun was a synonym for *monachus*, "monk," in the Middle Ages; Jean LeClercq, *Études sur le vocabulaire monastique du moyen-âge* (*Studia Anselmiana* 48, Rome, 1961), 33-34.

Caput XXIV De palma et turture: quod turtur in nidulo suo moritur et sicut palma multiplicat dies

Sicut palma multiplicabo dies.

Palma dies multiplicat quia tarde[1] proficit priusquam in altum crescat. Similiter iustus tarde proficit priusquam ad hoc perveniat ad quod tendit. Est enim iusti desiderium ut perveniat ad caeleste regnum. Sed ad hoc desiderium mundus[2] impedit,[3] ut ad optata nisi tarde pervenire possit.

Palma dies multiplicat, nec tamen frigus eam[4] hiemis vel nimius calor aestatis impediunt quin semper viridescat. Similiter iustus[5] semper viret, nec ab[6] aliquo impeditur quin in proposito bonae operationis perseveret. Frigus hiemis est torpor vel negligentia refrigeratae mentis. Nimius calor aestatis est ardor libidinis, vel iracundiae flamma, seu incendium cupiditatis. Nec palma igitur marcescit[7] frigore nec nimio aestatis uritur calore. Sic nec iustus premitur qualicumque temptatione.

Aliter. Palma dies multiplicat quia iustus dies antiquos ad memoriam reducit et annos aeternos in mente tractat. Paucitatem dierum suorum[8] sibi nuntiat, et ex alia parte longitudinem dierum[9] in futuro sperat. Qui igitur haec intra se colligit multiplicando dies sicut palma, vincendo mundum[10] in altum crescit.

Caput XXV

Statura tua assimilata est palmae.

Statura ecclesiae vel cuiuslibet fidelis animae assimilatur palmae. In statura cuiuslibet hominis notatur parvitas vel magnitudo in membris per lineamenta corporis. Habet autem iustus staturam[11] palmae si apud se modicus, apud Deum[12] magnus; in se humilis, coram Deo sublimis. Haec palma est Christus, cui assimi-

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[1] tarde : tandem H
[2] mundus : mundi A
[3] impedit : impendit L
[4] *om* eam P
[5] iustus : intus L
[6] *om* ab A
[7] marcescit + hiemis B
[8] *om* suorum A; suorum : meorum P
[9] dierum + sibi B
[10] vincendo mundum : vivendo A
[11] staturam : statura A
[12] Deum + fuit B

Chapter 24: The Palm and the Turtledove; that the Turtledove Dies in its Nest[1] and like the Palm it Multiplies its Days

(illustrations: fig. 5, 6a, 69)

As a palm tree I shall multiply my days (Job 29:18).

The palm multiplies its days, for it grows slowly before it rises on high. Likewise a righteous man grows slowly before he reaches his goal. For it is the desire of the righteous man to reach the kingdom of heaven. But the world impedes this desire, with the result that one can reach the goal but slowly.

The palm multiplies its days, nor yet does the cold of winter nor the great heat of summer prevent it from being always green. The righteous man flourishes in like manner, nor is he prevented by anything from persevering in the doing of good deeds. The cold of winter is the listlessness or the carelessness of a languid mind. The great heat of summer is the burning of lust, or the flame of anger, or the fire of cupidity. Therefore, the palm neither withers in the cold, nor is desiccated in the great heat of summer. Neither, therefore, is the righteous man burdened by any sort of temptation.

To put it another way, the palm multiplies its days because the righteous man remembers the days of old and ponders the years of eternity (Ps. 76:6). He recalls the paucity of his days <on earth>, and on the other hand anticipates an infinity of days to come. Therefore, he who reflects upon these things grows tall by multiplying his days like a palm, by vanquishing the world.

Chapter 25: <The Palm 2>

Thy stature is like to a palm tree (Cant. 7:7).

The stature of the Church or of any faithful soul is like the palm. In any man's stature the smallness or largeness of the members is indicated by the lines of his body. The righteous man, moreover, has the stature of the palm if he is of moderate size to himself, and tall before God; humble in himself, exalted before God. The palm is Christ, whom the righteous man resembles. For while he endures the tribulations Christ endured the righteous man resembles the stature of the palm. Whence the Apostle <said>, *Who will be*

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[1] The death of the turtledove in its nest is noted in chap. 29.

latur iustus. Dum enim[1] tribulationes quas passus est Christus patitur, staturae iustus palmae assimilatur. Unde Apostolus, *Qui enim participes tribulationum erunt participes et gloriae.* Qui igitur membrum corporis[2] est quae sunt capitis sentire debet.

Iam palma crevit in altum; iam cacumen illius penetravit caelum. Iam cum[3] capite sunt capitis comae, quae sunt elatae palmarum, id est, electae animarum.[4] Adhuc stipes rugoso[5] cortice, id est, ecclesia circumdata tribulationum asperitate, in terra figitur; et rami, id est sancti, in aeterna felicitate gloriantur.

Caput XXVI

Iustus ut palma florebit.

Iustus plantatur, floret et fert fructum. Plantatur *in domo Domini, in atriis domus Dei nostri.* Domus Dei nostri est[6] domus conversionis. Est autem atrium ante domum, ante domum siquidem conversionis est atrium renuntiationis. Qui enim mundum[7] renuntiat palmam victoriae qua mundum vincit in atriis domus Domini plantat. Plantatur igitur in domo conversionis, floret per famam bonae opinionis, fert fructum [rectae] operationis. Sed quorsum[8] figit radicem? Quomodo crescit? Quomodo roboratur? Radicatur per fidem, crescit per spem, roboratur per caritatem. Mirum est tamen quod de iustis dicitur: *Plantati in domo Domini, in atriis domus Dei*[9] *nostri florebunt.* Mirum est quod plantatur[10] in domo et floret[11] in atrio. Sed per fidem fortasse plantantur intus, per exemplum boni operis florent externis, et sic per famam bonae opinionis foras exit odor floris. Vel aliter, plantantur in domo, florent in atrio quia iusti plantantur in praesenti ecclesia et flore immarcescibili florebunt in aeterna vita. Ibi etiam cum flore recipient fructum, id est, cum munditia carnis et animae futurae retributionis[12] praemium.

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[1] enim : erunt AT
[2] corporis : Christi P
[3] *om* cum A
[4] animarum : animae P
[5] rugoso + tectus B
[6] est + autem A
[7] mundum : mundo BBrLPT
[8] Sed quorsum : seorsum P
[9] Dei : Domini Br
[10] plantatur : plantantur B
[11] floret : florent B
[12] retributionis : resurrectionis B

partakers of his tribulation will be partakers of his glory.[1] Therefore, he who is a limb of the body ought to experience those things which <are the experiences> of the head.[2]

Now the palm grew tall; now its top reached to heaven. Now at the top are top leaves, which are the lofty parts of palms, that is, the elect of the souls. Yet the trunk with its rough bark, that is, the Church surrounded by the harshness of tribulations, is fixed in the earth; and the branches, that is, the saints, glory in eternal joy.

Chapter 26: <The Palm 3>

The just shall flourish like the palm tree (Ps. 91:13).

The righteous man is planted, flowers and bears fruit. He is planted *in the house of the Lord, in the courts of the house of our God* (Ps. 91:14). The house of our God is the house of conversion. Moreover, the court precedes the house, since the court of renunciation comes before the house of conversion. For he who renounces the world plants the palm of victory by which he conquers the world in the courts of the house of the Lord. Therefore, he is planted in the house of conversion, flowers by report of good reputation, bears the fruit of [good] deeds. But where does he put down a root? How does he grow? How is he strengthened? He is rooted by faith, grows by hope, is strengthened by charity. Yet what is said of the righteous is surprising: *They that are planted in the house of the Lord shall flourish in the courts of the house of our God* (Ps. 91:14). It is surprising that he is planted in the house and flourishes in the court. Though it may be that <the righteous> are planted within by faith, they flourish outwardly by the example of a good deed, and thus by report of good reputation the fragrance of the flower rises outwardly. Or, put another way, they are planted in the house, they flower in the court, because the righteous are planted in the earthly Church and will flower in eternal life with a flower that does not wither. There, then, they shall receive fruit with the flower, that is, with purity of body and soul <they shall receive> the reward of future recompense.

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[1] The passage is a paraphrase, most likely of 1 Pet. 5:1 (*testis Christi passionum qui et eius quae in futuro revelanda est gloriae communicator*). Compare 1 Pet. 4:13 and 2 Cor. 1:7.

[2] The meaning of this sentence is not clear, and the translation therefore only one of several possible interpretations.

Caput XXVII

Ascendam in palmam et apprehendam fructus eius.

Palma iuxta terram est[1] gracilis et aspera, versus caelum grossior et pulcra. Est igitur ascensus difficilis sed fructus dulcis. Minuitur ascendentis labor dum sentitur odor; difficultatem ascensus aufert dulcedo gustus. Palma est Christus, fructus salus. *Salus*, inquit, *populi Ego sum; gustate ergo*[2] *et videte quoniam suavis est Dominus.* Spes salutis in ligno[3] Crucis. Ascende igitur in palmam, id est,[4] attende Crucis victoriam, per scalam siquidem Crucis ascendes ad solium Victoris. Tolle et tu crucem tuam et sequere eum. Qui[5] affligit carnem tollit crucem. Palma manum victoris ornat, et iustus palmam victoriae in manu[6] bene operando portat. Tria dicuntur esse de quibus iustus victoriam debet acquirere: mundus, caro, Diabolus. Iustus mundum vincit dum eum cum suis oblectationibus contemnit. Carnem superat dum eam per abstinentiam domat. Diabolo dominatur[7] et[8] eum subicit dum eum[9] a suis finibus expellit. Palmam igitur in manu gestat qui de his tribus bene operando triumphat.

Caput XXVIII De turture[10]

Vox turturis audita est in terra nostra.

Vox turturis est dolor laesae mentis. Vox turturis designat gemitum cuiuslibet animae poenitentis. Terra de qua hic agitur est animus qui terrenae fragilitatis occupationibus irretitur. Est autem terra nostra et terra aliena. Terra aliena est mens Diaboli dominio subiugata. Unde, *Alieni insurrexerunt adversum me,*[11] *et fortes*

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[1] *om* est A

[2] *om* ergo A

[3] ligno + est L

[4] id est : idem P

[5] *om* Qui affligit carnem tollit crucem P

[6] manu + victoriae A

[7] Diabolo dominatur : Diabolum domat A

[8] et eum + sibi A; *om* et eum subicit . . . triumphat P

[9] *om* eum A

[10] *om chaps.* 28–29 A

[11] adversum me : in me BrLT

Chapter 27: <The Palm 4>

I will go up into the palm tree and will take hold of the fruit thereof (Cant. 7:8).

Near the ground the palm is thin and rough, toward the heavens thicker and beautiful. Therefore to climb it is difficult, but the fruit is sweet. The labor of climbing lessens while one smells the fragrance; the sweet taste mitigates the difficulty of the ascent. The palm is Christ, the fruit salvation. <The Psalmist> says, *I am the salvation of the people* (Ps. 34:3); *O taste and see that the Lord is sweet*[1] (Ps. 33:9). The hope of salvation is in the wood of the Cross. Therefore, ascend the palm, that is, await the victory of the Cross, since you will climb by the ladder of the Cross to the throne of the Victor. You also, carry your cross and follow Him (Matt. 10:38, 16:24). The person who mortifies his flesh carries his cross. The palm adorns the hand of the victor,[2] and the righteous man carries the palm of victory in his hand by doing good deeds. There are said to be three things over which the righteous man should gain victory: the world, the flesh, the Devil. The righteous man conquers the world while he despises it together with its pleasures. He subdues the flesh while he conquers it by abstinence. He controls the Devil and subjugates him, while he casts him out from his borders. Therefore, he who by doing good deeds triumphs in these three things bears the palm in his hand.

Chapter 28: The Turtledove

(illustration: fig. 5)

The voice of the turtledove is heard in our land (Cant. 2:12).

The voice of the turtledove is the sorrow of a troubled mind. The voice of the turtledove denotes the moan of some penitent soul. The land in question here is the soul which is hindered by concerns with the frailty of this world. Moreover, there is our land and there is a foreign land. The foreign land is the mind subjugated to the Devil's power. Whence, *For strangers have risen up against me,*

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[1] Vulgate: *salus tua Ego sum; gustate et videte. . . .*

[2] The palm as a victory symbol was taken over by early Christianity from the Romans. On trees in medieval symbolism, see Gerhart B. Ladner, "Medieval and Modern Understanding of Symbolism: A Comparison," *Speculum* 54 (1979): 223-56.

quaesierunt animam meam. Terra aliena est Babylonia, terra nostra Jerusalem. Babylonia confusio, Jerusalem visio pacis interpretatur. Terram nostram[1] alieni devorant[2] quando[3] demones suis incursionibus mentem vastant. In Babylonia tenemur[4] captivi, in Jerusalem sumus liberi. *Quomodo* igitur[5] *cantabimus canticum Domini in terra aliena?* Terra nostra[6] esse dicitur dum nihil in mente nostra proprium repperitur. Terram nostram esse dicimus dum mentem nostram cum magistro et fratribus possidemus,[7] ut animus Deo devotus serviat per dilectionem fratribus, per compassionem proximo, per modestiam sibi; et sic communis fiat. In terra igitur nostra vox turturis auditur dum in pacifica mente culpa cognoscitur. Vox turturis auditur dum ad poenitentiam auris interior humiliter inclinatur.

Caput XXIX Item de turture

Turtur secretum deserti diligit. Quandoque tamen ad hortulos pauperum et ad[8] agros cultorum descendit, ut grana seminum colligat unde vivat. Turtur est ecclesia vel quaelibet fidelis anima, secretum deserti solitudo claustri, grana seminum sententiae doctorum, hortuli vel agri doctorum libri. Ex his animus reficitur; in his vita spiritus, sic enim vivitur, et in talibus vita spiritus mei.

In locis tutissimis et[9] delectabilibus invenit turtur sibi nidum ubi reponat pullos suos. Inter ramos arboris condensae nidum collocat, ova ponit, unde suo tempore procreentur pulli. Per arborem intellegimus Crucem, per nidum salutem, per ova spem, per pullos geminam caritatem, amorem videlicet Dei et proximi. Quaeramus igitur[10] nidum turturis; quaeramus ovum in nido, nidum in arbore, id est, spem salutis in ligno Crucis.

Notum etiam quam pluribus esse reor naturam turturis esse talem ut si semel socium amiserit, absque socio semper erit. Chris-

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[1] nostram + quandoque B
[2] devorant : invaserunt Br
[3] quando : quandoque B
[4] tenemur : tenentur L
[5] *om* igitur P
[6] nostra + communis B
[7] possidemus : praesidemus L
[8] *om* ad Br
[9] et + in L
[10] igitur : ergo B

and the mighty have sought after my soul (Ps. 53:5). The foreign land is Babylon, our land Jerusalem. Babylon is interpreted as confusion, Jerusalem as the vision of peace. Strangers consume our land when demons ravage the mind by their temptations. We are held captive in Babylon, in Jerusalem we are free. *How*, therefore, *shall we sing the song of the Lord in a strange land?* (Ps. 136:4). It is said to be our land while nothing of our own is found in our mind. We say it is our land while we occupy our mind with the master and the brothers, so that the soul devoted to God might serve the brothers with affection, its neighbor with compassion, itself with modesty; and thus it is made monastic. Therefore, in our land the voice of the turtledove is heard while sin is recognized in a calm mind. The voice of the turtledove is heard while the inner ear is humbly inclined toward penitence.

Chapter 29: Further Concerning the Turtledove

The turtledove favors the remoteness of the wasteland. Nevertheless, it sometimes descends to the gardens of the poor and to the farmers' fields to gather the grain seeds by which it lives.[1] The turtledove is the Church or any faithful soul, the remoteness of the wasteland the solitude of the monastery, the seed grains the maxims of the teachers, the gardens or fields the books of the teachers. By these the mind is refreshed; in these is the life of the spirit, for thus is it quickened, and in such things is the life of my spirit.

In the most protected and pleasant places the turtledove builds for itself a nest where it may place its chicks. It places the nest among the branches of a densely foliated tree <and> lays the eggs from which in due time the chicks are hatched. By the tree we understand the Cross, by the nest salvation, by the eggs hope, by the chicks the double charity, that is, the love of God and neighbor.[2] Therefore, let us seek the nest of the turtledove; let us seek the egg in the nest, the nest in the tree, that is, the hope of salvation in the wood of the Cross.

I believe it is even better known to many that the nature of the turtledove is such that if it at any time loses its mate, it will ever

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[1] It would have been easy for Hugh to observe turtledoves feeding in gardens and fields and nesting in densely foliated trees.

[2] Compare with the dove of chap. 11.

tus est sponsus ecclesiae, vel cuiuslibet fidelis animae. Ascendit Christus in arborem Crucis, undique mundum contraxit. *Ascendam*, inquit, *in palmam*, et *omnia traham ad me*. Mortuus est Christus; expectat eum ecclesia, vel quaelibet fidelis anima, donec redeat, et castae societatis interim legem servat. Redit saepius ad arborem, frequentat nidum, videt effusionem sanguinis, indicium videlicet mortis; dum haec attendit gemit. Similiter quaelibet anima fidelis saepius ad memoriam reducit mysterium Crucis, attendit pretium sanguinis. Quae dum attente considerat, multiplicatis gemitibus mentem ad lamenta vocat.[1]

Caput XXX De cedro et passeribus qui ramis cedri nidificant

In bona significatione cedrus et Libanus quandoque[2] ponuntur, sicut in Canticis canticorum per Salomonem dicitur, *Species eius ut Libani electus ut cedri.*

Libanus Phoenicis est mons, terminus Iudeae contra septentrionem. Arbores illius proceritate, specie et robore ceterarum silvarum ligna praecellunt. Per montem Libanum sane intellegere possumus eminentiam virtutum. Terminus est Iudeae contra septentrionem, ne Diabolus mentes vere confitentium intret per temptationem. Arbores illius proceritate, specie et robore alias arbores praecellunt dum quaelibet fideles animae proceritate desiderii, specie[3] castitatis, robore perseverantiae alias antecedunt. Per cedrum intellegimus Christum. Haec est cedrus alta Libani, conformata hyssopo, qui, cum esset sublimis, factus est humilis.

[De his dictum est per Prophetam, . . . *saturabuntur ligna campi et cedri Libani quas plantavit illic passeres nidificabunt*.] Passeres sunt

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[1] vocat + Sed et turtur tempus adventus sui tunc considerat et agnoscit cum peccator revertendi ad Dominum diem recogitat et agnoscit. Turtur in vere revertitur, et in novitate vitae peccator ad Dominum convertitur. B

[2] quandoque : quando A

[3] *om* specie castitatis LT

<after> be without a mate.[1] Christ is the Bridegroom of the Church, or rather of any faithful soul. Christ ascended the tree of the Cross <and> from all quarters drew the world together. *I will go up*, He said, *into the palm tree* (Cant. 7:8), and *draw all things to myself* (John 12:32). Christ has died; the Church, or rather any faithful soul, awaits Him until He returns, and <the faithful soul> keeps meanwhile the law of a chaste community. <The turtledove> returns often to the tree, frequents the nest, sees the outpouring of blood, that is to say, the sign of death; while it is mindful of these things it mourns. Likewise the soul of any faithful person often remembers the mystery of the Cross <and> longs for the reward of the Blood. While it reflects deeply on these things, with numerous sighs it calls the mind to lamentations.

Chapter 30: The Cedar and the Sparrows Which Nest in the Branches of the Cedar

(illustrations: figs. 7a–f, 18a, 20b, 21, 22, 25, 26, 32, 38a, 41, 45, 57b, 63, 70, 72)

The cedar and Lebanon are sometimes cited for their excellence, as Solomon states in the Song of Songs, *His form as of Lebanon, excellent as the cedars* (Cant. 5:15).

Lebanon is a mountain of Phoenicia, the boundary of Judea toward the north. The trees there surpass the timber of other forests in height, beauty, and strength. In the Lebanese mountain we can, of course, understand the prominence of virtues. It is the boundary of Judea toward the north, lest through temptation the Devil enter the minds of those who confess truly. The trees there surpass other trees in height, beauty, and strength while any faithful souls excel others by the height of aspiration, the beauty of purity, and the strength of perseverance. By the cedar we understand Christ. This is the tall cedar of Lebanon, similar to the hyssop, which, when it was lofty, was made low.[2]

[Concerning these things the Prophet said, . . . *the trees of the field shall be filled, and the cedars of Lebanon which He hath planted: there*

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[1] B-Is bestiary (Mann, ed., 62).

[2] The sense of this passage seems to be that Christ, the Son of God, was given the humble form of man. The reference to the hyssop may be to the sponge raised on a hyssop stem (*cum esset sublimis*) to Christ on the Cross (John 19:29).

praedicatores. Pulli sunt hi qui verbo praedicationis sunt procreati. Nidus quietae mentis locus. In hac igitur cedro nidificant[1] qui tranquille vivendo de aeterna beatitudine non desperant.[2]

Sunt cedri Libani quas[3] plantavit Dominus. Cedri Libani sunt divites huius mundi. Passeres sunt coenobiorum rectores, pulli discipuli. Nidus officinarum locus. In his cedris passeres nidificant quia rectores animarum in possessionibus divitum coenobia locant. Ibi passeres clamare non cessant ut sibi a Deo escam quaerant. A Deo sibi escam quaerunt qui verbis[4] divini eloquii, quasi cibo, satiari volunt. Die ac nocte clamitant, qui[5] pro suis benefactoribus toto adnisu mentis Deum[6] rogant. In nido tranquillae mentis pennas contemplationis nutriunt quibus ad praedictam cedrum[7] quam citius poterunt evolare contendunt. Circa ligna Libani volitant, quia vitam[8] seu mores virorum[9] scire desiderant. Ex his lignis Libani Salomon ferculum fecisse legitur, quia ecclesia de viris sublimibus et infatigabilibus aedificatur.[10]

Caput XXXI

Sunt[11] cedri quas non plantavit Dominus. Non plantavit in propria voluntate, non dilatavit cupiditate. *Omnis* autem *plantatio quam non plantavit Pater meus caelestis eradicabitur*. Hi cedri Libani sunt divites superbi. In his nidificant herodii et accipitres, id est,

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[1] nidificant : nidificat T
[2] desperant : formidant LT
[3] quas + non B
[4] verbis : verbi ABr
[5] qui : quia LT
[6] *om* Deum P
[7] cedrum : domum P
[8] vitam : viam A
[9] virorum + sublimiorum A; virorum + sublimium BBrLPT
[10] *om* aedificatur A
[11] Sunt : Sicut AP

the sparrows shall make their nests (Ps. 103:16- 17)].[1] The sparrows are preachers. The chicks are those who are born again by the discourse of the sermon. The nest is the place of the tranquil mind. Therefore, in this cedar nest those who, by living quietly, hope for eternal bliss.

There are cedars of Lebanon which the Lord planted. The cedars of Lebanon are the rich men of this world. The sparrows are the monastic teachers, the chicks the pupils. The nest is the monastic workplace. The sparrows nest in these cedars, because teachers of souls situate monasteries in the lands of the rich.[2] There the sparrows cry continuously in order that they might seek nourishment from God. They who desire to be filled with the words of divine eloquence, as if by food, seek nourishment from God. Those who, on behalf of their benefactors beseech God with all their mind, cry day and night. In the nest of the tranquil mind they nourish the wings of contemplation by which they strive to fly as quickly as they can to the aforementioned cedar. They fly about the woods of Lebanon, for they wish to know the life or ways of men. One reads that from these Lebanese woods Solomon made a litter (Cant. 3:9), because the Church is built of exalted and tireless men.

Chapter 31: <The Cedar 2>

There are cedars which God did not plant. He did not plant them of his own will, nor did he willingly make them grow. However, *every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up* (Matt. 15:13). These cedars of Lebanon are the proud men of wealth. Falcons and hawks, that is, the robbers, nest in them.[3] They build nests <there> because robbers build strongholds in the

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[1] This sentence and the biblical quotation are omitted from the text in all known Aviary manuscripts, but appear in Migne, *PL* 177:26, and seem to be vital to the succeeding discussion. In the Dubrowsky I Aviary (Leningrad, Gos. Publ. Bibl. MS. lat. Q.v.I,131) the quotation appears in red ink in the original scribe's hand beside the painting of the Cedar.

[2] Cassiodorus, *Exposition of the Psalms* (*CC* 97:933) says that the sparrows in the cedar are like monks in the lands of Christian lords (*in patrimonio potentium Christianorum*).

[3] Again the interpretation is the opposite of an earlier one (chap. 30). On the translation of *herodius* as "falcon," DuCange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* 4 (new ed., Paris, 1938), 203; TLL 5 (1931-1953), 796-7, under *erodius* lists as meanings both the heron and unspecified forms of accipiters. The nest building habits are not reported elsewhere.

raptores. Nidos componunt quia in possessionibus divitum raptores munitiones construunt. Pulli sunt complices raptorum seu ministri. Haec volucres in cedris ut rapiant latent, quia raptores nocendi potentiam a principibus perversis habent. Sed *Dominus confringet cedros Libani*, id est, divites mundi, quosdam per poenitentiam, quosdam per vindictam. Per poenitentiam confringet quando sicut vitulum Libani comminuet. *Comminuet sicut*[1] *vitulum Libani* ad imitationem vitae Christi, ut fiat vitulus sacrificiis aptus, ut carnem mortificet et cum Christo Crucem portet. Per vindictam confringet alios, quia aeterno igni[2] reservandos.

Praedicta cedrus succisa multum[3] proficit, quia Christus morte propria mundum redemit. *Nisi* enim *granum frumenti cadens in terra mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet. Si autem mortuum fuerit multum fructum affert.* Cedrus ergo succiditur dum Christus moritur, mors siquidem Christi multis profuit. Descendit[4] ad inferos; surgens a mortuis ascendit[5] ad caelos, spem resurgendi morientibus dedit. Quid enim prodesset vivere tribulationibus concuti, ad extremum mori, nisi sequeretur spes resurgendi? Et quid prodesset resurrexisse, nisi constans esset hominem immortalem absque supplicio sine fine manere? Similiter cum cedrus quam plantavit Dominus succiditur, multum proficit quia ad aeternae beatitudinis aedificium transfertur. Si autem cedrus quam non plantavit Dominus succisa fuerit, non minimae utilitatis erit, quia quae nullum fructum ferebat in Libano, id est, in saeculo,[6] pondus aedificii succisa sustinet in spiritali templo. Ita dico, si cedri superbiam succidas per poenitentiam; si vero per vindictam succidas, Gehennae incendiis illam concremandam in perpetuum servas.

Caput XXXII De passere[7]

In Domino confido quomodo dicitis animae meae, transmigra in montem sicut passer?

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[1] sicut : tanquam LT

[2] igni + tradit B

[3] multum : multis A

[4] Descendit : Descendens A; Descendit : descensis P

[5] ascendit : ascendens ABBrT

[6] saeculo + et P

[7] *om chaps.* 32–37 A

lands of the rich.[1] The chicks are the accomplices or aides to the robbers. These birds hide in the cedars so that they can seize prey, because robbers are empowered by evil leaders to do harm. But *the Lord shall break*[2] *the cedars of Lebanon* (Ps. 28:5), that is, the rich men of the world, some by penitence, some by vengeance. He will break them by penitence when he reduces them to pieces, like the calf of Lebanon. *And shall reduce <them> to pieces,*[3] *as a calf of Lebanon* (Ps. 28:6), in imitation of the life of Christ, so that a calf fit for sacrifice can be produced, so that a person may mortify the flesh and bear the Cross with Christ. <God> will reduce others to pieces by vengeance by reserving them for burning in eternal fire.

This felled cedar is of great service, because Christ redeemed the world by His death. For *unless the grain of wheat falling into the ground die, itself remaineth alone. But if it die it bringeth forth much fruit* (John 12:24-25). Therefore, the cedar is felled while Christ dies, inasmuch as Christ's death benefitted many people. He descended to hell; rising from the dead, He ascended to heaven <and> gave hope of resurrection to the dying. For what benefit would there be to live to be shattered by troubles, finally to die, unless the hope of resurrection should follow? And what would be the benefit of having risen again, unless it were certain that man would remain forever immortal without pain? Likewise, when the cedar which the Lord planted is felled, it is of great service, because it is transformed into an edifice of eternal bliss. If, however, the cedar which the Lord did not plant should be felled, it will not be of little use, because that which bore no fruit in Lebanon, that is, in this world, when felled bears the weight of the edifice in the spiritual temple. So it is, I say, if you fell the pride of the cedar by penitence; but if you fell it by vengeance, you keep it to be burnt forever by the fires of hell.

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[1] Apparently to permit the greedy to prey on the wealthy.

[2] Vulgate: *confringet Dominus. . . .*

[3] Vulgate: *comminuet eas tamquam. . . .* The psalmist speaks of God's thunderous voice breaking both the cedars and the calf. The curious reference to the calf is a Vulgate misinterpretation of the Hebrew which reads, in translation, "skip like a calf"; *Holy Bible*, Douay edition (Baltimore, 1914), note pp. 593-94.

Sub passeris nomine designatur instabilitas mentis in quolibet homine. Est enim passer avis inconstans et instabilis, et ideo designat mobilitatem mentis. Porro per montem intellegimus elationis altitudinem. Quasi passer enim in montem transmigrat, qui de valle humilitatis mentem in superbiam levat.

Potest et aliter dici ut per passerem intellegamus quemlibet infidelem, mons vero supradictus sit eminentia haeretici sensus. Si quis in hunc montem impingit navem frangit. Quasi passer igitur in hunc montem transmigrat,[1] qui, humilitatem incarnationis Christi deserens, Christum Deum et hominem esse negat. Haereticis itaque fidei repugnantibus Propheta respondens dicit se non discessurum a fide quia in Domino confidit, non enim in virtute sua confidit,[2] nec in multitudine divitiarum suarum gloriatur.

Caput XXXIII De nido passeris

... passer invenit sibi domum. In domo patris mei mansiones multae sunt.

Passer qui de ramo in ramum volare noverat, nunc de silvis ad domum volat. Sic multi qui diversis saeculi actibus inhaerebant, nunc mentem in domum non manu factam, quae in caelis est, levant. Passer qui vestiebatur levibus plumis, id est, saecularibus curis, nunc incedit pennatus virtutibus et praeceptis. Ascendit et nidum ponit. Dat autem Deus unde fiat nidus. Verbum siquidem patris induit se faeno carnis, et sic in altum nidus ponitur, quia super angelicam creaturam humana collocatur. Nidificat in foraminibus petrae, quia spem ponit in Christi Passione. *Petra enim erat Christus.* Haec est alta cedrus Libani, conformata hyssopo; illic passeres nidificabunt.

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[1] transmigrat : migrat P

[2] confidit : confidat Br (*corrected*)

Chapter 32: The Sparrow

In the Lord I put my trust: how then do you say to my soul, Get thee away from hence to the mountain like a sparrow? (Ps. 10:1).

By the name "sparrow" is meant the unsteadiness of mind in any man. For the sparrow is a capricious and inconstant bird and therefore symbolizes the changeableness of the mind. Furthermore, by the mountain we understand the height of pride. The man who lifts his mind in pride from the valley of humility migrates like the sparrow unto the mountain.

On the other hand, it can be said that by the sparrow we understand any unfaithful person, that the mountain mentioned above is surely the prominence of the heretical disposition. If anyone crashes against this mountain he destroys his ship. Therefore, he who, forsaking the humility of the incarnation of Christ, denies that Christ is God and man, migrates like the sparrow unto this mountain. Therefore the Prophet <David>, responding to the heretics denying faith, says he will not forsake his faith, because he trusts in the Lord (Ps. 10:1), for he relies not on his own virtue, nor glories in the abundance of his own wealth.

Chapter 33: The Sparrow's Nest

... *the sparrow hath found herself a house* (Ps. 83:4). *In my Father's house there are many mansions* (John 14:2).

The sparrow which was accustomed to flying from branch to branch now flies from the forest to the house. Thus many who were clinging to various worldly impulses now lift their minds to the home not made by <human> hand, which is in heaven. The sparrow which was covered in light plumage, that is, in worldly cares, now goes about feathered in virtues and rules. It ascends and builds its nest. God, however, provides the material from which the nest is made. Inasmuch as the Word of the Father clothed Itself in the straw of the flesh, so a nest is built on high, because the Incarnation is placed above the creation of the angels. <The dove> nests in the crevices of a rock, because one places hope in the Passion of Christ. *For*[1] *the rock was Christ* (1 Cor. 10:4). This

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[1] Vulgate: *enim* : *autem.*

Caput XXXIV De calliditate passeris

Vigilavi et factus sum sicut passer solitarius in tecto.

Locum manendi in domo fidei passer invenit; et qui prius instabilis fuerat, ne ab accipitre rapiatur vigilare non cessat. Sic a quolibet fideli agitur, ne a Diabolo raptus[1] teneatur. Vigilat sibi per custodiam; vigilat promixo per doctrinam. In tecto passer habitat ut a terrenis longe fiat. In domo manet <et> in tecto residet, qui fidei firmitatem tenet <et> de culmine virtutum subiectos docet. Ecce quomodo passer qui prius ad montem perfidiae transmigrare consueverat, nunc, pro veritate fidei vigilans, de excelsis clamat. Qui ideo dicitur solitarius, quia a terrenis desideriis procul sit remotus.

Caput XXXV De laqueo passeris

Anima nostra sicut passer erepta est de laqueo venantium. Laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus.

Tenet anima similitudinem passeris, dum in his quae agit utitur exemplo calliditatis. Dum enim anima saepius seipsam considerat, quandoque contigit[2] ut, ex usu assiduae considerationis, animus callidior fiat, ut in via positum vitet laqueum. Sunt autem tres laquei. Primus laqueus venantium est fallax suggestio demonum; secundus subtilis deceptio haereticorum; tertius dulcedo vitae carnalium. Hi laquei ponuntur in semita, in via, in campo. Semita est artior via,[3] lata via,[4] campus spatiosa. Per artam et arduam religiosi; per latam et rectam coniugati; per spatiosam et deviam[5] voluptuosi gradiuntur. Laqueus passerem captum retinet dum Diabolus mentem possidet, vel dum dulcedo[6] vitae praesentis placet, seu dum haereticus blanditiis deceptum fovet.[7] Sed laqueus rumpitur et passer liberatur si, abiectis carnalibus desideriis,

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[1] raptus : captus LT
[2] contigit : contingit LT
[3] artior via : artior vita + via LT
[4] lata via : lata vita BrT
[5] deviam : deviosam T (*corrected*)
[6] dum dulcedo : dulcedo dum H
[7] fovet : favet P

is the tall cedar of Lebanon, similar to the hyssop; there will the sparrows nest.[1]

Chapter 34: The Sparrow's Cunning

I have watched and am become as a sparrow all alone on the housetop (Ps. 101:8).

The sparrow finds an abode in the house of faith; and <the bird>, which was previously unsteady, is continuously on guard lest it be seized by the hawk. So it happens with any faithful person, lest he be seized by the Devil. He protects himself through vigilance; he protects his neighbor through teaching. The sparrow dwells on the roof so that it may be far from earthly things. He who holds a firmness of faith, who teaches his charges from the height of virtues, stays upon the house <and> lives on the roof. See how the sparrow <i.e., the faithful person>, which previously used to migrate to the mountain of faithlessness, now, on guard for the truth of faith, cries from the heights. He is therefore called a recluse <i.e., monk>, because he is far removed from earthly desires.[2]

Chapter 35: The Sparrow Snare

Our soul hath been delivered as a sparrow out of the snare of the fowler. The snare is broken, and we are delivered (Ps. 123:7).

The soul is like the sparrow while in its actions it follows the <bird's> example of cunning. For while the soul reflects more often upon itself, sometimes it happens that, by practicing constant reflection, the soul is made more cunning, so that it avoids the snare set in its path.[3] There are, however, three snares. The first fowlers' snare is the deceitful rhetoric of demons; the second, the subtle deception of heretics; the third, the charm of the life of carnal men. These snares are placed in the path, in the highway, <and> in the field. The path is the narrower way, the highway the

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[1] This sentence, which seems misplaced, may have been intended for the beginning of the third paragraph of chap. 30. The error probably occurred in the first fair copy, for in extant manuscripts the sentence is always present here in chap. 33.

[2] Again *solitarius*, "recluse," refers to a monk.

[3] These motifs are discussed in B. G. Koonce, "Satan the Fowler," *Mediaeval Studies* 21 (1959): 176-84.

anima ad Deum convertatur. Hoc autem non fit per nostram potentiam, sed per gratiam. *Adiutorium*, enim, *nostrum in nomine Domini.*

Caput XXXVI De pretio passeris

Iuxta seriem Evangelii, *duo passeres asse veneunt*, et *quinque dipondio.* Passeres sunt homines vagi et inconstantes. Dipondius ex duobus assibus constat, utrumque tamen parvi ponderis est. Asse igitur et dipondio passeres venduntur, dum pro transitoriis et temporalibus aeterno igne cruciandi peccatores Diabolo subiciuntur. Et tamen non erit in oblivione coram Domino unus ex illis, quia peccatoribus semper parata est misericordia Redemptoris. *Vos autem*, inquit, *pluris*[1] *estis*. Hoc de discipulis dixit. Sunt isti[2] maioris pretii. Dum enim iusti se et sua pro Domino in praesenti saeculo tribuunt, in futura beatitudine pro transitoriis et commutabilibus aeterna possidebunt.

Sunt[3] quidam qui duos[4] passeres coacte animam et corpus interpretantur, quinque vero passeres ad quinque corporis sensus referunt. Item *nonne duo passeres asse veneunt? et unus ex illis non cadet*[5] *super terram absque Patre nostro.* Unde Ieronimus, "Si parva," inquit, "animalia et vilia absque Deo auctore non decidunt, vos qui aeterni estis non debetis timere quod absque Providentia vivatis." *Nolite* ergo *timere eos qui occidunt corpus, animam autem non possunt occidere.*

Caput XXXVII De immolatione passeris

Vox Moysi praecepit quod si quis a lepra mundatus fuerit offerat *duos passeres a quibus*[6] ... *unum immolet sacerdos in vase fictili super aquas vivas, alterum vero ... intingat in sanguine passeris*

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[1] pluris + illis LT
[2] isti : iusti LT
[3] Sunt : Sed L
[4] duos : duo LT
[5] cadet + in oblivionem P
[6] a quibus : aequibus Br

broad, the field the spacious. Religious proceed by the narrow and arduous way, married people by the broad and straight, the pleasure seekers by the spacious and wayward. The snare holds the sparrow captive, while the Devil possesses the mind, or while the charm of the present life pleases, or while the heretic encourages the deceived with flatteries. But the snare is broken and the sparrow freed if, when carnal desires are rejected, the soul is turned to God. This, however, is not accomplished through our own power, but by grace. For *our help is in the name of the Lord* (Ps. 123:8).

Chapter 36: The Sparrow's Worth

According to the Gospels, *are not two sparrows sold for a farthing* (Matt. 10:29) and *five for two farthings*?[1] (Luke 12:6). The sparrows are wayward and inconstant men. The *dipondius* is made up of two farthings, and neither is of much value. Thus, the sparrows are sold for one and two farthings, while in exchange for transitory and temporal things, sinners are subjugated to the Devil to be tortured in eternal fire. Nevertheless, not one of them will go unseen before God, because the mercy of the Redeemer is always available to sinners. *You, however*, it is said, *are worth more*[2] (Matt. 10:31). This He said in reference to His disciples. These are of the greater worth. For while the righteous give themselves and their goods for the Lord in this world, in the future state of grace they will have immortal goods instead of the transitory and mutable.

There are certain <writers> who interpret the two sparrows accurately as soul and body, but relate the five sparrows to the five senses of the body.[3] Likewise, *are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and not one of them shall fall on the ground without*[4] *our Father* (Matt. 10:29). Whence St. Jerome said, "If small and insignificant animals do not die without God's intervention, you who are eternal should not fear that you might live without <the aid of> Providence."[5] Thus, *fear ye not them that kill the body, and are not able to kill the soul* (Matt. 10:28).

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[1] Vulgate: *quinque passeres veneunt dipondio.*

[2] Vulgate: *meliores estis vos*; Hugh's version is closer to Luke 12:24, but the context there is different.

[3] The sparrow symbolism of body and soul, and of the five senses, appears in St. Jerome, *Commentary on St. Matthew* 1:10 (*CC* 67:72, line 1747).

[4] Vulgate: *absque* : *sine.*

[5] St. Jerome, see n. 3 above.

immolati ... et eum liberum in agrum advolare permittat. Duo passeres sunt corpus et anima, vas fictile fragilitas carnis moribundae, aquae vivae scientia[1] Divinae Scripturae quae nobis praestant potum spiritalem et ablutionem. Duos passeres offerimus cum corpus et animam Deo consecramus. Quod vero unus passer immolabatur, retorto ad pennulas capite ita ut sanguis effunderetur nec tamen caput a collo abrumperetur, designat quia ita caro nostra per abstinentiam est affligenda, ut non penitus extinguatur a vita. Quod vero alter passer liber in agrum advolare permittitur moraliter designatur, quia anima nostra concupiscentiis carnalibus edomitis pennis contemplationis ad caelestia sit sublevanda.

<Pars II>

Caput XXXVIII <De pelicano>

Similis factus sum pelicano solitudinis.

Pelicanus est Aegyptia avis, habitans in solitudine Nili fluminis. Haec[2] avis fertur rostro pullos occidere, et per tres dies super eos flere. Post tres dies seipsam rostro percutit, et suo sanguine pullos aspergit. Et sic quos prius occiderat, asperso sanguine vivificando sanat. Mystice pelicanus significat Christum, Aegyptus mundum. Pelicanus habitat in solitudine quia Christus solus de virgine dignatus est nasci sine viri[3] copulatione. Est etiam solitudo pelicani quod immunis est a peccato[4] vita Christi.

Haec avis rostro pullos suos occidit quia verbo[5] praedicationis incredulos convertit. Super pullos suos flere non desinit, quia Christus cum resuscitaret Lazarum misericorditer flevit. Et sic post

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[1] scientia : scientiae Br

[2] *om* Haec avis fertur ... vivificando sanat. + Nam canopus ... a mortuis *from bestiary* A

[3] viri : virili ABBrLPT

[4] peccato + sic et A

[5] *om* verbo Br

Chapter 37: The Sacrifice of the Sparrow

The voice of Moses taught that if anyone will be cleansed of leprosy he should offer *two sparrows . . . one shall the priest sacrifice in an earthen vessel over living waters, but the other . . . he shall dip . . . in the blood of the sacrificed sparrow . . . and he shall let it go to fly into the field*[1] (Lev. 14:4–7). The two sparrows are the body and the soul, the earthen vase the frailty of mortal flesh, the living waters the knowledge of Divine Scripture which furnishes us with spiritual drink and cleansing. We offer two sparrows when we consecrate the body and soul to God. But that the one sparrow was sacrificed, its head bound to the wings so that the blood would flow without breaking the head from the neck, denotes that our flesh must suffer thus by abstinence, so that it is not totally deprived of life. But that the other sparrow is permitted to fly free into the field is defined allegorically, because when carnal desires are overcome, our soul is to be raised to heaven on wings of contemplation.

<Part 2>

Chapter 38: <The Pelican>

(illustrations: figs. 10a–c, 65)

I am become like to a pelican of the wilderness (Ps. 101:7).

The pelican is an Egyptian bird, living in the wilderness of the River Nile.[2] This bird is reported to kill its chicks with its beak and to weep over them for three days. After three days it pierces itself with its beak, and sprinkles the chicks with its blood. And thus those whom first it killed, it restores by a revitalizing aspersion of blood.[3] In a spiritual sense the pelican signifies Christ, Egypt the world. The pelican lives in the wilderness because Christ alone deemed it worthy to be born of a virgin without union with a man.

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[1] Vulgate: *duos passeres vivos . . . unum e passeribus immolari iubebit in vase fictili super aquas viventes, alium autem vivum . . . tinguet in sanguine passeris immolati . . . et dimittet passerem vivum ut in agrum avolet.*

[2] For the textual tradition of the pelican, André, ed., *Isidore de Séville, Etymologies*, nn. 484–85, and Henkel, *Studien*, 194–96. See also Victor Graham, "The Pelican as Image and Symbol," *Revue de la littérature comparée* 36 (1962): 235–43.

[3] To this point in chap. 38 Hugh paraphrases Isidore, *Etymologies* 12I.7.26.

tres dies sanguine suo pullos vivificat, quia Christus proprio sanguine suo[1] redemptos salvat. Moraliter autem per pelicanum intellegere possumus non quemlibet iustum, sed a carnali voluptate longe remotum; per Aegyptum vitam nostram ignorantiae tenebris involutam, Aegyptus enim "tenebrae" interpretatur. In Aegypto igitur solitudinem facimus dum a curis et voluptatibus saeculi longe sumus. Sic et iustus in civitate solitudinem facit dum se immunem, in quantum humana natura[2] patitur, a peccato custodit.

Rostro pelicanus pullos suos occidit, quia iustus cogitationes et opera quae male gessit ore proprio iudicat et confundit, dicens, *Confitebor adversum me iniustitiam meam Domino: et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei.* Super eos triduo deflet, quia[3] quicquid cogitatione, locutione et opere male gesserit lacrimis deleri docet. Et sic pullos suos asperso[4] sanguine vivificat dum carnis et sanguinis opera minuit, et actus spiritales bene vivendo servat.

Huius etiam volucris natura talis dicitur esse quod semper afficitur macie, et quicquid glutit cito digerit, quia venter eius nullum habet diverticulum in quo retineat cibum. Non igitur cibus ille corpus impingat, sed tantum sustinet et confortat. Huic siquidem pelicano eremitae vita fit similis, qui parvo[5] pascitur, nec quaerit repletionem ventris, qui non vivit ut comedat, sed comedit ut vivat.

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[1] *om* suo P
[2] natura : fragilitas A
[3] *om* quia A
[4] asperso : aspersos A
[5] parvo : pane A

Furthermore, the wilderness of the pelican <signifies> that the life of Christ is free from sin.

This bird kills its chicks with its beak, because by the discourse of the sermon He converts non-believers. <The bird> continues to weep over its chicks, because when Christ revived Lazarus He wept compassionately (John 11:33, 35). And thus after three days <the pelican> revives the chicks with its own blood, because Christ saves the redeemed with His own blood. Allegorically, however, we can understand in the pelican not just any righteous person, but one who is far removed from the pleasures of the flesh; by Egypt, our life wrapped in the shadows of ignorance, for Egypt is translated "shadows" (Isa. 30:2). Therefore, we create a wilderness in Egypt while we are far from the cares and desires of the present. And thus the righteous man creates a wilderness in the city while, to the extent that human nature allows, he keeps himself free of sin.

The pelican kills its chicks with its beak, because the righteous man with his own mouth judges and denigrates his wrongful thoughts and deeds, saying, *I will confess against myself my injustice to the Lord: and thou hast forgiven the wickedness of my sin* (Ps. 31:5). <The pelican> weeps for <the chicks> three days, because it teaches that whatever he did wrongly by thought, word, and deed, is erased by tears. And thus it revives its chicks by aspersion with blood, while <the righteous man> both reduces the deeds of the flesh and blood and preserves spiritual impulses by living a moral life.

Moreover, the nature of this bird is said to be such that it is always made thin, and whatever it gobbles it quickly digests, because its belly has no passage in which to retain food.[1] Therefore, that food does not fatten its body, but only sustains and fortifies it. If only the life of the monk might become like this pelican, who eats little, nor seeks to fill its belly, who does not live to eat, but eats to live.[2]

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[1] The Pelican with no stomach may be a transformation of Pliny, *Natural History* 10.67.66, which states that the bird has a second stomach.

[2] ". . . who does not live to eat, but eats to live." Peter K. Marshall informs me that this aphorism has a long history, beginning in classical literature. In the Middle Ages *eremita* meant "monk" as well as "hermit."

Caput XXXIX <De nycticorace>

Factus sum sicut nycticorax in domicilio.

Nycticorax est avis quae amat tenebras noctis. In parietinis habitat, quia in ruinis maceriarum quae sunt sine tecto domicilium servat. Lucem refugit; in nocte volitans cibos quaerit. Mystice nycticorax Christum significat qui noctis tenebras amat, quia *non vult mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat.* Ita enim Deus Pater dilexit mundum ut pro redemptione mundi morti traderet filium. Quod autem peccatores tenebrae vocentur, Apostolus testatur, dicens, Fuistis *aliquando tenebrae, nunc autem lux in Domino.*

Habitat nycticorax in ruinis parietum, quia Christus nasci[1] voluit de populo Iudeorum. *Non sum missus*, inquit,[2] *nisi ad oves quae perierunt*[3] *domus Israel.* Sed Christus opprimitur a ruinis, quia occiditur a Iudeis. Lucem refugit, quia vanam gloriam detestatur et odit. Cum enim leprosum curaret,[4] ut nobis exemplum humilitatis daret ait leproso, *Vide nemini dixeris.* De hac luce dicitur, *Auferetur ab impiis lux sua*, id est, praesentis vitae gloria. Ipse autem est lux inaccessibilis quae illuminat omnem hominem. Lux igitur Christi[5] refugit[6] lucem, id est, veritas[7] mundanae[8]

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[1] *om* nasci P

[2] *om* inquit P

[3] perierunt : perierant P

[4] curaret : mundaret LT

[5] *om* Christi ABBrLPT

[6] refugit : refulgit P

[7] *om* veritas L

[8] mundanae : humanae A

Chapter 39: <The Nycticorax>[1]

(illustration: fig. 46)

I am like a night raven <= nycticorax> in the house (Ps. 101:7).

The nycticorax is a bird which loves the darkness of the night. It lives in old walls, because it keeps house in the ruins of enclosures which are without a roof.[2] It shuns light; it seeks food while flying by night. Spiritually interpreted the nycticorax signifies the Christ, who loves the darkness of the night, because He *desires not the death of the sinner, but that he might be converted and live*[3] (Ezek. 33:11). For God the Father so loved the world that He delivered His Son to death for the redemption of the world (John 3:16). Moreover, the Apostle testifies that sinners are called darkness, saying, You were *heretofore darkness, but now light in the Lord* (Ephes. 5:8).

The nycticorax lives in the ruins of walls, because Christ chose to be born of the Jewish people.[4] *I was not sent*, He said, *but to the sheep that are lost of the house of Israel* (Matt. 15:24). But Christ is crushed by the ruins, because He is killed by the Jews. <The bird> shuns light, because <Christ> abominates and hates vainglory. For when He cured the leper, in order to provide us with an example of humility He said to the leper, *See thou tell no man* (Matt. 8:4). Concerning this light it is said, *From the wicked their light shall be taken away* (Job 38:15), that is, the glory of the earthly life. He Himself, moreover, is the inaccessible light *which enlighteneth every man* (John 1:9). The light of Christ, therefore, shuns light, that is,

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[1] The translation of *nycticorax* presents problems, and therefore the Latin name will be used here. The modern term refers to the night heron; Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, give "night raven" as the translation; the Second Family bestiary equates the bird with an owl (*Nycticorax ipsa est noctua. . . .*). Hugh gives it owl characteristics, but no medieval text provides enough information to allow specific indentification of the *nycticorax*. The textual tradition of the *nycticorax* in Henkel, *Studien*, 196–97, records sources for both the "night raven" and "owl" translations.

[2] The trait of nesting in old walls and ruins, mentioned only by Hugh and perhaps observed by him, is especially characteristic of the barn owl. For a sixteenth-century illustration of this behavior, see Francis Klingender, *Animals in Art and Thought to the End of the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1971), figs. 301a, b.

[3] Vulgate: *nolo mortem impii, sed ut revertur impius a via sua. . . .* The Aviary's moralization of the *nycticorax* as a figure of Christ may have been inspired by Hrabanus Maurus's statement (*The nature of things*, 22.6, Migne, *PL* 111:251) that the bird symbolizes Christ or the holy man who scorns the unbeliever.

[4] The owl is a symbol for the Jews in the *Physiologus*.

gloriae vanitatem. In nocte volitans escas quaerit, quia peccatores in corpus ecclesiae praedicando convertit.

Moraliter autem nycticorax non quemlibet iustum nobis innuit, sed eum qui inter homines degens ab intuitu hominum se in quantum potuit abscondit. Lucem refugit, quia humanae laudis gloriam non attendit. De qua luce dicitur, *Nonne lux impii extinguetur, nec splendebit flamma ignis eius?* Lucem dicit praesentis vitae prosperitatem. Sed lux impii extinguitur, quia fugitivae vitae prosperitas cum ipsa terminatur. Nec splendebit flamma ignis eius. Ignem dicit temporalium desideriorum fervorem. Cuius flamma est decor vel potestas exterior, quae de interno eius ardore procedit. Sed non splendebit, quia in die exitus omnis exterior decor et potestas peribit.

In nocte vigilat, dum peccatorum tenebras attendens eorum errores vitat. Habitat in ruinis parietum, dum mundi defectum considerat et expectat occasum. Escam in nocte quaerit, quia peccantium vitam recogitans de exemplis iustorum mentem pascit.

Caput XL De corvo

Corvus in Divina Pagina diversis modis accipitur, ut per corvum aliquando praedicator, aliquando peccator, aliquando Diabolus intellegatur. Isidorus in Libro Etymologiarum dicit quod corvus prius in cadaveribus oculum petit. Corvus est Diabolus, qui in cadaveribus prius oculum petit, quia in carnalibus intellectum discretionis extinguit, et sic per oculum extrahit cerebrum. Per oculum cerebrum extrahit, quia[1] extincto discretionis intellectu sensum mentis evertit.

Iterum per corvum quilibet peccator intellegitur qui quasi peccatorum plumis nigrescentibus vestitur. Sunt autem quidam peccatores qui de misericordia Dei desperant. Sunt et alii qui

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[1] quia : qui P

truth <shuns> the vanity of worldly glory. While flying by night <the nycticorax> seeks food, because <Christ> converts sinners into the body of the Church through preaching.

On the other hand, the nycticorax signifies for us allegorically not any righteous man, but him who, <although> living among men, flees from the gaze of men as much as he can. He shuns light, because he pays no heed to the glory of human praise. It is said about this light, *Shall not the light of the wicked be extinguished, and the flame of his fire not shine*? (Job 18:5). It is said that the light is the success of the present life. But the light of the wicked man is extinguished, because the success of a transitory life is ended with that <life>. Nor will the flame of his fire shine. The fire is said to be the passion of earthly desires. Its flame is beauty or outward properties, which proceeds from his inner burning. But it will not shine, because on the last day all outer beauty and properties will perish.

<The nycticorax> watches in the night, while <the righteous man>, mindful of the darkness of sinners, avoids their errors. It lives in the ruins of walls, while he is mindful of the failure of the world, and awaits its downfall. It seeks food at night, because, reflecting on the life of sinners, he feeds his mind with the examples of the righteous.

Chapter 40: The Raven

On the Sacred Page the raven is perceived in various ways, so that by the raven is understood sometimes a preacher, sometimes a sinner, sometimes the Devil.[1] Isidore, in the Book of Etymologies, says that the raven first seeks out the eye in corpses.[2] The raven is the Devil, who first seeks the eye in corpses, because in carnal men he destroys the wisdom of prudence, and thus through the eye he draws out the brain. He draws out the brain through the eye, because he subverts the perceptive power of the mind when the wisdom of prudence is destroyed.

Again, by the raven is understood any sinner who is clothed as it were in the blackening plumage of sins. There are certain sinners who despair of God's grace. And there are others who still beg

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[1] For the raven tradition, André, ed. *Isidore de Séville, Etymologies*, nn. 515–17.

[2] Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.7.43.

adhuc ut[1] religiosorum precibus adiuventur exorant. De quibus dicitur, corvi paverunt Heliam. Per corvos igitur peccatores intellegi volunt, qui de sua substantia religiosos pascunt, illos enim Helias significat quos locus et habitus religionis occultat.

Sunt autem alii qui desperant, terrenis inhiant, cum intus deberent esse, foras spectant. De quibus Scriptura dicit, corvus ad archam non rediit, quia[2] forsan[3] aquis diluvii interceptus periit; vel cadaveribus inventis forsitan supersedit. Similiter peccator qui carnalibus desideriis foras pascitur, quasi corvus qui ad archam non rediit, curis exterioribus detinetur.

Sed et in bona significatione corvus accipitur, ut per corvum quilibet doctus praedicator intellegatur. Unde per beatum Iob dicitur, *Quis praeparat corvo escam suam quando pulli eius ad Deum clamant vagantes, eo quod non habeant*[4] *cibos?* "Corvus," sicut ait beatus Gregorius, "est quisque praedicator doctus qui magna voce clamat dum peccatorum suorum memoriam quasi quendam coloris nigredinem portat. Cui nascuntur in fide discipuli, sed fortasse adhuc considerare infirmitatem propriam[5] nesciunt, fortasse a peccatis praeteritis memoriam avertunt, et per hoc eam quam assumi oportet contra huius mundi gloriam humilitatis nigredinem non ostendunt.

"Hi velut ad accipiendas escas os aperiunt cum doceri de secretis[6] sublimibus quaerunt, sed eis doctor suus alimenta praedicamentorum sublimium tanto minus tribuit, quanto illos peccata praeterita minus digne deflere cognoscit. Expectat quippe atque admonet ut a nitore vitae praesentis prius per poenitentiae lamenta nigrescant, et tunc demum congrua praedicationis subtilissimae nutrimenta percipiant. Corvus in pullis ora inhiantia respicit, sed ante in eis pennarum nigredine indui corpus quaerit, et discretus doctor interna mysteria eorum sensibus non ministrat quos adhuc ab hoc saeculo nequaquam se abiecisse considerat. Et quo se a temporali gloria non evacuant, eo a spiritali refectione ieiunant. Eisque hiantibus in ore cibum revocat dum ex[7] ea intellegentia

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[1] *om* ut A
[2] *om* quia . . . periit P
[3] forsan : forsitan Br
[4] habeant : habent P
[5] propriam : suam LT
[6] *om* secretis P
[7] *om* ex P

that they be helped by the prayers of monks. Concerning these it is said <that> the ravens nourished Elijah (3 Kings 17:6). The ravens, therefore, can be interpreted as sinners, who with their own being nourish the monks, for Elijah signifies those whom the place and habit of religion conceal.

There are some, however, who despair, who long for earthly things, who look outward when they should be introspective. Scripture says concerning these people <that> the raven did not return to the ark (Gen. 8:7), perhaps because, cut off by the waters of the flood, it perished; or perhaps it alighted upon corpses it found. Likewise, the sinner who feeds outwardly on carnal desires, like the raven which did not return to the ark, is occupied with external cares.

But also the raven is explained in a good sense, so that by the raven is understood any learned preacher. Thus, for the sake of the blessed Job <God> said, *Who provideth food for the raven when her young ones cry to God, wandering about, because they have not meat*[1]? (Job 38:41). Thus, the blessed Gregory said, "The raven is every learned preacher who proclaims loudly while he wears the memory of his sins as if they were a kind of blackness of color. Disciples arise to him in faith, but are perhaps still unable to examine their own weakness; perhaps they divert their memory from earlier sins, and because of this, they do not display that blackness of humility which they should adopt against the glory of this world.

"For example, <the disciples> open their mouths to receive food when they seek to be taught about the heavenly mysteries, but their teacher furnishes them less food of exalted preaching in proportion to his knowing they weep less fitly for their past sins. Indeed, he hopes and suggests that, through the laments of penitence, they should first grow black in place of[2] the brilliance of the present life, and then at length they might receive the appropriate nourishment of the most subtle preaching. The raven sees the gaping mouths of the chicks, but first wishes their bodies to be covered in black plumage, and so the careful teacher does not provide the inner mysteries to the minds of those whom he considers to have in no way yet removed themselves from this world. And in so far as they do not purge themselves of worldly glory, so they hunger for spiritual refreshment. And he brings back food in

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[1] Lit. "food." See also Psalm 146:9.

[2] Lit. "from."

quam ceperit esurientibus discipulis alimenta vitae loquendo subministrat. Quos tanto ardentius de superioribus reficit, quanto[1] verius a mundi nitore nigrescere poenitentiae lamentatione cognoscit. Pulli autem dum nigro se pennarum colore vestiunt de se etiam volatum promittunt, quia cum magis discipuli abiecta de se sentiunt, quo magis sese despicientes affligunt, eo amplius spem provectus sui in altiora pollicentur. Unde et curat doctor festinantius alere quos iam per quaedam indicia providet post se[2] aliis prodesse.

"Quae doctrinae discretio dum caute a praedicatore custoditur, ei Divinitus largior copia praedicationis datur. Dum enim per caritatem compati afflictis discipulis novit, dum per discretionem congruum doctrinae tempus intellegit, ipse non solum pro se, sed etiam pro eis quibus laboris sui studia impendit, maiora intellegentiae munera percipit. Unde apte dicitur, *Quis praeparat corvo escam suam quando pulli eius ad Deum clamant, vagantes eo quod non habeant cibos*? Cum enim pulli ut satientur clamant, corvo esca praeparatur, quia dum verbum Dei[3] boni auditores esuriunt, pro reficiendis eis maiora doctoribus intellegentiae dona tribuuntur.

"Cuius pulli, id est, praedicatores ex eo editi non in se praesumunt, sed in viribus Redemptoris sui. Unde bene dicitur, ... *quando pulli eius ad Deum clamant*, nihil enim sua virtute posse se sciunt, et quamvis animarum lucra piis vocibus esuriant, ab Illo tamen qui cuncta intrinsecus operatur haec[4] fieri exoptant. Vera enim fide[5] comprehendunt, quia *neque qui plantat est aliquid, neque qui rigat, sed qui incrementum dat.*[6] Quod vero dictum est, ... *vagantes eo quod non habeant cibos*, in hac vagatione nil aliud quam aestuantium praedicatorum vota signantur, qui dum in ecclesiae sinum recipere populos ambiunt, magno ardore succensi, nunc ad hos, nunc ad illos colligendo[7] desiderium mittunt. Quasi quaedam quippe vagatio est ipsa cogitationis aestuatio. Et velut ad loca varia mutatis nutibus[8] transeunt, dum pro[9] adunandis[10] animabus[11]

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[1] quanto + eos B

[2] post se : posse et ABBrLPT

[3] *om* Dei P

[4] haec : hoc Br

[5] *om* fide Br

[6] dat + Deus P

[7] colligendo : colligendos BT

[8] nutibus : moribus a

[9] *om* pro P

[10] adunandis : adiuvandis A

[11] *The late Latin* animabus *in all MSS.*

his mouth to the hungry while, with such wisdom as he commanded, he supplies in discourse the food of life to the hungry pupils. The more diligently he restores them from former ways, the more truly he perceives their worldly brilliance to grow black through the sorrow of penitence. While, however, the chicks clothe themselves in black plumage, they are indeed capable of flight, because when the pupils are more aware of worthless things in themselves, the more they are afflicted, despising themselves, the more they offer hope of reaching the heights. Whence the teacher more readily takes care to feed those who, <as> he recognizes by certain signs, will provide for others after themselves.

"While the insight of this teaching is carefully observed by the preacher, he is provided by divine Providence with a greater abundance of sermons. For while charity informs him how to be sympathetic to the humble pupils, while good judgement instructs him as to the appropriate time for lessons, he not only for himself, but also for those for whom he devotes the efforts of his work, gains the greater rewards of insight. Whence it is fitly said, *Who provideth food for the raven when her young ones cry to God, wandering about, because they have no meat*[1]? (Job 38:41). For when the chicks cry to be filled, the food is provided to the raven, because while worthy listeners hunger for the word of God, for their refreshment greater gifts of knowledge are bestowed on the teachers.

<"The raven's> chicks, that is, the preachers brought forth by Him, trust not in themselves, but in the powers of their Redeemer. Whence it is rightly said, . . . *when her young ones cry to God*, for they know that they can do nothing through their own virtue, and although with faithful voices they hunger for the rewards of the spirit, still they desire these things to be accomplished by the One who controls all inner forces. For they understand by true faith, because *neither he that planteth is anything, nor he that watereth, but <God> that giveth the increase* (1 Cor. 3:7). But what has been said, . . . *wandering about because they have no meat,*[2] in this wandering is meant nothing else than the prayers of zealous preachers inflamed by great eagerness who, when they seek to bring people back into the fold of the Church, instill a desire to join now in these, now in those. Indeed, that welling up of purpose is like a kind of wandering. And with their inclinations aroused <the preachers> cross over, as it were, into various places, while, in order to unite souls in

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[1] Lit. "food."
[2] Lit. "food."

in modos innumeros, in partes diversas esurienti mente discurrunt.

Potest[1] haec auctoritas aliter exponi,[2] ut per corvum quidam ecclesiarum praelati intellegantur, peccatorum fuligine nigri. Qui non tantum escam suam sibi parant,[3] sed etiam praeparant ut prae ceteris delicatius vivant. Quorum pulli sunt eorum discipuli, qui ad Deum clamant et tamen murmurant, quod eorum magistri in cibum delicatora sumant. Vagantes a claustris exeunt, et sic abundantiam victualium sibi quaerunt. Sunt et alii maiores corvi, potestate maiores, dignitate sublimes, qui quandoque populos in ecclesiis congregant, ieiunia praedicant; ipsi tamen in diebus ieiuniorum carnes edunt, et sic simplices scandalizant et offendunt. Inde populi vagantes mente dubitant utrum praelati, qui ieiunia docent, ea populis prodesse credant.

Et hoc ad praesens de corvo[4] sufficiat, donec aliquis de eo potiora dicat.

Caput XLI De gallo

Quis dedit gallo intellegentiam?

De gallo quaeritur a quo ei intellegentia tribuatur. Sed haec quaestio cito[5] solvitur si beatus Gregorius loquens in Moralibus audiatur. "Intellegentiam," sicut ait beatus Gregorius, "gallus accipit ut prius nocturni temporis horas discutiat et tunc demum vocem excitationis emittat, quia videlicet sanctus quisque praedicator prius in auditoribus suis qualitatem vitae considerat, et tunc demum ad erudiendum congruam vocem praedicationis format. Quasi enim horas noctis[6] discernere est peccatorum merita[7] diiudicare. Quasi horas noctis discernere est actionum tenebras apta increpationis voce corripere. Gallo itaque intellegentia desuper tribuitur, quia doctori veritatis discretionis virtus ut noverit quibus quid quando vel quomodo inferat divinitus ministratur. Non enim una eademque cunctis exhortatio convenit, quia nec

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[1] Potest : Postea L

[2] exponi : exponit L

[3] parant : praeparant T

[4] corvo + dixisse A

[5] *om* cito A

[6] noctis ... et medicamentum *mutilated* A

[7] merita : vitam LT

countless ways, with hungering spirit they run to and fro in various directions."[1]

This <Scriptural> authority can be explained in another way, so that in the raven are understood certain prelates of the Church, black with the soot of sins. They not only prepare their own food, but also provide that they might live more luxuriously than others. Their chicks are their pupils, who cry to God and nevertheless grumble, because their teachers eat the tastier food. The wavering <pupils> leave the monastery and likewise seek a richness of food for themselves. And there are other, greater ravens, greater in power, high in dignity, who, whenever they gather people in the churches, preach fasting; they, however, eat meat during the periods of fasting, and thus tempt and vex the simple folk. Thereafter, the people who are wavering in spirit doubt whether the prelates who teach fasting believe that it helps people.

And this is enough for now concerning the raven, until someone says something better about it.

Chapter 41: The Cock

(illustration: fig. 42)

Who gave the cock understanding? (Job 38:36).

Concerning the cock it is asked by whom he is granted intelligence. But this question is swiftly answered if the blessed Gregory is heard speaking in the Moralia. "The cock," as the blessed Gregory said, "receives intelligence so that he might first shatter the nighttime hours and then finally give out with a rousing call, because clearly every holy preacher first reflects upon the situation of his listeners, and then at length forms in his sermon an appropriate tone for teaching them. For dividing the hours of the night is just like judging the merits of sinners. Dividing the hours of the night is like reproaching the darkness of actions with a suitable word of rebuke. Thus the cock is granted intelligence from heaven, because the virtue of discernment is divinely provided to the teacher of truth, so that he should know to whom he might offer what, when or by what means. For one and the same exhortation does not suit all people, because an equal quality of character does

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[1] St. Gregory, *Moralia in Job* 30. 33-35 (*CC* 143B:1514 f., lines 125-62; 1515, lines 165-77).

cunctos par morum qualitas astringit. Saepe autem aliis officiunt, quae aliis prosunt. Nam et plerumque herbae quae haec animalia reficiunt, alia occidunt; et lenis sibilus equos mitigat, catulos instigat; et medicamentum quod hunc morbum imminuit, alteri vires iungit; et panis qui vitam fortium roborat, parvulorum necat. Pro qualitate igitur audientium formari debet sermo doctorum, ut[1] ad sua singulis congruat et tamen a communis aedificationis arte numquam recedat. Quid enim sunt intentae mentes auditorum nisi quasi quaedam in cythera tensiones stratae chordarum? Quas tangendi artifex ut non sibimetipsi dissimile canticum faciant, dissimiliter pulsat, et idcirco chordae consonam modulationem reddunt, quia uno quidem plectro, sed non uno impulsu feriuntur. Unde et doctor quisque ut in una cunctos virtute caritatis aedificet, ex una doctrina, non una eademque exhortatione[2] tangere corda audientium debet.

"Habemus vero aliud quod de galli huius intellegentia considerare debeamus, quia profundioribus horis noctis valentiores ac productiores edere cantus solet; cum vero matutinum iam tempus appropinquat leniores ac minutiores omnimodo voces format. In quibus galli huius intellegentia quid nobis innuat considerata praedicatorum discretio demonstrat,[3] qui cum adhuc iniquis mentibus praedicant altis[4] et magnis vocibus aeterni[5] iudicii terrores[6] intimant, quia videlicet et[7] quasi in profundae noctis tenebris clamant. Cum vero iam auditorum suorum cordibus veritatis lucem adesse cognoscunt, clamoris sui magnitudinem in levitatem dulcedinis vertunt, et non tam illa quae sunt de poenis terribilia quam ea quae sunt blanda de praemiis proferunt. Qui etiam minutis tunc vocibus cantant, quia propinquante mane subtilitate quadam quaeque de mysteriis praedicant, ut sequaces sui eo minutiora quaeque de caelestibus audiant quo luci veritatis appropinquant.

"Et quos dormientes longus galli clamor excitaverat,[8] vigilantes succisior delectat, quatenus correcto cuilibet cognoscere de Regno subtiliter dulcia liberat,[9] qui prius de iudicio adversa formidabat.

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[1] ut + et BL

[2] exhortatione : significatione L; exhortatione : edificatione T

[3] demonstrat : designat B

[4] altis : aliis A

[5] aeterni : aeternis L

[6] terrores : timores LT

[7] *om* et ABrT

[8] excitaverat : exitaverit P

[9] liberat : libeat A

not bind all people.[1] Often, moreover, those things which are advantageous to some, impede others. For there are very often plants which heal these animals, <and> kill those; and a soft whistle calms horses, <while> it arouses puppies; and a medicine which relieves this illness, intensifies another; and the bread which strengthens the life of the strong, kills the young. Therefore, the teachers' sermon should be fashioned for the situation of the audience, so that it is appropriate for each person and still never departs from the art of common edification. For what are the attentive minds of the listeners like if not certain tensions of strings stretched on the cithera? So that they do not produce a discord,[2] the master player strikes them in sequence, and therefore the strings produce an harmonious sound, because in fact they are struck by one plectrum but not on one beat. Whence every teacher, so that he may instruct all in the one virtue of charity, should touch the hearts of his hearers with one principle, not with one and the same exhortation.

"Now we have another point to consider about the intelligence of the cock, because in the deepest hours of night he is accustomed to produce more powerful and more prolonged songs; but when the morning hour at last approaches he forms altogether gentler and quieter tones. In these <songs> the intelligence of the cock represents what the considered judgement of the preachers signals to us, <the preachers> who, when they preach to minds still wicked, proclaim with loud and mighty voices the terrors of eternal judgement, because clearly they cry as if in the darkness of deep night. When in fact they can observe the light of truth in the hearts of their listeners, they turn the high volume of their cry into a pleasant lightness <of tone> and reveal not so much the terrors of punishment as the pleasures of the rewards. Indeed, they sing quietly, because at the approach of morning they preach with a certain subtlety on matters concerning the <divine> mysteries, so that their followers might hear more subtle things about heaven the more they approach the light of truth.

"And the full cry of the cock aroused those asleep, the more toned down <call> delights those <who are> awake, inasmuch as it sets any reformed <sinner>, who first feared the adversities of judgement, free to know intimately the charms of the Kingdom.

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[1] The passage from this sentence to the end of the paragraph can be found not only in St. Gregory's *Moralia*, but also in his *Pastoral Care*, prologue to Book 3.

[2] Lit. "make for themselves a dissimilar song."

Quod bene per Moysen exprimitur cum ad perducendum exercitum tubae clangere concisius iubentur. Scriptum namque[1] est, *Fac tibi duas tubas argenteas ductiles.* Et paulo post, Cum *concisus clangor increpuerit, movebuntur castra.*[2] Per duas enim tubas exercitus ducitur, quia per duo praecepta caritatis ad procinctum fidei populus vocatur. Quae idcirco argenteae fieri praecipiuntur, ut praedicatorum verba lucis nitore pateant,[3] et auditorum mentem nulla sui obscuritate confundant. Idcirco autem ductiles, quia necesse est ut hi qui venturam vitam praedicant tribulationum[4] praesentium tunsionibus crescant. Bene autem dicitur, Cum *concisus clangor increpuerit movebuntur castra,* quia nimirum praedicationis sermo cum subtilius ac minutius agitur, auditorum corda contra temptationum certamina ardentius excitantur.

"Est adhuc aliud in gallo intuendum sollerter, quia cum iam[5] edere cantum parat, prius alas excutit, et semetipsum feriens vigilantiorem reddit. Quod patenter cernimus si sanctorum praedicatorum vitam vigilanter videmus. Ipsi quippe cum verba praedicationis movent prius se in sanctis actionibus exercent, ne in semetipsis torpentes opere, alios excitent voce. Sed ante se per sublimia facta excutiunt, et tunc ad bene agendum alios sollicitos reddunt. Prius cogitationum alis semetipsos feriunt, quia quicquid in se inutiliter torpet sollicita investigatione deprehendunt,[6] districta animadversione corrigunt. Prius sua punire fletibus curant, et tunc quae aliorum sunt punienda denuntiant. Prius ergo alis insonant, quam cantus emittant, quia antequam verba exhortationis proferunt, omne quod locuturi sunt operibus clamant, et cum perfecte in semetipsis vigilant, tunc dormientes alios ad vigilias vocant. Sed unde haec tanta doctori intellegentia, ut et sibi perfecte vigilet et dormientes ad vigilias sub quibusdam clamoris provectibus vocet; ut et peccatorum tenebras prius caute discutiat, et discrete postmodum lucem praedicationis ostendat, ut singulis

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[1] namque : quippe P
[2] *om* castra ABrP
[3] pateant : pareant A
[4] *om* tribulationum P
[5] *om* iam A
[6] deprehendunt + et B

This is clearly explained by Moses when the trumpets are ordered to sound in shorter blasts so the army can be led forth. For it is written, *Make thee two trumpets of beaten silver* (Num. 10:2). And shortly thereafter, When *a short blast shall sound, the camps shall be moved*[1] (Num. 10:5). For the army is led by two trumpets, because for the two commands of love the people are called to the battle of faith.[2] Therefore, <the trumpets> are ordered to be made of silver, so that the words of the preachers might be revealed in a brilliance of light, and not confuse the minds of listeners with any obscurity. Moreover, on that account <the trumpets> are of beaten <silver>, because it is necessary that those who preach the life to come should grow by the <hammer> blows of today's cares. Furthermore, it is correctly said, When *a short blast shall sound, the camps shall be moved*, because unquestionably when the discourse of the sermon is delivered more subtly and quietly, the hearts of the listeners are more passionately aroused against the onslaughts of temptation.

"Yet there is something else to be carefully observed in the cock, because when at the moment he prepares to give his call, he first shakes his wings, and striking himself, he makes himself more alert. This we see clearly if we closely observe the life of the holy preachers. Indeed, when they begin the words of a sermon they first prepare themselves by holy actions, lest, being sluggish within, they should with their voices urge others <to be the same>. But beforehand they shake themselves by lofty deeds, and then they make others eager to do good deeds. First, they strike themselves with the wings of meditation, because whatever is uselessly sluggish in themselves they perceive by careful reflection <and> correct by severe reproach. First, with weeping, they strive to punish their own <sins>, and then declare which <sins> of others should be punished. Therefore, they first sound off with their wings, then they give their call, because before they offer words of exhortation, they proclaim by their actions all that they are going to say, and when they are truly alert within, then they call the other sleepers to the watch. But whence comes this great wisdom of the teacher, that he both watch perfectly for himself, and, with certain lengthenings of his cry, call the sleepers to the watch; so that first he cautiously disperses the darkness of sins, and thereafter prudently holds forth the light of preaching so that it may be appropriate to

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[1] Vulgate: *movebuntur* : *movebunt*.

[2] The commands are the love of God and one's neighbor.

iuxta modum et tempora congruat, et simul omnibus quae illos sequantur ostendat? Unde ad tanta et tam subtiliter tenditur, nisi intrinsecus ab eo a quo est conditus doceatur? Quia igitur laus tantae intellegentiae non praedicatoris virtus est, sed Auctoris, recte per eundem Auctorem dicitur vel *quis dedit gallo intellegentiam?*, ac[1] si diceret, "Nisi Ego qui doctorum mentes quas mire ex nihilo condidi, ad intellegenda quae occulta sunt mirabilius instruxi."

Potest etiam de gallo dici quod sint quidam ecclesiae praelati quibus a Deo intellegentia[2] datur, nec tamen iuxta intellegentiam a Deo sibi datam aliquid operantur. Non seipsos alis excitant, nec alios monent ut ad bene operandum surgant. Seipsos amant, et sic otio et voluptati vacant. Horas noctis sicut gallus non annuntiant, quia culpas delinquentium non accusant. Confessionis et poenitentiae discretionem non attendunt, sed in acquirendis rebus transitoriis intellegentiam a Deo sibi datam ponunt. Animarum lucra quaerere noverunt, ea tamen quae ad delectationem carnis pertineant tota mente quaerunt.

Sunt et alii nimis simplices et illiterati, qui quasi gallus sedent in pertica regiminis, id est, in cathedra praelationis. Locum occupant, et tamen Officium Divinae Legis ignorant. Sedent et tacent, seipsos pascunt, nec gregem sibi commissum ad pascua aeternae veritatis ducunt. Et hic igitur, cui intellegentia datur, nec populo verbum Dei praedicat. Et hic qui tacet, quia nescit quid dicat.

Uterque caveat ne quasi gallus de pertica cadat. Filios suos Heli saepe corripuit, sed quia manum correctionis[3] non adhibuit, fractis cervicibus de sella cecidit. Antequam moreretur, mortem filiorum audivit[4] et archam Domini ab allophilis captam fuisse[5] cognovit.

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[1] *om* ac si diceret A

[2] *om* intelligentia . . . a Deo A

[3] correctionis : correctioni A

[4] audivit : vidit ABrT

[5] fuisse : esse P

each individual in manner and circumstances, and at the same time shows to all people what might befall them? How is he directed to such great subtlety unless he is taught inwardly by Him by whom he was created? Therefore, because the glory of such wisdom is not a virtue of the preacher, but of the Author, it is rightly said by the same Author, *whoever gave intelligence to the cock?*, and He might say, 'None other than I who have more wondrously instructed the minds of the teachers, <minds> which I miraculously formed from nothing, to understand those things which are hidden.' "[1]

Referring to the cock, it can also be said that there are certain prelates of the Church to whom God gives intelligence, yet they accomplish nothing equal to the intelligence given them by God. They neither bestir themselves with their wings, nor exhort others to attempt to do good deeds. They are content with themselves, and thus give themselves to idleness and pleasure. They do not announce the hours of the night like the cock, because they do not chastise the faults of the transgressors. They do not attend to the prudence of confession and penitence, but devote the wisdom given them by God to acquiring transitory things. They know how to seek the souls' rewards, but nevertheless fervently seek those things which belong to the pleasure of the flesh.

There are others both excessively simple and unlettered, who sit like a cock on the perch of governance, that is, on the chair of <ecclesiastical> dignity. They occupy the place, but even so, do not know the Office of the Divine Law. They sit and keep silent, they feed themselves and do not lead the flock committed to their care to the pastures of eternal truth. And therefore here is a person to whom wisdom is given, and he does not preach the Word of God to the people. And here is a person who is silent because he does not know what to say.

Let each <prelate> be cautious, lest like the cock he fall from the perch. Eli often rebuked his sons (1 Kings 2:23-25), but because he did not apply the hand of correction, he fell from his seat with a broken neck. Before he died he heard about the death of his sons, and he knew that the Ark of the Lord had been captured by foreigners (1 Kings 4:17-18).

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[1] St. Gregory, *Moralia in Job* 30.3 (*CC* 143B:1499, lines 81-107; 1500 ff., lines 151-212).

Caput XLII <De strutio>

Penna strutionis similis est pennis herodii et accipitris.

"Quis herodium vel accipitrem nesciat aves reliquas quanta volatus sui[1] velocitate transcendat? Strutio vero pennae eorum similitudinem habet, sed volatus eorum celeritatem non habet.[2] A terra quippe elevari non valet, et alas quasi ad volatum specie tenus erigit, sed tamen numquam se a terra volando suspendit. Ita sunt nimirum omnes hypocritae qui dum bonorum vitam simulant, imitationem sanctae visionis habent, sed veritatem[3] sanctae actionis non habent. Habent quippe volandi pennas per speciem, sed in terra repunt per actionem, quia alas per figuram sanctitatis extendunt, sed curarum saecularium pondere praegravati, nullatenus a terra sublevantur. Speciem namque[4] phariseorum reprobans Dominus quasi strutionis pennam[5] redarguit, quae in opere aliud exercuit, et in colore aliud ostendit, dicens, *Vae vobis scribae et pharisaei, hypocritae*, ac si diceret, 'Sublevare vos videtur species pennae, sed in infimis vos deprimit pondus vitae.' De hoc pondere per Prophetam dicitur, *Filii hominum usquequo graves corde*?

"Huius strutionis conversurum se hypocrisim Dominus pollicetur cum per Prophetam dicitur,[6] *[Glorificabit][7] me bestia agri, dracones et strutiones*. Quid enim draconum nomine nisi in aperto malitiosae mentes exprimuntur, quae per terram semper in infimis repunt cogitationibus? Quid vero per strutionis vocabulum nisi hi qui se bonos simulant designantur, qui sanctitatis vitam, quasi volatus pennam, per speciem retinent, sed per opera non exercent. Glorificari itaque se Dominus a dracone vel strutione asserit, quia et aperte malos et ficte bonos plerumque ad sua obsequia exintima cogitatione convertit.

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[1] volatus sui : suo volatu P
[2] habet : habent L
[3] *om* veritatem sanctae actionis non habent P
[4] namque : quoque LT
[5] *om* pennam P
[6] dicitur : dicens A; dicitur : dicit LT
[7] Glorificabit : Glorificavit H

Chapter 42: <The Ostrich>

(illustrations: figs. 9a–d)

The wing of the ostrich is like the wings of the falcon, and of the hawk[1] (Job 39:13).

"Who does not know how much the falcon or the hawk excels all other birds in the speed of its flight?[2] In fact, the ostrich has plumage similar to theirs, but not their swiftness of flight. Indeed, it is not able to rise from the ground, and it raises its wings, poised as if to fly, but even so, never raises itself from the earth in flight. So surely are all the hypocrites, who, while they feign a life of good deeds <and> imitate a holy appearance, yet do not possess the truth of holy action. To be sure, in form they have flight plumage, but in movement they creep upon the ground, because they extend their wings in a gesture of sanctity, but encumbered by the burden of worldly cares, they are lifted not the slightest bit from the earth. For indeed, reproaching their pharisee-like appearance, the Lord shows it to be false like the wing of the ostrich, which in its action does one thing, in its appearance displays another, saying, *woe to you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites* (Matt. 23:15), as if to say, 'The semblance of a wing seems to lift you, but the weight of life presses you down into the depths.' Concerning this burden the Prophet says, *O sons of men, how long will you be dull of heart?*[3] (Ps. 4:3).

"When He states by the Prophet, *The beast of the field [shall glorify] me, the dragons and the ostriches* (Isa. 43:20), the Lord promises that this ostrich's hypocrisy will undergo change. For what are called dragons but minds in a clear state of evil, which, always with basest thoughts, creep across the land? What in fact is meant by the word 'ostrich' but those who pretend they are good, who maintain in outward appearance a life of sanctity, like flight plumage, but who do not use it in their actions? And thus the Lord declares that He is glorified by the dragon or the ostrich, because He so often converts both the clearly evil and the falsely good from their own inner thoughts to His service.

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[1] The Douay Bible translates *herodii* as "heron." For Hugh's *herodius*, see p. 159, n. 3.

[2] All but the final sentence of the Ostrich chapter is from St. Gregory, *Moralia in Job* 31, selections from chaps. 8.11, 12, 13; 9.14; 10.15; 11.16; 12.17, 18, 19; 15.27, 28 (*CC* 143B:1557, lines 2-33; 1558, line 40; 1561, line 14; 1562, lines 26-29, 35-40, 1-7; 1563, lines 43-61; 1569, lines 1-9; 1570, lines 40-44; 1577, lines 22-7, 16-21). Comparisons with variants in the *Corpus Christianorum* edition were inconclusive.

[3] Vulgate: *hominum* : *viri*, *graves* : *gravi.*

"Habemus adhuc quod in consideratione strutionis huius de accipitre et herodio attentius perpendamus. Accipitris quippe et herodii parva sunt corpora, sed pennis densioribus fulta, et idcirco cum celeritate transvolant, quia eis parum inest quod aggravat, multum quod levat. At contra, strutio raris pennis induitur, et immani corpore gravatur, ut etsi[1] volare appetat, ipsa pennarum paucitas molem tanti corporis in aere non suspendat. Bene ergo in herodio et accipitre electorum persona designatur[2] qui, quamdiu in hac vita sunt, sine quantulocumque culpae contagio esse non possunt. Sed cum eis parum quid inest quod deprimit, multa virtus bonae actionis suppetit, quae illos in superna sustollat. At contra hypocrita etsi qua facit pauca quae elevent, perpetrat multa quae gravent. Neque enim nulla bona agit hypocrita, sed quibus ea ipsa deprimat multa perversa committit. Paucae igitur pennae strutionis corporis non sublevant, quia parvum bonum hypocritae multitudo pravae actionis gravat.

"Haec quoque ipsa strutionis penna ad pennas herodii et accipitris similitudinem coloris habet, virtutis vero similitudinem non habet, illorum namque conclusae et firmiores sunt, et volatu aerem premere virtute suae[3] soliditatis possunt. At contra strutionis pennae dissolutae eo volatum sumere nequeunt, quo ab ipso quem premere debuerant aere transcenduntur. Quid ergo in his aspicimus nisi quod electorum virtutes solidae evolant ut ventos humani favoris premant? Hypocritarum vero actio quamlibet recta videatur volare non sufficit, quia videlicet fluxae virtutis pennam humanae laudis aura pertransit.

"Sed ecce[4] cum unum eundemque bonorum malorumque habitum cernimus, cum ipsam in electis et reprobis professionis speciem videmus, unde nostrae intellegentiae suppetat ut electos a reprobis, ut a falsis veros comprehendendo discernat perspicimus.[5] Quod tamen citius agnoscimus si intemerata[6] in memoria Praeceptoris nostri verba signamus qui[7] ait, *Ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos.* Neque enim pensanda sunt quae ostendunt imagine, sed quae servant in actione.

"Unde Hic postquam speciem strutionis huius intulit, mox subiunxit facta, dicens, Qui *derelinquit in terra ova sua.* Quid enim

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[1] etsi : si Br

[2] designatur : signatur ABBrLPT

[3] *om* suae A

[4] *om* ecce A

[5] *om* perspicimus B

[6] intemerata + ipsius P

[7] qui : cum AT

"We still have something about this ostrich which we should more carefully examine in relation to the hawk and the falcon. The bodies of the hawk and falcon are in fact small, but supported by dense plumage, and for that reason they fly swiftly, because they have little which burdens them, much that lightens. But in contrast, the ostrich is clothed in sparse plumage, and is weighted down by an enormous body, so that although it might try to fly, that paucity of plumage would not support the bulk of such a body in the air. Therefore, in the falcon and hawk is correctly represented the character of the elect who throughout their lives are not able to be free from contact with sin, however small. But whenever they have some little burden, they have abundant virtue of good action at hand which raises them above it. In contrast, even if the hypocrite does a few things which are uplifting, he does many deeds which oppress. Nor is the hypocrite without doing some good deeds, but he perpetrates many wrongs by which he burdens these <good deeds>. Therefore, the sparse plumage of the ostrich's body does not lift it up, because a multitude of perverse deeds weigh down the small good done by the hypocrite.

"In addition, this very plumage of the ostrich is similar in color to the plumages of the falcon and the hawk but is not similar in worth, for theirs are firm and stronger and can move the air in flight <i.e., fly> by the power of their solidity. But in contrast, the loose feathers of the ostrich are therefore unable to take flight, because the air against which they should move passes over them. What, therefore, do we understand in these facts but that the solid virtues of the elect rise up to move the winds of human favor? But the action of the hypocrites, however right it may appear, is insufficient for flight, because clearly the air of human praise passes through the wing of loose virtue.

"But observe, when we discern one and the same posture of good and evil, when we see that same appearance of commitment both in the elect and in the sinful, we perceive whence it enables our understanding by observation to distinguish the elect from the sinful, the true people from the false. This we nevertheless recognize the more readily if we engrave permanently in our memory the words of our Teacher who said, *By their fruits you shall know them* (Matt. 7:16). What should be weighed is not what they exhibit in appearance, but what they hold to in action.

"Whence after <God> described the ostrich He quickly added <an account of> its deeds, saying, Who *leaveth her eggs on the earth* (Job 39:14). For what is represented by the eggs but a child still young enough to be looked after for a long time, so that it might be

per ova nisi tenera adhuc proles exprimitur quae diu fovenda est, ut ad vivum volatile producatur. Ova quippe insensibilia in semetipsis sunt, sed tamen calefacta in vivis volatilibus convertuntur. Ita nimirum parvuli auditores ac filii: certum est quod frigidi insensibilesque remaneant nisi doctoris sui sollicita exhortatione calefiant. Ne igitur derelecti in sua insensibilitate torpescant, assidua doctorum voce fovendi sunt quo usque valeant et per intellegentiam vivere et per contemplationem volare.

"Quia vero hypocritae, quamvis perversa[1] semper operentur, loqui tamen recta non desinunt, bene loquendo autem in fide vel conversatione filios pariunt, sed eos bene vivendo nutrire non possunt. Recte de hac strutione dicitur, quae *derelinquit in terra ova sua.* Curam namque filiorum hypocrita negligit, quia ex amore intimo rebus se exterioribus subdit in quibus quanto magis extollitur, tanto minus de prolis suae defectu cruciatur. Ova ergo in terra dereliquisse est natos per conversionem filios nequaquam a terrenis actibus interposito exhortationis nido suspendere. Ova in terra dereliquisse est nullum caelestis vitae exemplum filiis praebere. Quia enim hypocritae per caritatis viscera non calent, de torpore prolis editae, id est, de ovorum suorum frigore nequaquam dolent. Et quanto se libentius terrenis actibus inserunt, tanto negligentius eos quos generant agere terrena permittunt.

"Sed quia derelictos hypocritarum filios superna cura non deserit, nonnullos namque etiam ex talibus intima electione praescitos largitae gratiae respectu calefacit. Recte subiungitur, . . . *tu forsitan in pulvere calefacies ea.* Ac si dicat ut 'Ego qui illa in pulvere calefacio, quia[2] scilicet parvulorum animas in medio peccantium positas amoris[3] mei igne succendo.' Ova ergo Dominus in pulvere derelicta calefacit, quia parvulorum animas praedicatorum suorum sollicitudine destitutas, etiam in medio peccantium positas amoris sui igne succendit. Hinc est enim quod plerosque cernimus et in medio populorum vivere, et tamen vitam torpentis populi non tenere; hinc est enim quod plerosque cernimus et malorum turbas non fugere, et tamen superno ardore flagrare. Hinc est quod plerosque cernimus, ut ita dixerim, in frigore[4] calere. Unde enim nonnulli, inter terrenorum hominum torpores

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[1] *om* perversa Br

[2] quia : quod P

[3] amoris + mei P

[4] frigore + et A (*corrected*)

educated to be a creature of flight. Indeed, the eggs in themselves are insensible things, but nevertheless when warmed they are changed into creatures of flight. So doubtless are the young pupils and children: it is true that they remain cold and insensible unless they are warmed by the careful encouragement of their teacher. Therefore, lest those abandoned become useless in their insensibility, they should be nourished by the constant word of the teachers to the point at which they can both live by knowledge and fly in contemplation.

"Indeed, although they are always busy doing evil things, because hypocrites still continue to speak virtuously, by their eloquent speech they still create sons in faith or conversion, but they are not able to nourish them by <an example> of righteous living. What is said concerning this ostrich, which *leaveth her eggs on the earth*, is correct. For truly the hypocrite neglects the care of his sons, because, through self love, he concerns himself with external things in which the more he is praised, the less he is pained by the failing of his offspring. Therefore, to have left the eggs on the ground is to fail to raise the sons born of conversion from worldly activities by providing them with the nest of encouragement. To have left the eggs on the ground is to deprive the sons of a model of the spiritual life. For because the vitals of hypocrites are not warmed by charity, they in no wise grieve over the sluggishness of their offspring, that is, for the cold of their own eggs. And as much as they freely enter worldly activities, so much the more negligently do they allow those whom they produced to engage in worldly things.

"But because heavenly care does not forsake the abandoned sons of the hypocrites, in consequence of its abundant grace, it yet warms some of such people predestined by secret election <i.e., election to grace>. <Scripture> rightly adds, . . . *thou perhaps wilt warm them in the dust* (Job 39:14). And it is as if He were to say, 'It is I who warm them in the dust, for clearly by the fire of My love I inflame the souls of the young placed in the midst of sinners.' Therefore, the Lord warms the eggs left in the dust, for with the fire of His love He inflames the minds of the young deprived of their teachers' care, even placed in the midst of sinners. For hence it is that we see most <of the young> both living among people, and yet not maintaining the life of the listless crowd; hence it is that we see most <of them> both not fleeing the crowds of the wicked, and yet glowing with celestial fervor. Hence it is that we see most <of them> to be warm, so to speak, in a cold place. For whence do some <people>, placed in the midst of the listlessness of

positi, supernae spei desideriis inardescunt; unde et inter frigida corda succensi sunt, nisi quia omnipotens Deus derelicta ova scit etiam in pulvere calefacere; et frigoris pristini insensibilitate discussa, per sensum Spiritus Vitalis animare, ut nequaquam iacentia in infimis torpeant, sed in vivis volatilibus versa, sese ad caelestia contemplando, id est, volando suspendant.

"Notandum vero est quod in his verbis non solum hypocritarum actio perversa reprobatur, sed bonorum etiam magistrorum si qua fortasse subrepserit[1] elatio premitur. Nam cum de se Dominus dicit quod derelicta ova in pulvere ipse[2] calefacit, profecto aperte indicat quia ipse operatur intrinsecus per verba doctoris; quia[3] et sine verbis ullius hominis calefacit quos voluit[4] in frigore pulveris. Ac si aperte dicat doctoribus, "Ut sciatis quia Ego sum qui per vos loquentes operor: ecce, cum[5] volero cordibus hominum etiam sine vobis loquor." Humiliata igitur cogitatione doctorum ad exprimendum hypocritam sermo vertitur;[6] et qua fatuitate torpeat adhuc sub strutionis facto plenius indicatur.

Nam sequitur, *Obliviscitur quod pes conculcet ea, aut bestia agri conterat.* Quid in pede nisi transitus operationis accipitur? Quid in agro nisi mundus iste signatur? De quo in Evangelio Dominus dicit, *Ager autem est mundus.* Quid in bestia nisi antiquus Hostis exprimitur, quia[7] huius mundi rapinis insidians humana quotidie morte satiatur. De qua per Prophetam pollicente Domino[8] dicitur, *Et mala bestia non transibit per eam.* Strutio itaque ova sua deserens obliviscitur quod pes conculcet ea, quia videlicet hypocritae eos quos in conversatione filios[9] generant derelinquunt, et omnino non curant ne autem exhortationis sollicitudine aut disciplinae custodia destitutos pravorum operum exempla pervertant. Si enim ova quae gignunt diligerent, nimirum metuerent ne quis ea perversa opera demonstrando calcaret. Obliviscitur etiam quod bestia agri conterat, quia nimirum si Diabolus, in hoc mundo saeviens, editos in bona conversatione filios rapiat, hypocrita omnino non

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[1] subrepserit : surrexerit Br
[2] *om* ipse A
[3] quia : qui A
[4] voluit : voluerit A
[5] cum : quos H
[6] vertitur : convertitur BBrP
[7] quia : qui BrT
[8] *om* Domino A
[9] *om* filios P

worldly men, burn with the longings of celestial hope; and whence are they inflamed in the midst of cold hearts, unless the omnipotent God can indeed warm the eggs abandoned in the sand; and, when the insensibility of the former cold is dispelled, <unless He> can bring about life through the power of the living Spirit, so that the neglected <eggs> should by no means lie inactive on the low ground, but, transformed into winged creatures, might soar to heaven through contemplation, that is, in flight?

"But it should be noted that in these words not only is the evil action of hypocrites rebuked, but also the pride, if any may have crept in, of the good masters is checked. For when God says that He Himself warms the eggs abandoned in the sand, truly He shows plainly that He works within <the person> through the words of the teacher; and that <even> without human words He warms those whom He wishes to in the cold of the sand. And so He says plainly to the teachers, 'So that you may know that I am He who acts through your words; observe that when I wish I speak to the hearts of men even without you.'[1] Therefore, by the humbled reflection of the teachers the sermon is directed toward defining the hypocrite; and how foolishly <he acts when> he is negligent is shown even more clearly by the ostrich's action.

"For it is said, *She forgets that the foot may tread upon them, or that the beast of the field may break them*[2] (Job 39:15). What is meant by the foot but the course of daily activity? What does the field signify but this world? As the Lord says in the Gospel, *And the field is the world* (Matt. 13:38). What does the beast represent but that old Enemy, because, lying in wait to plunder the world, he is satiated daily with human death. Concerning <human death> it is said by the Prophet, according to the Lord's promise, *Nor shall any mischievous beast cross over*[3] *by it* (Isa. 35:9). Thus, the ostrich leaving its eggs forgets that the foot may tread on them, because clearly the hypocrites abandon those whom they create as sons in conversion and take no heed, moreover, that the examples of evil deeds do not lead astray those <who are> bereft of the solicitude of encouragement or of attention to discipline. For if the <hypocrites> valued the eggs they produce, they would surely fear lest anyone

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[1] The speech given to Christ seems to be a paraphrase of Ex. 4:15.

[2] Vulgate: *bestiae agri conterant.*

[3] Vulgate: *transibit* : *ascendet.* The relevance of this quotation to the context is unclear. In Isaiah the evil beast is not allowed to take the pilgrim's path.

curat. Habeant[1] ergo veraces magistri super discipulos suos timoris viscera ex virtute caritatis. Hypocritae autem tanto minus commissis sibi metuunt, quanto ne[2] sibimetipsis quid[3] timere debeant deprehendunt. Et quia obduratis cordibus vivunt, ipsos etiam quos generant filios nulla [pietate amoris][4] agnoscunt.[5]

"Unde adhuc strutionis sub specie subditur:[6] duratur ad filios[7] quasi non sint sui. Quem enim caritatis gratia non infundit, proximum suum etiam si ipse hunc Deo genuit extraneum respexit;[8] ut profecto sunt omnes hypocritae. Quorum videlicet mentes dum semper exteriora appetunt intus insensibiles fiunt; et in cunctis quae agunt dum sua semper expetunt, erga affectum proximum nulla caritatis compassione mollescunt. Quia et[9] caritatis viscera nesciunt, eorum mens quanto per mundi concupiscentiam in exteriora resolvitur, tanto per affectionem suam interius obduratur.[10] Et torpore insensibili frigescit intrinsecus, quia amore damnabili mollescit foris; seque ipsam considerare non [valet],[11] quia cogitare se minime studet. Cogitare vero se non potest, quia tota apud semetipsam non est. Tota vero esse apud semetipsam non sufficit, quia per quot[12] concupiscentias rapitur, per tot a semetipsa species dissipatur et sparsa[13] in infimis iacet, quae collecta si vellet ad summa consurget.[14]

"Unde iustorum mens, quia per custodiam disciplinae a cunctorum visibilium fluxus appetitu constringitur, collecta apud semetipsam intrinsecus integratur. Qualisque Deo vel proximo esse debeat plene[15] se conspicit, quia nihil suum exterius derelinquit. Et quanto ab exterioribus abstracta compescitur tanto aucta in infimis[16] inflammatur. Et quo magis ardet, eo ad deprehendenda vitia amplius lucet. Hinc est enim quod sancti viri, dum se intra

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[1] Habeant : Habent L
[2] ne : nec A
[3] quid : quod B
[4] pietate amoris : pietatis amore H
[5] agnoscunt : cognoscunt P
[6] subditur : dicitur LT
[7] filios + qui A
[8] respexit : respicit ABr
[9] Quia et : Et quia A
[10] obduratur : induratur P
[11] valet : valens H
[12] quot : tot LT
[13] sparsa : sponsa L
[14] consurget : consurgeret Br
[15] plene + in B
[16] infimis : intimis Br

tread upon them by demonstrating wayward deeds. Indeed, <the ostrich> forgets that the beast of the field might crush <the eggs>, doubtless because if the Devil, raging about this world, should seize the sons produced in proper conversion, the hypocrite cares not at all. Then let the true masters, <motivated> by the virtue of charity, have profound fears for their pupils. The hypocrites, moreover, are concerned for their charges in the same small degree as they perceive what they themselves should fear. And because they live with hardened hearts, they do not recognize with any [tenderness of love] even those sons whom they produce.

"Whence <the hypocrite> is to this day placed in the guise of an ostrich: he is hardened to his sons as though they were not his. For he whom the grace of charity does not penetrate, regards his own neighbor as a stranger, even if he brought him forth to God; so truly are all hypocrites. Obviously, while their minds always seek external things, they become insensitive within; and while in all they do they always seek their own ends, they do not soften with any charitable compassion toward the neighbor whom they influenced. And because <the hypocrites> are unaware of the essentials of charity, their minds are as much outwardly enfeebled through worldly desire as they grow inwardly hard through self-love. And with unfeeling torpor he grows inwardly cold, because through that fatal love he grows outwardly soft; and he does not have the power to examine that <self love>, because he takes very little pains to reflect upon himself. But he cannot reflect upon himself, because he is not whole. Indeed he is not able to be whole, for he is seized with covetousness to the same degree that his form is scattered and lies strewn in the depths, which when put together, if he will pull it out <of the depths>, will rise freely to the heights.

"Wherefore, the mind of the righteous when made whole is inwardly renewed, because by attention to discipline the weak <person> is restrained from longing for all he sees. And he perceives fully how he should behave toward God or his neighbor, because he does not forsake his more external <life> in any way. And <the mind> withdrawn from external things is as restrained as it is inflamed when nourished to its core. And the more it glows, the more broadly it provides light for perceiving faults. For hence it is that holy men, while making themselves inwardly whole, perceive with an extraordinary and piercing keenness even the hidden faults of others. Therefore, *When time shall be, she setteth up her wings on high* (Job 39:18). For what do we understand by this ostrich's wings but the thoughts of the hypocrite, now restrained as if folded? <The ostrich>, given the opportunity, raises <its

semetipsos colligunt, mira ac penetrabili acie occulta etiam aliena delicta deprehendunt. Sequitur, *Cum tempus fuerit in altum alas erigit.* Quid enim alas huius[1] strutionis accipimus nisi pressas hoc tempore quasi complicatas hypocritae cogitationes? Quas cum tempus fuerit in altum elevat, quia opportunitate comperta, eas superbiendo manifestat. Alas in altum erigere est per effrenatam superbiam cogitationes aperire. Nunc autem quia sanctum se simulat, quia in semetipso stringit quae cogitat, quasi alas in corpore per humilitatem plicat. Eat ergo hypocrita et nunc suas laudes appetat, postmodum vitam Christianorum[2] premat, et quandoque se in irrisione sui Conditoris exerceat, ut quo elatiora semper excogitat, eo se[3] suppliciis atrocioribus immergat.

"Unde et subditur, *Obliviscitur quod pes conculcet*[4] *ea et bestia agri conterat.* Tunc ova pes conculcat[5] et bestia agri conterit cum in terra deseruntur, quia videlicet humana corda dum semper terrena cogitare, semper quae ima sunt agere[6] appetunt. Ad conterendum se agri bestiae, id est, Diabolo, sternunt, ut cum diu infima[7] cogitatione abiecta sunt, quandoque etiam[8] maiorum criminum perpetratione frangantur.

"Sequitur, *Duratur ad filios*[9] *quasi non sint sui.* Quasi non suos respicit quos aliter vivere quam docuit ipsa deprehendit, et durescente saevitia terrores admovet,[10] seque in eorum cruciatibus exercet. Atque invidiae facibus inflammata in quibus non laboravit ut possent vivere, laborat ut debeant interire." Hypocritae ergo, qui per strutionem intellegitur, consuetudo talis esse perhibetur ut de nullo curam habeat, sed de his quae agit in se glorietur, et sibi soli bonum quod agit prae ceteris ascribat.

Caput XLIII De vulture

Semitam ignoravit avis, nec intuitus est[11] *oculos vulturis.*

Quis hoc loco avis nomine nisi Ille signatur qui corpus carneum

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[1] *om* huius P

[2] Christianorum : proximorum ABBrLPT

[3] *om* se P

[4] conculcet : calcat L

[5] conculcat : calcat ABBrPT

[6] *om* agere Br

[7] infima : firma A; infima : infirma LT

[8] *om* etiam A

[9] filios + qui A

[10] admovet : admonet Br

[11] est + eam L

wings>, because when it sees its chance, it shows <its wings> in pride. To raise one's wings on high is to disclose one's thoughts through unrestrained pride. On the other hand, if one imitates a holy man, if one keeps to himself what he thinks, it is as though he folds his wings against his body in humility. And now, therefore, let the hypocrite go forth and strive for his own glory, let him thereafter burden the life of Christians, and sometime act in mockery of his Creator, so that because he is always devising more exalted things <for himself>, therefore he may go headlong toward severe punishments.

"Whence it is said, *She forgetteth that the foot may tread upon them or that the beasts of the field may break them* (Job 39:15). The foot then treads on the eggs, and the beast of the field breaks them when they are abandoned on the ground, because clearly while human hearts always strive to plan earthly schemes they always strive to do the basest things. In self-destruction they cast themselves before the beast of the field, that is, the Devil, so that when over time they abandon themselves to the basest thoughts, sometimes they are crushed by committing even greater crimes.

"Therefore, *She is hardened against her young ones, as though they were not hers* (Job 39:16). <The hypocrite> views as though not his own those whom he observes living otherwise than he taught them, and with hardening cruelty he strikes them with terror, and engages in tormenting them. And inflamed by the torches of envy for those for whom he did not take pains that they might live, takes pains that they die." Therefore, the manner of the hypocrite, who is understood through the ostrich, is shown to be such that he cares for no one else, but glories in his own deeds, and attributes to himself alone, instead of to others, the good that he does.

Chapter 43: The Vulture

(illustration: fig. 57c)

The bird has not known the path, neither has it beheld the eyes[1] *of the vulture* (Job 28:7).

Whom does the bird named in this passage signify but Him who by His ascension lifted up into heaven the human body which he

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[1] Vulgate: *oculos* : *oculus.*

quod assumpsit ascendendo ad aethera libravit? Qui apte[1] etiam vulturis appellatione exprimitur. Vultur quippe dum volat si iacens cadaver conspicit ad esum se cadaveris deponit, et plerumque sic in morte capitur dum ad mortuum animal de summis venit. "Recte ergo Mediator Dei et hominum Redemptor noster vulturis significatione appellatur,[2] qui manens in altitudine divinitatis suae, quasi quodam volatu sublimi, cadaver mortalitatis nostrae conspexit in infimis, et sese de caelestibus ad ima summisit. Fieri quippe[3] propter nos homo dignatus est; et dum mortuum animal periit, mortem apud nos qui[4] apud se erat immortalis invenit.

"Sed huius vulturis oculus[5] fuit ipsa intentio nostrae resurrectionis,[6] quia ipse ad triduum mortuus ab aeterna nos morte liberavit. Ille enim perfidus Iudeae populus mortalem vidit, sed quod morte sua mortem nostram destrueret attendit minime." Conspexit quidem vulturem, sed oculos vulturis non aspexit. Qui dum humilitatis eius vias, quibus nos ad alta sublevat, considerare noluit *semitam ignoravit avis*. Neque enim pensare studuit quod eius nos humilitas levaret ad caelestia, et mortis eius intentio reformaret ad vitam. "*Semitam* igitur *ignoravit avis, nec intuitus est oculos vulturis*, quia etsi vidit eum quem in morte tenuit, videre noluit quanta vitae nostrae gloria de eius morte sequeretur. Unde ad crudelitatem quoque persecutionis exarsit; verba vitae percipere renuit.[7] Praedicatores Regni Caelorum prohibendo, saeviendo, feriendo reppulit." Qui scilicet repulsi, Iudeam ad quam missi fuerant deserentes in Gentilitatis collectione dispersi sunt.

Sed[8] natura vulturis talis esse dicitur, ut per vulturem quisque peccator[9] intellegi videatur. Vultur siquidem exercitum sequitur, ut mortuorum cadaveribus satietur, quia peccator perversos[10] homines qui sunt in exercitu Diaboli sequitur, ut pravos eorum mores imitetur. Mortuorum cadaveribus vescitur, quia carnalibus desideriis quae mortem generant delectatur.

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[1] apte + quoque ABBrLPT

[2] significatione appellatur : appellatione signatur ABBrPLT

[3] quippe : quoque LT

[4] qui : quia BrLPT

[5] *om* oculus A

[6] resurrectionis : mortalitatis P

[7] *om* renuit P

[8] Sed + et ABBrLPT

[9] *om* peccator P

[10] perversos : pravos ABBrLPT

assumed?[1] In fact, it is He who is appropriately referred to by the name "vulture." Indeed, if while in flight the vulture sees a corpse lying about, it sets down to eat the corpse, and thus often is killed while it descends to a dead animal. "Therefore by the name 'vulture' is rightly designated God's Mediator and our Redeemer of men, who, abiding in the heights of His divinity, as if in a kind of exalted flight, saw the corpse of our mortality in the abyss and betook Himself from the heights into the depths. Indeed, He deigned to be made man for us; and while the dead animal perished, so He who was in essence immortal met with death among us.

"But the eye of the vulture was that very plan for our resurrection, because <after being> dead for three days, He freed us from eternal death. For the treacherous Jewish people beheld His death, but little realized that by His death He obliterated our death."[2] <The Jewish people> certainly observed the vulture, but did not see the eyes of the vulture. While <the Jewish people> did not wish to see the ways of His humility, by which He raises us to heaven, *the bird hath not known the path.* For it <i.e., the Jewish people> did not stop to consider that His humility would lift us to heaven, and that the purpose of His death restored us to life. "Thus, *the bird hath not known the path, neither has it beheld the eyes of the vulture*, because even if <the Jewish people> saw Him whom it killed, it did not wish to see how much the glory of our life followed from His death. Wherefore, it also burned for the harshness of His persecution; it refused to understand the Words of life. It scorned the preachers of the kingdom of heaven by hindering them, by raging at them, by striking them."[3] Clearly rejected, forsaking Judea, to which they had been sent, <the Jews> were scattered in the Gentile community.

But the nature of the vulture is said to be such that any sinner can be understood through the vulture. Indeed the vulture follows the army so that it might feed upon the corpses of the dead, because the sinner follows wayward men who are in the army of the Devil, that he might imitate their perverse ways. It feeds upon the corpses of the dead, because <the sinner> delights in the carnal desires which produce death.

Now the vulture likes to walk upon the ground, whence by some

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[1] The vulture as a carrion bird following armies corresponds with St. Ambrose, *Hexameron* 5.23.81.

[2] Hrabanus Maurus, *The Nature of Things* 8.6 (Migne, *PL* 111:244).

[3] Hrabanus Maurus (Migne, *PL* 111:244).

Vultur etiam pedibus libenter graditur, unde et a quibusdam gradipes appellatur, quia terrena peccator amat, et terrenis inhiat. Quando etiam vultur in altum volat, quia peccator ad caelestia mentem quandoque levat, sed qua intentione hoc faciat, alter ignorat. Quis enim intuetur oculos vulturis, id est, intentionem cogitationis? Hoc enim Omnipotens Sibi reliquit, quod cogitationes hominum solus novit. Nota etiam quod vultur, ut ait Isidorus, a volatu tardo nominetur. Tarde enim cum volare ceperit a terra recedit, quia peccator aut vix aut numquam terrena desideria derelinquit.

Caput XLIV De grue

Grues[1] dum pergunt "unam sequuntur ordine litterato . . . Excelsa autem petunt, quo facilius videant quas petant terras.[2] Castigat autem voce quae cogit agmen. At ubi raucescit, succedit alia. Nocte autem excubias dividunt, et ordinem vigiliarum per vices faciunt, tenentes lapillos suspensis digitis quibus somnos arguant. Quod cavendum erit, clamor indicat.

"Aetatem in illis color prodit, nam in senectute nigrescunt."

Grues cum[3] de loco ad locum transvolant ordinem procedendi volando servant. Illos autem significant qui ad hoc student ut ordinate vivant. Cum autem ordinate volando procedunt, ex se litteras in volatu fingunt: illos autem designant qui in se[4] Scripturae praecepta bene vivendo formant. Quaedam earum alias antecedit, quae clamare non desinit, quia prelatus, qui primum locum

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[1] *om* Grues dum pergunt . . . quietem sumant + Grues de propria voce . . . nigrescunt *from bestiary* A

[2] terras : regiones P

[3] cum : enim Br

[4] qui : *om* in T

it is called "footstep,"[1] because the sinner loves earthly things and longs for earthly things. When the vulture also flies into the heights, <it is> because the sinner sometimes lifts his mind to the heavens, but no one else knows why he does so. For who looks into the eyes of the vulture, that is, the purpose of the mind? The Almighty reserved this for Himself, because He alone knows the thoughts of men. Note also that the vulture, as Isidore said, is named from its slow flight.[2] For when it takes off, it departs slowly from the earth, because a sinner either rarely or never leaves off from earthly desires.

Chapter 44: The Crane

(illustration: fig. 27)

While cranes are flying "they follow one <of their number> in lettered <i.e., V-shaped> order. . . . Moreover, they aim at the high heavens from which they may more easily see the lands they seek. Furthermore, the one which leads the flock vocally admonishes <the others>. But when it grows hoarse, another takes its place. Moreover, at night they divide the watch and make an alternating series of watch duties, holding pebbles in their raised claws to reveal those who sleep. A cry indicates that they should be cautious.

"Color reveals their age, for in old age they grow black."[3]

When cranes fly from one place to another they maintain a flight formation. They symbolize, moreover, those who strive to live by the Rule. Moreover, when they fly in formation they fashion letters with their bodies as they fly: further, they denote moreover those who by righteous living form within themselves the teachings of Scripture. A certain one <of the cranes> precedes the others, one which cries continually, because a priest, who occupies

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[1] *gradipes*: Hugh incorporates into his vulture chapter the bird in Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.7.13. The various interpretations of *gradipes* ("footstep") or *bradipes* ("slow bird," "stupid bird") are discussed in André, ed., n. 456.

[2] Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.7.12.

[3] Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.7.14–15 (André, ed., and nn. 457–461). Hrabanus Maurus, *The Nature of Things* 22.6 (Migne, *PL* 111:234). Isidore's source for the blackening crane is uncertain. There are no black cranes in Europe, but Chinese legend gives great longevity to black cranes (Beryl Rowland, *Birds with Human Souls*, Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1978, 32), and this idea may have found its way, somewhat transformed, into European folklore.

regiminis obtinet, suos sequaces moribus et vita praeire debet, ita tamen ut semper clamet et viam bonae operationis sequacibus suis praedicando demonstret. Quae autem alias antecedit si autem[1] rauca facta fuerit, tunc alia succedit, quia prelatus si Verbum Dei non praedicet subiectis, vel praedicare nesciat cum raucus fiat, necesse est ut alius succedat.

Si autem nox accesserit, illa quae procedit cum aliis ad terram descendens locum quietis petit. Tunc simul omnes ad custodiam sui vigilias ordinant, ut reliquae securius somni quietem sumant. Possumus autem per vigiles intellegere quoslibet discretos fratres qui communiter fratribus temporalia provident, et de singulis spiritaliter[2] curam habent. Ad obsequia fratrum pro posse suo vigilant, ut ab eis incursus demonum et accessus saecularium prudenter repellant. Grues vero quae ad hoc eliguntur ut pro aliis vigilent in pede a terra suspenso lapillum tenent, timentes ne si aliqua earum dormiat, lapsus a pede lapillus cadat. Si[3] autem cadat, evigilans clamat. Lapis est Christus, pes mentis affectus. Sicut[4] enim aliquis pedibus incedit,[5] sic mens suis affectibus quasi pedibus ad optata tendit. Si quis igitur ad custodiam sui vel fratrum vigilet, lapillum in pede, id est, Christum in mente portet. Illud[6] autem summopere caveat ne si in peccato dormierit, lapillus a pede, id est, Christus a mente recedat. Si autem ceciderit, per confessionem clamet, ut dormientes excitet, id est, fratres; tam pro se quam pro eorum excessibus ad vigilantiam circumspectionis invitet.

"Aetatem in illis color prodit, nam in senectute nigrescunt." Hic enim color in senectute seni competit cum pro peccatis plangendo gemit. Cum enim quae male gessit senex commemorat in senectute, colorem mutat. Mutat enim amorem pristinae delectationis in dolorem contritionis.

Ecce qualiter per naturam volucrum doceri potest vita religiosorum.

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[1] si *om* autem BBrLPT
[2] spiritaliter : specialiter LT
[3] *om* Si autem cadat P
[4] Sicut : Si A; Sicut : Si quis T
[5] incedit : incedat T (*expuncted*)
[6] *om* Illud A

a prime position in the care of souls, should lead his followers by his manner and way of life, so that he still continually cries out and in his sermons demonstrates to his followers the path of good behavior. If <the bird> which leads the others, however, should become hoarse, then another takes its place, because if one priest should not preach the Word of God to those in his care, or cannot preach because he becomes hoarse, it is necessary that another take his place.

If, however, night approaches, the one which leads, descending to earth with the others, seeks a place of rest. Then, to protect themselves they all immediately establish watches, so that the remainder may enjoy the quiet of sleep more securely. In the watch, furthermore, we can understand any mature brothers who, in the spirit of community, take precautions for their brethren against temporal things and spiritually care for them as individuals. To the best of their ability they are watchful to ensure the brothers' obedience, so that they may skillfully keep from them the incursions of demons and the intrusions of worldly things. Indeed, cranes which are chosen to watch on behalf of the others hold a stone in one upraised claw, fearing lest any of them go to sleep and the stone, having slipped from the foot, should fall. Moreover, if it should fall, the awakening <bird> cries out. The stone is Christ, the foot the state of mind. For just as someone proceeds by foot, so the mind by its dispositions, as if on foot, holds fast to its desires. If therefore anyone should be on guard to protect himself or his brethren, let him hold a stone in his foot, that is, Christ in his mind. Furthermore, let him be very careful lest, if he should sleep in sin, the stone fall from his foot, that is, Christ from his mind. But if He should fall, let <the brother> cry out through confession, so that he might arouse the sleepers, that is, the brothers; let him summon them to the watch of caution, as much for himself as for their excesses.

"Color reveals their age, for in old age they grow black." In fact, this color is appropriate to an old person in extreme age, when, with tears, he laments his sins. For when in extreme age an old person remembers those things he did wrongly, he changes color. In fact, he changes the love of former delight into the grief of contrition.

Observe how the life of religious can be taught through the nature of birds.

Caput XLV De milvo

"Milvus mollis et viribus et volatu quasi mollis avis, unde et nuncupatur; rapacissimum[1] tamen et semper domesticis avibus insidiatur." Sicut enim in Libro Etymologiarum Isidori legitur, milvus a molli volatu[2] nominatur. Est enim milvus mollis viribus: illos autem milvus significat quos mollities voluptatis temptat.[3] Cadaveribus milvus vescitur, quia carnalibus desideriis voluptuosi delectantur. Circa coquinas et macella milvus assidue volitat,[4] ut si quid crudae carnis ab eis proiciatur foras velocius rapiat. Per hoc enim milvus eos nobis innuit quos cura ventris sollicitos reddit. Qui igitur huius modi sunt voluptuosa quaerunt, macella frequentant et coquinia inhiant.

Milvus timidus est in magnis, audax in minimis. Silvestres volucres rapere non audet; domesticis[5] insidiari solet.[6] Insidiatur pullis ut illos rapiat, et quos incautos repperit velocius necat. Sic molles et voluptuosi teneros pullos rapiunt, quia simpliciores et indiscretos suis moribus aptant et ad perversos usus protrahunt. Super eos lente volando incautos decipiunt, dum eos blandis sermonibus adulando decipiunt.[7]

Ecce quomodo volucres, quae ratione carent, peritos homines et ratione utentes per exempla pravae[8] operationis docent.

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[1] rapacissimum : rapacissimus B
[2] molli volatu : molline P
[3] temptat : temptant A
[4] volitat : volat L
[5] domesticis + autem ABBrLPT
[6] insidiari solet : autem insidiatur P
[7] decipiunt : seducunt ABBrLPT
[8] pravae : perversae AP

Chapter 45: The Kite

"The kite (*milvus*), is weak (*mollis*) in both its powers and its flight, as though a weak bird, whence it is so named; nevertheless it is very rapacious, and constantly menaces domestic birds."[1] For thus, as one reads in Isidore's Book of Etymologies, the kite is named for its weak flight. For the kite is weak in its powers: the kite further signifies those whom the weakness of desire tempts. The kite feeds on corpses, because hedonists delight in the desires of the flesh. The kite flies constantly around kitchens and markets, so that it might more quickly seize any raw meat which might be thrown out of them.[2] For by this the kite in fact indicates to us those who are very concerned about their stomachs. Therefore, those who are of this type pursue pleasures, frequent the markets, and look longingly at kitchens.

The kite is timid about formidable things, courageous about the insignificant. It does not dare to seize wild birds; it usually ambushes domestic ones. It ambushes the chicks to seize them, and kills the more quickly those it perceived to be unwary. Thus, weak people and hedonists seize the young chicks, because they mold the more simple and careless people to their ways, and drag them away to evil practices. By flying slowly above them <the kites> deceive the unwary, while <the weak and hedonistic> entice <the simple and careless> by flattering them with seductive conversation.

Observe how the birds, which lack reason, by examples of perverse action teach educated men possessing the power of reason.

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[1] Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.7.58 (André, ed., and n. 549); Hrabanus Maurus, *The Nature of Things* 20.6 (Migne, *PL* 111:252-53). Most manuscripts have *rapacissimum* (see p. 206, l. 3), which is clearly an error; it was corrected by the Ter Duinen scribe. In the André edition of Isidore the word is *rapacissimus.*

[2] The report of kites frequenting kitchens and markets may have been contributed by Hugh himself, perhaps as a transformation of Pliny, *Natural History* 10.4.15, who says that eagles perch near markets in early morning. Vincent of Beauvais, *Mirror of History* chap. 108, cites this passage in the Aviary. In a paper on the kite in medieval literature read at the Beast Epic, Fable and Fabliau Society Colloquium, Durham (England), July 1987, Baudouin van den Abeele provided evidence of kites living in urban areas, where they might well seek out kitchen refuse; see his "*L'escoufle*: portrait littéraire d'un oiseau," *Reinardus* 1, ed. B. Levy and P. Wackers (Grave: Alfa, 1988), 5-15. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.716, observes that the kite hovers greedily over the entrails of a sacrifice; see E. W. Martin, *The Birds of the Latin Poets* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1914), 148. The kite's seizing of chicks, noted later in the chapter, is remarked upon by St. Gregory, *Moralia in Job* 14:64.

Caput XLVI De hirundine

Turtur et hirundo[1] *[et] ciconia cognoverunt tempus adventus sui:*[2] *Israel autem non cognovit iudicium Domini.*

De turture superius diximus, restat autem ut de hirundine et ciconia postea disseramus. Unde Isidorus, "Hirundo," inquit,[3] "dicta quod cibos non sumat residens, sed in aere capiat escas et edat.[4] Garrula avis et per tortuosos orbes et flexuosos[5] circuitus pervolans, et in nidis construendis educandisque fetibus sollertissima, habens etiam quiddam praescium quod lapsura deserat nec appetat culmina. Aliis[6] quoque avibus non impetitur, nec umquam praeda est. Maria transvolat, ibique[7] hieme commoratur." Custodit[8] autem tempora adventus sui; novit etiam quando veniat, quando revertatur. Novit pia avis annuntiare adventus sui testimonio veris initium.[9]

Per hirundinem sicut auctoritas testatur, aliquando superbia mentis, aliquando contritio tribulati[10] cordis intellegitur. Quod per hirundinem superbia designetur, per Tobiam dicitur. Cum *iactasset se,*[11] inquit Tobias, *iuxta parietem et obdormisset,* contigit *ut ex nido hirundinum dormienti illi calida stercora insiderent super oculos eius fieretque caecus.* Unde Beda super Tobiam, "Hirundo propter levem volatum superbiam cordis levitatemque figurat, cuius immunditia confestim excaecat, nec eum videre permittit qualis fuerit." Quod autem per hirundinem contritio cordis intellegi debeat Propheta dicens demonstrat, *Sicut pullus hirundinis,* inquit, *sic clamabo.* Intellegimus igitur per hirundinem quemlibet discretum doctorem, per hirundinis pullum clamantem discipulum, per clamorem mentis contritionem. Clamat pullus hirundinis dum quaerit a magistro verbum praedicationis; clamat[12] pullus hirundinis dum per confessionem magistro manifestat affectum contriti cordis. Si nosti clamorem hirundinis, nisi fallor, questum designat animae poenitentis.

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[1] hirundo *om* et H

[2] tempus adventus sui : adventus sui diem A

[3] *om* inquit A; inquit : ideo P

[4] edat : comedat A

[5] flexuosos + volens A

[6] Aliis : Ab aliis B; Aliis : Adiris A

[7] ibique + in A (*as superscript*)

[8] *om* Custodit autem . . . veris initium. A

[9] initium : januam P

[10] tribulati : contribulati Br

[11] *om* inquit B; se inquit Tobias : i.T.s. LT

[12] *om* clamat pullus hirundinis L

Chapter 46: The Swallow

The turtledove and the swallow [and] the stork have observed the time of their coming; but Israel does not know the judgement of the Lord[1] (Jer. 8:7).

We have spoken previously about the turtledove, but it remains for us to discuss the swallow, and afterwards the stork. Whence Isidore states, "The swallow is so named because it does not eat when at rest, but seizes and eats its food in flight. It is a chattering bird, flying both in twisted orbits and curving arcs, and very skilled in nest building and raising young, having also a certain foresight to leave and avoid roofs about to collapse. It is not even attacked by other birds, nor is it ever a prey. It flies over the sea and stays there for the winter."[2] It gives heed, moreover, to its arrival time; indeed, it knows when to arrive and when to depart. The dutiful bird, by the witness of its arrival, can announce the beginning of Spring.

Just as <biblical> authority attests, in the swallow is understood sometimes the pride of reason, sometimes the sorrow of the oppressed heart. It is stated in <the Book of> Tobit that pride is denoted by the swallow. When he *cast himself down by the wall and slept*, said Tobit, it happened *that hot dung out of a swallows' nest fell upon his eyes, and he was made blind* (Tobit 2:10). Whence, Bede <comments> on Tobit, "By its nimble flight the swallow symbolizes pride and inconstancy of the heart, the uncleanliness of which forthwith blinds one, nor does it permit him to see what he was before."[3] Moreover, that the sorrow of the heart should be understood in the swallow is shown by the Prophet, saying *I will cry <out> like a young swallow* (Isa. 38:14). Therefore, we understand by the swallow any wise teacher, by the swallow's chick crying out the pupil, by the crying out the sorrow of the mind. The swallow's chick cries out while <the pupil> seeks the discourse of a sermon from the teacher; the swallow's chick cries out while, through confession, <the pupil> shows to the teacher the disposition of a contrite heart. If you are familiar with the cry of the swallow, unless I am mistaken, it symbolizes the lament of the penitent spirit.

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[1] Vulgate: *Turtur et hirundo et ciconia custodierunt tempus adventus sui populus autem....*

[2] Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.7.70 (André, ed., and nn. 576–77).

[3] Bede, *Commentary on Tobit* (*CC* 119B:6, line 16).

Hirundo cibos residens non sumit, sed in aere quas capit escas edit, quia qui terrena non [diligit][1] remotus a terrenis caelestia quaerit. Garrula avis esse dicitur, quia querulosis orationibus saepius delectatur. Per flexuosos circuitus pervolat, ut ad diversa[2] obedientiae praecepta mentem subiectus flectat. In nidis construendis educandisque fetibus sollertissima. Nidum construit, quia in fide Passionis Christi spem fixam ponit. Sollers in educandis fetibus, id est, in docendis subiectis fratribus. Habet etiam quiddam praescium quod deserat lapsura nec appetat culmina. Quidam enim[3] praescium habent qui vere poenitent, quod casum praesentis saeculi fugiant, et permansura sine fine quaerant. Hirundo[4] aliis avibus non [impetitur],[5] nec umquam praeda est. Rapaces vero[6] aves numquam hirundinem rapiunt, quia contriti corde numquam demonibus praeda fiunt.[7] Hirundo maria transvolat, quia qui vere poenitet amaritudines et tumultus huius mundi exire desiderat. Ibique hieme commoratur, cum enim hiems ingruit et frigus[8] accedit, tunc iustus ad calorem caritatis transit. Ibique frigus patienter expectat, donec frigus temptationis a mente recedat. Novit pia avis annuntiare adventus sui testimonio veris initium. Revertitur hirundo post frigus hiemis, ut annuntiet initium veris. Similiter iustus post frigus nimiae temptationis revertitur ad temperantiam moderatae mentis, ut qui frigus temptationis evaserat ad aestatem, id est, delectionis amorem moderate per ascensus boni operis accedat. Haec est igitur natura hirundinis, id est, animae poenitentis quae semper quaerit veris initium, quia in omnibus tenet discretionis et temperentiae modum.

Ecce qualiter simplex avis[9] eos instruit quos ab initio Divina Providentia discretos facit.

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[1] diligit : diligunt H
[2] ad diversa : adversa A
[3] *om* enim L
[4] Hirundo + ab B
[5] impetitur : impeditur H
[6] *om* vero Br
[7] fiunt : sunt A
[8] *om* frigus ABBrLPT
[9] *om* avis A

The swallow does not eat its food when at rest, but eats in flight the food it takes, because he who does not [delight] in worldly things, being removed from <those> worldly things, seeks the celestial. The bird is said to be chattering, because more often <than not such a person> enjoys querulous language. <The swallow> flies in curving arcs, so that the humble person may bend his mind to the various precepts of obedience. It is very skilled in constructing nests and in rearing its young. It builds a nest because he places his hopes firmly in a belief in Christ's Passion. He is skilled in rearing young, that is, in teaching the brothers in his charge. Furthermore, <the swallow> has a certain foresight that it should abandon and avoid roofs about to collapse. For certain people who truly repent have foresight, because they flee the ruin of this world, and seek those things which will endure forever. The swallow is not [attacked] by other birds, nor is it ever a prey. Indeed, predatory birds never seize the swallow, because the contrite of heart are never made prey for demons.

The swallow flies over the sea, because he who truly repents desires to leave the bitternesses and tumults of this world. <The swallow> remains there for the winter, for when winter sets in and the cold approaches, then the righteous man crosses over to the warmth of charity. There he patiently awaits the cold, until the cold of temptation withdraws from the mind. The dutiful bird, by the witness of its arrival, can announce the beginning of spring. The swallow returns after the cold of winter to announce the beginning of spring. Likewise, the righteous man returns after the cold of excessive temptation to the temperance of a controlled mind, so that he who escaped the cold of temptation may with moderation approach summer, that is, the love of pleasure,[1] through flights of good deeds. This, therefore, is the nature of the swallow, that is, of the penitent soul which always seeks the beginning of spring, because in all things it keeps to the way of discretion and moderation.

Observe how a simple bird instructs those whom, at the outset, divine Providence makes prudent.

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[1] In most manuscripts the phrase is *dilectionis amorem*; Migne, *PL* 177:43, gives *dilectionis calorem* which is a better antipode to the preceding *frigus temptationis.*

Caput XLVII De ciconia

"Ciconiae vocatae a sono quo crepitant, quasi cicaniae, quem sonum oris potius esse quam vocis, quia eum quatiente rostro faciunt. Hae veris nuntiae, societatis comites, serpentium hostes, maria transvolant in Asiam collecto agmine pergunt. Cornices eas[1] duces praecedunt et ipsae quasi exercitus prosequuntur. Eximia illis circa filios pietas.[2] Nam adeo nidos impensius fovent, ut assiduo incubitu plumas exuant. Quantum autem tempus[3] impenderint in fetibus[4] educandis, tantum et ipsae invicem a pullis suis aluntur."

Ciconiae sonum oris pro voce quatiente rostro faciunt. Illos autem praetendunt qui cum fletu et stridore dentium quod male gesserunt ore promunt.

Hae sunt nuntiae veris, quia ceteris demonstrant temperantiam conversae mentis. Societatis comites sunt, quia libenter habitant inter fratres.

Dicitur enim[5] de ciconia quod serpentibus sit inimica. Serpentes sunt perversae cogitationes sive perversi fratres quos ciconia rostro percutit, dum iustus pravas cogitationes restringit vel perversos fratres pungenti invectione reprehendit.

"Maria transvolant, in Asiam collecto agmine pergunt." Asia interpretatur elevata.[6] Maria igitur transvolat et in[7] Asiam pergit qui, spretis mundi tumultibus, ad altiora tendit.

"Eximia illis circa filios pietas," ut assiduo incubitu super eos exuant plumas. Assiduo incubitu super pullos ciconiae plumas exuunt, quia dum praelati subiectos nutriunt superfluitatis et levitatis a se plumas evellunt. Quantum autem tempus impenderint in fetibus educandis, tantum et ipsae a pullis suis invicem aluntur. Quantum pulli earum indigent, tamdiu ciconiae[8] nutrire debent, quia in quantum indigent discipuli, tamdiu verbo debent

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[1] *om* eas A

[2] pietas + est B

[3] tempus : temporis LT

[4] fetibus : filiis LT

[5] enim : autem Br

[6] elevata : elevatio P

[7] *om* in A

[8] ciconiae + eos ABBrLPT

Chapter 47: The Stork

(illustration: fig. 16)

"Storks (*ciconiae*), like crickets (*cicaniae*) are so called from their chattering sound, which <is considered> to be a sound of the beak rather than of the voice, because they make it by clacking the beak. These messengers of Spring, companions of society, enemies of snakes, fly across the sea, <and> proceed as a flock into Asia. Crows precede them as leaders, and <the storks> follow like an army. <Storks> have an exceptional sense of duty toward their offspring. For so much more <than other birds> do they warm their nests, that they constantly pluck out their feathers in brooding. Moreover, as much time as they spend in rearing a brood, so much are they in turn nourished by their offspring."[1]

For a call, storks make an oral sound by clattering the beak. Moreover, they represent those who give utterance to their wicked deeds with wailing and gnashing of teeth.

They are the messengers of spring, because they show to others the moderation of the converted mind. They are the companions of society because they willingly live among the brethren.

It is said of the stork that it is the enemy of snakes. The snakes are wayward thoughts or wayward brothers whom the stork pierces with its beak, while the righteous man checks improper thoughts or reproves the wayward brother with stinging invective.

"They fly across the sea, <and> proceed as a flock into Asia." Asia means high.[2] Therefore, he who reaches for the heights, having scorned the tumults of the world, crosses the sea and proceeds into Asia.

<Storks> have "an exceptional sense of duty toward their offspring," with the result that they pluck out their feathers over them in constant brooding. Storks pluck out feathers over their chicks in constant brooding, because when priests nourish their charges, they remove from themselves the feathers of excess and weakness. Furthermore, as much time as they gave to rearing the offspring, that much are they nourished in return by their chicks. However long the young have need of them, so long must the storks nourish them, because for however long the pupils have

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[1] Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.7.16-17 (André, ed., and nn. 462-65).

[2] St. Jerome, *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum* (*CC* 72:150, line 19; 151, line 26; 158, line 29; 159, line 10), refers to Asia as *elevans, elevata sive gradiens, elevatio,* and *elatio.*

doctrinae eos alere praelati. Similiter subiecti praelatos suis laboribus fovere debent, ut eis ministrent necessaria quibus egent.

Turtur igitur et hirundo et ciconia illos reprehendunt qui Christum in carne advenisse non credunt, et iudicium Domini[1] futurum non pertimescunt.

Caput XLVIII <De merula>

Isidorus de merula, "Merula antiquitus medula vocabatur, eo quod moduletur. Alii merulam aiunt vocitatam quia sola volat, quasi mera volans. Haec cum in omnibus [locis][2] nigra sit, in Achaia tamen candida est."

Merula est avis parva sed nigra. [Illos[3] autem innuit, quos peccati nigredo tingit. Merula dulcedine propriae vocis mentem movet in affectum delectationis.] Illos autem figurate demonstrat quos voluptas carnis per suggestionem temptat. De ea siquidem beatus Gregorius in Libro Dialogorum scripsit,[4] "Qualiter beato Benedicto volitans occurrit, qualiter vir[5] tantus, post discessum volucris, temptatus fuerit ardore libidinis." Ait enim, "Quadam vero die dum solus esset beatus Benedictus, Temptator affuit. Nam nigra parvaque avis, quae vulgo merula vocatur, circa eius faciem volitare coepit eiusque vultum importune insistere, ita ut capi manu posset si hanc vir sanctus teneri[6] voluisset. Sed signo crucis edito recessit avis. Tanta autem carnis temptatio avi eadem recedente secuta est [quantam][7] vir sanctus numquam fuerat expertus." Quamdam namque aliquando feminam viderat quam Malignus Spiritus ante eius mentis[8] oculos reduxit. Tantoque igne servi Dei animum in specie illius accendit ut se in eius pectore amoris

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[1] Domini : suum P
[2] *om* locis H
[3] *om* Illos autem innuit . . . delectationis. H
[4] scripsit : scribit Br
[5] *om* vir A
[6] teneri : tenere A
[7] quantam : quanta H
[8] mentis + eis P

need, so long must the priests nourish them by the word of instruction. Likewise, their charges should cherish the priests by their efforts, so that <the priests> might provide them with the necessities which they are lacking.

Thus, the turtledove and the swallow and the stork reprove those who do not believe that Christ appeared incarnate, and who do not fear the coming judgement of the Lord.

Chapter 48: The Blackbird

(illustration: fig. 35)

Isidore says of the blackbird, "The blackbird (*merula*) in ancient times was called 'measure' (*medula*), because it sings.[1] Others say it is called <blackbird> because it flies alone, as though in unmixed (*mera*) flight. Although this bird is black in all [regions], it is nevertheless white in Achaia."[2]

The blackbird is a small but black bird. [It signifies, moreover, those whom the blackness of sin stains. By its own sweetness of voice the blackbird stirs the mind to a state of delight]. Furthermore, it indicates allegorically those whom carnal desire tempts by suggestion. Indeed, concerning that <desire> the blessed Gregory wrote in the Book of Dialogues, "Just as <a blackbird> in flight presented itself to the blessed Benedict, so the great man, after the departure of the bird, was tempted by wanton desire."[3] For as <Gregory> said, "But one day while the blessed Benedict was alone, the Tempter appeared. Now a dark and small bird, called popularly a blackbird, began to fly about his head and to hover violently in his face, so that it could have been caught by hand if the holy man had wanted it checked. But at the sign of the Cross the bird departed. Yet following the departure of this bird there occurred such a temptation of the flesh [as] the holy man had never before experienced." For indeed he saw at length a certain woman whom the Evil Spirit brought before his mind's eye. And with such passion did <the Devil> inflame the spirit of the servant of God for her

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[1] Hugh changed Isidore's *modulet* to *moduletur.*

[2] Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.7.69 (André, ed., and nn. 574–75). Achaia is Greece.

[3] This sentence does not appear in Adalbert de Vogüé's edition of the *Dialogues* (*Grégroire le Grand, Dialogues*, Sources chrétiennes, Paris: Ed. du Cerf, 1978–1981).

flamma vix caperet, ut iam paene deserere eremum, voluptate victus, deliberaret. Cum subito superna gratia respectus ad semetipsum reversus est, atque urticarum et veprium iuxta densa succrescere frutecta[1] conspiciens, exutus indumento quo indutus erat, nudum se in illis spinarum aculeis et urticarum incendiis proiecit. Ibique diu volutatus toto ex eis corpore vulneratus exiit, et per cutis vulnera eduxit a corpore vulnus mentis, quia voluptatem traxit in dolorem. Merula igitur volitans est suggestio voluptate[2] temptans. Qui igitur abicere cupiunt voluptatem merulae, oportet ut exemplo beati Benedicti transeant ad correctionem disciplinae, et sic delectationem mentis extrahant per afflictionem carnis.

In regionibus Achaiae sunt, sicut Isidorus testatur, candidae merulae. Candida merula est voluntas munda, Achaia vero soror laborans interpretatur. Duae sunt sorores, Rahel et Lia, activa scilicet et contemplativa vita. Lia laboriosa interpretatur. Activa vita docet eleemosynas impendere, indiscretos docere, munditiam castitatis[3] habere, propriis manibus laborare. Hic est labor activae vitae. Haec est soror laborans. Haec Achaia est, videlicet activa vita. In Achaia igitur quasi candidae merulae sunt qui in activa vita pure vivunt.

Caput XLIX De bubone

Isidorus de bubone, "Bubo a sono vocis compositum nomen habet; avis feralis onusta quidem plumis, sed [gravi] semper detenta pigritia. In sepulchris die nocteque versatur, et semper commorans

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[1] fructecta . . . candidae merulae *mutilated* L
[2] voluptate : voluptatem A
[3] castitatis . . . in cavernis *mutilated* L

beauty that the flame of love could scarcely be contained in his breast, so that he almost decided to desert the monastery, vanquished by pleasure. When suddenly, by heavenly grace, his gaze is turned the other way, and seeing thick bushes of nettles and thorns growing nearby, having stripped off the garment with which he was covered, he threw himself naked on the pricks of the thorns and burnings of the nettles. And having rolled about there for a long time, he departed, his whole body wounded by <the thorns and nettles>, and cast out from his body the wound of the mind through the wounds in his flesh, because he exchanged pleasure for pain. So the blackbird in flight is enticement, tempting with pleasure. Therefore, whatever people wish to cast out the sensual pleasure of the blackbird must be turned to the improvement of discipline by the example of the blessed Benedict, and thus through bodily pain draw out the distraction of the mind.[1]

As Isidore declares, there are white blackbirds in the Achaian regions. The white blackbird is <allegorically> a virtuous inclination, but Achaia defines the laboring sister. There are two sisters, Rachel and Leah, that is to say, the active life and contemplative life. Leah defines the worker.[2] The active life teaches us to show mercy, to instruct the immature, to have the cleanliness of chastity, to work with one's own hands. This is the work of the active life. This is the laboring sister. This is Achaia, that is to say, the active life. Therefore, they who live chastely in the active life are like white blackbirds in Achaia.[3]

Chapter 49: The Owl

(illustration: fig. 11)

Isidore says concerning the owl, "The owl (*bubo*) has a name adapted from the sound of its call; a funereal bird truly laden with plumage, but always constrained by a <heavy> indolence. <The owl> dwells day and night among the tombs, and <is> always

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[1] Based on St. Gregory, *Dialogues* (Vogüé, ed., vol. 2:36, line 1 to 38, line 19).

[2] Gen. 20:16; also Gen. 30, 31, 33. Leah is the plain, unloved sister who nevertheless bears the majority of Jacob's children.

[3] The stress on the active life in this paragraph relates to both the Augustinians and the lay-brothers. For the Augustinians and the active life, Bynum, *Docere Verbo*, 91–92.

in cavernis." Unde Hrabanus, "Bubo," inquit, "in tenebris peccatorum deditos, et lucem iustitiae fugientes significat." Unde inter immunda animalia in Levitico deputatur, unde per bubonem intellegere possumus quemlibet peccatorem.

Bubo a sono vocis dicitur, quia os ex abundantia cordis loquitur, nam quod cogitat mente profert voce. Avis foeda esse dicitur, quia fimo eius locus in quo habitat commaculatur, quia peccator illos cum quibus habitat exemplo perversi operis dehonestat. Avis onusta plumis, id est, superfluitate carnis et levitate mentis, sed quidem gravi[1] detenta pigritia. Detinetur inertia et pigritia gravi, quia peccatores ad bene operandum sunt inertes et pigri. Die nocteque moratur in sepulchris, nam delectatur peccator quod est fetor humanae carnis. Habitat etiam in cavernis; nec per confessionem exit foras, sed lucem veritatis odit.

Ab aliis avibus visus magnis earum clamoribus proditur; magnis etiam incursionibus vexatur. Si enim peccator ad lucem cognitionis veniat, magnum bene agentibus derisionis quaestum praestat. Et cum in peccato aperte deprehensus fuerit, ab aliis verba reprehensionis audit. Plumas evellunt et rostro lacerant, quia[2] carnales actus peccatoris bene agentes reprehendunt et superfluitatem damnant.

Infelix ergo bubo[3] dicitur, quia infelix est qui ea quae praediximus operatur.

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[1] *om* gravi Br
[2] quia + et A
[3] *om* bubo A

tarrying in caves."[1] Whence Hrabanus states, "The owl signifies those delivered into the darkness of sins, and those fleeing the light of righteousness."[2] Whence in Leviticus <the owl> is counted among the unclean animals (Lev. 11:16), whence by the owl we can understand any sinner.

The owl is named from the sound of its call, because its mouth speaks from a fullness of heart, for it reveals with its cry what it reflects upon with its mind. It is said to be a filthy bird, because the place where it lives is befouled with its dung, because a sinner by the example of his wayward action dishonors those with whom he lives. It is a bird laden with plumage, that is, with an excess of the flesh and weakness of mind, but truly constrained by a heavy indolence. It is constrained by idleness and heavy indolence, because sinners are idle and indolent in the doing of good deeds. It lingers day and night among the tombs, for the sinner enjoys the stench of human flesh. Furthermore, it lives in caves; nor does <the sinner> emerge through confession, but hates the light of truth.

Its appearance is reported with great clamor by other birds; they also harass it with frequent attacks.[3] For if a sinner comes near the light of knowledge, he furnishes a great opportunity for scorn to those behaving properly. And when he has been openly observed in sin, he hears words of rebuke from others. They pluck out his feathers and wound him with their beaks, because those behaving properly rebuke the carnal deeds of a sinner, and condemn excess.

The owl is therefore said to be unhappy, because he who is engaged in these things which we have noted is unhappy.

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[1] Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.7.39 (André, ed., and nn. 505–7).

[2] Hrabanus Maurus, *The Nature of Things* 22.6 (Migne, *PL* 111:247).

[3] The harassment of the owl was a well-known natural phenomenon, and was used as a method for trapping birds in ancient and medieval times. The bird-catcher would stake out a real or stuffed owl, and when the smaller birds attacked it, he would net them. This form of hunting is illustrated in a number of manuscripts (W. B. Yapp, *Birds in Medieval Manuscripts*, London: British Library, 1981, 37), including the Bodley 764 Aviary (f. 73v; Rowland, *Birds*, 118). The motif is pictured as early as a Roman mosaic in the City Museum of Oderzo; R. B. Bandinelli, *Rome, the Late Empire*, trans. Peter Green (New York: Braziller, 1971), pl. 95. Other examples include an East Anglian Book of Hours (Walters Art Gallery W. 105; Francis Klingender, *Animals in Art and Thought*, Cambridge, MA, 1971), 412, a paving tile from the abbey church of Andres (M. Carette and D. Derveux, *Carreaux de pavement médiévaux de Flandre et d'Artois* (exhib. cat. Musée de St-Omer, June–Sept., 1985), choir sculpture at Poitiers Cathedral, a capital at the Musée des Augustins, Toulouse, and choir stall sculpture at Ely and Gloucester Cathedrals.

Caput L <De graculo>[1]

Hrabanus[2] de graculo, "Graculus a garrulitate nuncupatus,[3] non ut quidam volunt pro eo quod gregatim volent,[4] cum sit manifestum ex voce eos nuncupari. Est[5] loquacissimum genus et vocibus importunum, quod vel philosophorum vanam[6] loquacitatem vel haereticorum verbositatem noxiam significare potest."

Potest adhuc[7] et aliud dici de natura graculi. Graculus enim garrulos designat et gulosos, qui enim gulositati student post cibum rumores libenter ferunt,[8] et aures detractioni praebent.

Graculus in silvis degit; de una arbore in aliam garriendo transit, quia garrulus homo, de his cum quibus habitat, etiam turpia quae de his noverit aliis narrare non cessat. Graculus cum aliquem transire conspicit garrit, et [cum aliquos][9] occultos[10] repperit, similiter agit, quia garrulus homo non tantum detrahit saecularibus, sed etiam[11] eis quos religionis occultat locus.

Graculus captus aliquando repositus clauditur ut articulata verba loqui doceatur. Similiter cum aliquis saecularis ad conversionem venerit, verba religionis addiscit, ut lingua volucris verba loquatur hominis, ut qui inordinate loqui consueverat, ordinate loqui hactenus assuescat. Quandoque tamen evenit quod graculus qui clausus tenebatur evadit, et qui prius garrulus fuerat, post egressionem magis clamat. Eodem modo garrulus homo cum vitam religionis arripit,[12] vix linguam suam deserit, sed si forte relicto habitu foras exierit, bonum religionis in malam partem detrahendo quasi garriendo vertit.

Moneat igitur natura volucris quis recipi debeat ad consortium religionis. Discretus igitur doctor cum aliquem recipere debet,

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[1] *chap. order* : 57, 50 A
[2] Hrabanus . . . philosophorum *excised* A
[3] nuncupatus : nuncupatur B
[4] volent : volet B
[5] Est + enim ABBrLPT
[6] vanam + gloriam et P
[7] Potest *om* adhuc LT
[8] ferunt : referunt ABBrLPT
[9] cum aliquos : quos H
[10] *om* occultos L
[11] *om* etiam P
[12] arripit : accipit LT

Chapter 50: <The Jay>

Hrabanus says concerning the jay, "The jay (*graculus*) is named for its garrulousness (*garrulitas*), not as certain people would have it, because they fly in flocks (*gregatim*), since it is obvious that they are named from their cry. It is a species most loquacious and rude in its sounds, which can signify either the empty prating of philosophers, or the harmful verbosity of heretics."[1]

And something else can be said about the nature of the jay. In fact, the jay denotes the garrulous and gluttonous, for those who are given to gluttony freely spread gossip after meals and bend their ears to slander.

The jay lives in the woods; it goes about chattering from one tree to another, because the garrulous man continually tells others about those with whom he lives, even shameful things which he knows about them. When the jay sees someone pass by it chatters, and [when] he meets [any people] concealed <from the world>, he acts in the same manner, for the garrulous man slanders not only lay people, but also those whom the monastery conceals.

The captive jay, once secured, is enclosed so that it may be taught to speak distinct words. Likewise, when any lay person comes to conversion, he learns the language of religion, so that the tongue of the bird might speak the words of man, so that he who was wont to speak in a disorderly fashion may to the same degree grow accustomed to speaking in an orderly fashion. Still, it sometimes happens that the jay which was enclosed escapes, and <the bird> which was garrulous in the first place, cries even more after its departure. In the same way, when the garrulous man takes up the religious life, he forsakes his tongue with difficulty, but if perchance, having abandoned the <monastic> habit, he departs, he turns the good of religion to an evil direction by slandering, as if chattering <like the jay>.

Therefore, let the nature of the bird counsel as to who should be received into the religious community. Thus, when the careful teacher must receive someone, he should at least test him first in

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[1] Hrabanus Maurus, *The Nature of Things* 22.6 (Migne, *PL* 111:247), mostly repeating Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.7.45 (André, ed., and n. 520). The observation below that the jay lives noisily in the woods is probably Hugh's own. I am persuaded by W. B. Yapp that the *graculus* in the Aviary is the jay (*garrulus glandarius*), not the jackdaw (*corvus monedula*), as translated by many Latin dictionaries. The jackdaw is a field bird.

saltem eum prius cohabitatione probet. A quodam viro discreto et religioso didici quod sint quaedam diversitates hominum quae vix ordinate in religione possint detineri. Si autem quaeras qui sint, ut evitari possint, hi sunt pictores, medici, ioculatores, et quidam alii qui per[1] diversas regiones[2] discurrere sunt assueti; huius modi homines vix possunt esse stabiles.

Ars pictoris valde est delectabilis. Cum enim pictor ecclesiam, capitulum, refectorium, vel aliquas officinas pinxerit, ad aliud monasterium, si ei concessum fuerit, rogatus ab aliquo causa pingendi transit. Opera Christi pingit in pariete, sed utinam ea teneret in mente: vestiret coloribus exemplo et moribus.

Ars vero medicinae multis indiget, et vix aut numquam[3] proprietate caret. Qui hanc exercet necesse est ut aromatibus et speciebus abundet. Cum aliquis ecclesiae vicinus infirmitate premitur,[4] medicus ut ad infirmum veniat rogatur. Si autem abbas eum ire non permiserit,[5] iram incurrit. Medicus quandoque videt quod ordinate eum videre non licet, tangit quod religioso tangere non convenit.[6] De[7] incertis per experimenta loquitur, sed quia est experimentum fallax, ideo saepe fallitur. Sed hoc religioso non convenit[8] quod nisi vera loquatur. Promittit ecclesiae suae lucra[9] si eat ad infirmum,[10] sed tacet scandalum et animae suae damnum. Nosti[11] forsitan super[12] de monacho medico Iusto nomine—sed utinam iusto operatione—qui in medicamine tres aureos absconderat,[13] quid de eo beatus Gregorius dicat. Qui licet ei in infirmitate sua servierit, in correctionem[14] ei tamen non pepercit. Fratres ante mortem ei loqui prohibuit; post mortem vero eum in

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[1] *om* per A

[2] *om* regiones A

[3] *om* aut numquam A

[4] premitur : deprimitur LT

[5] permiserit : promiserit Br

[6] convenit : expedit P

[7] *om* De incertis per experimenta . . . non convenit P

[8] convenit : expedit ABBrLPT

[9] lucra : lucrum ABBrLT

[10] infirmum : aegrotum A

[11] Nosti : Nostis / *om* super A

[12] super : frater BBrLPT

[13] absconderat : expenderat P

[14] correctionem : correptione B

communal living. From a certain prudent and religious man[1] I have learned that there are some types of men who can be kept only with difficulty in holy orders. Moreover, if you seek who they may be, so that they can be avoided, they are the <mural> painters, physicians, entertainers, and certain others who have been accustomed to wandering through various lands; men of this type can only with difficulty be steadfast.[2]

The art of the <mural> painter is very pleasing. For when the painter has painted a church, chapter house, refectory, or other rooms, <and is> called by someone to another monastery to paint <there>, he goes if permission is granted him. He paints the works of Christ on the wall, but would that he remembered them: would that he might invest them with color by his example and character.

But the art of the physician requires many things, and he is rarely or never without the means. It is necessary that he who practices this art have an abundance of aromatics and spices. When some neighbor of the church is brought down by illness, the physician is asked to attend the invalid. If, however, the abbot does not permit him to go, <the abbot> incurs his wrath. Sometimes the physician sees things the Rule forbids him to see, touches what is not appropriate for a monk to touch. He speaks about uncertainties through experience, but because experience is deceptive, he is thus often deceived. But it does not suit this monk that he speak <nothing> but the truth. He promises benefits to his church if he might go to the sick man,[3] but he does not mention the scandal or the injury to his soul. You have heard perhaps of the physician-monk named Justus—but would that <he had been> just in deeds—who hid three gold coins in the medicine, something the blessed Gregory told about him. Although <Gregory> would treat him in his illness, nevertheless he did not spare him in chastisement. He forbad the brothers to speak to him before his death; but after <Justus's> death <Gregory> ordered that he be buried in a dung pit. Thus

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[1] Almost certainly Ulric, prior of St.-Laurent-au-Bois before Hugh, and much revered by the younger man; see *HLF* 13:494, and Henri Peltier, "Hugues de Fouilloy, Chanoine regulier, Prieur de Saint-Laurent-au-Bois," *Revue du moyen-âge latin* 2 (1946): 30.

[2] This passage is well known to students of medieval art; see C. R. Dodwell and D. H. Turner, *Reichenau Reconsidered* (London, 1965), 22.

[3] The contrast between the restricted life of Augustinians and other monks of the new orders, and the traditional Benedictines whose physicians might regularly leave their houses to attend the sick, is discussed by John Van Engen, "The 'Crisis of Cenobitism' Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050-1150," *Speculum* 61 (1986): 269-304.

sterquilinio sepeliri iussit. Sic autem est absolutus post mortem. *Pecunia tua tecum sit in perditionem.*

Sed etiam[1] ioculatores leves ante conversionem, cum ad conversionem veniunt,[2] saepius usi levitate, leviter recedunt. Illi vero qui per diversas regiones sunt discurrere consueti,[3] si taedio claustri fuerint aggravati, citius a claustris exeunt, quia terrarum diversitates norunt.

Caput LI De ansere

Anser "vigilias noctis assiduitate clangoris testatur. Nullum autem animal ita odorem hominis sentit ut anser. Unde et clangore eius Gallorum ascensus in Capitolio deprehensus est." Unde Hrabanus, "Haec providos homines et erga custodiam suam bene vigilantes significare potest."

Anserum duae [sunt][4] species domesticae videlicet et campestres. Campestres in altum et ordinate volant, illosque designant qui remoti a terrenis ordinem bene vivendi servant.[5] Domesticae vero in vicis simul habitant; multotiens conclamant;[6] seipsas[7] rostris lacerant. Illos significant qui etsi conventus amant, loquacitati tamen et detractioni vacant.

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[1] etiam : et Br
[2] veniunt : venerunt B
[3] consueti : sunt assueti P
[4] duae *om* sunt H
[5] servant : disservant T
[6] conclamant : cum clamant Br
[7] seipsas : seipsos A

moreover was <Justus> shriven after death.[1] *May your money go with you into damnation* (Acts 8:20).[2]

But also the entertainers, inconstant before conversion, after coming to conversion, more often than not practiced in fickleness, with fickleness depart <from the monastery>. Surely those who are used to wandering in various lands, if they become annoyed by the boredom of the monastery, more quickly leave its walls, because they are familiar with the diversities of the secular world.

Chapter 51: The Goose

(illustration: fig. 19)

The goose "makes known the watches of the night with the constancy of its cry. Moreover, no animal smells the odor of man as does the goose. Whence, by its cry, the ascent of the Capitoline Hill by the Gauls was discovered."[3] Hrabanus says, "This <bird> can symbolize cautious men and those very anxious about their own safety."[4]

There [are] two varieties of geese, that is to say, the tame and the wild. The wild ones fly aloft and in an order, and denote those who, far from worldly affairs, preserve an order of righteous living. The domestic ones, however, live together in the villages; they cry out frequently; they tear at themselves with their beaks.[5] They signify those who, even though they love the monastery, have time nevertheless for loquaciousness and slander.

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[1] The story of Justus is from St. Gregory, *The Dialogues*, 4.57 (Vogüé, ed., vol. 3:189-90. The *Dialogues* states that after Justus's burial, Gregory relented and asked the monks' prayers for the sinner's soul, and Justus's ghost appeared soon after to say all was well.

[2] Although the quotation agrees with the Vulgate, the translation of this passage is mine, the Douay Bible version being too free.

[3] Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.7.58 (André, ed., and nn. 535-38). The account of the Gallic attack foiled by geese occurs in Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 5.47. For the classical tradition of this tale, see R. M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy, Books 1-5* (Oxford, 1965), 736. See also St. Ambrose, *Hexameron* 5.12.44 (*C.S.E.L.* 32:174).

[4] Hrabanus Maurus, *The Nature of Things* 22.6 (Migne, *PL* 111:248).

[5] The wild and tame geese, the latter living in flocks, are noted by Varro, *De re rustica* 3.10.1-7, which Hugh may have known in part from *florilegia*. The wild and tame varieties, the tame in village flocks, and the geese "tearing at themselves" could have been based upon Hugh's own observation. For the last he may have thought the goose's habit of preening deep into its plumage was self-destructive.

Campestres anseres omnes sunt coloris cinericii, nec aliquam earum variam seu niveam vidi. In domesticis vero non solum habetur color cinericius, sed etiam varius, vel albus. In campestribus habetur color cinericius, id est, in his qui a saeculo sunt remoti poenitentiae vilis habitus. Hi vero qui in urbibus vel in vicis habitant pulcrioris coloris vestem portant.

Anser prae ceteris animalibus supervenientis hominis odorem sentit, quia discretus homo per bonam vel malam famam alios licet longe remotos cognoscit. Cum igitur anser odorem supervenientis hominis sentit nocte, clamare non desinit, quia cum negligentias ignorantiae discretus frater in aliis videt, clamare debet. In Capitolio quondam Romanis profuit[1] clamor anseris; et in capitulo[2] quotidie prodest cum negligentias viderit clamor discreti fratris. Clamor anseris a Capitolio repulit hostem Gallicum, a capitulo vero clamor discreti fratris Hostem repellit[3] Antiquum. Clamor[4] anseris urbem Romanam ab impetu hostium servavit immunem; clamor discreti fratris ne turbetur a perversis custodit vitam communem. Forsitan Divina Providentia naturas volucrum nobis non proponeret nisi eas in aliquo nobis forte prodesse vellet.

Caput LII <De ardea>

"Ardea vocata quasi ardua propter altos[5] volatus . . . formidat enim imbres et super nubes volat[6] ut procellas nubium sentire non possit. Cum autem volaverit significat tempestatem. Hanc multi Tantalum[7] vocant." Unde Hrabanus, "Haec avis potest significare animas electorum quae, formidantes perturbationes[8] huius saeculi, ne forte procellis persecutionum instigante Diabolo involvantur, intentionem suam super omnia temporalia, ad serenitatem patriae

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[1] profuit : fuit LT
[2] capitulo : capitolio L
[3] repellit : reppulit LT
[4] *om* Clamor anseris a Capitolo . . . fratris. A
[5] altos : arduos LT
[6] volat : evolat ABBr
[7] Tantalum : Cantalum P
[8] perturbationes : perturbationem ABBrLPT

All wild geese are ashen in color, nor did I see any of them variegated or snowy. On the tame ones, however, are not only an ashen color, but also variegated or white. On the wild ones there is an ashen color, that is, on those <men> who have retired from the world is the unassuming garment of penitence. But those who live in the towns or villages wear clothing of more beautiful color.

The goose more than other animals smells the scent of an approaching man, because the discerning man recognizes others, even at some distance, by good and bad report. Therefore, when at night the goose smells the scent of an approaching man, it continually cries out, because when the discerning brother sees in others the negligence of ignorance, he should cry out. Once upon a time the cry of the goose was helpful to the Romans on the Capitoline (*Capitolio*); and daily in the chapter (*capitulo*) the cry of the discerning brother is helpful when he sees negligence. The cry of the goose drove the Gallic enemy back from the Capitoline, but the cry of a discerning brother drives the Ancient Enemy from the chapter. The cry of the goose kept the Roman city free from the attack of the enemy; the cry of the discerning brother guards the community from being disturbed by the wayward. Perhaps Divine Providence would not give us the natures of birds unless It wished them to be helpful to us in some way.

Chapter 52: The Heron

(illustration: fig. 31b)

"<The bird> is called a heron (*ardea*), as if to say 'high' (*ardua*) because of its lofty flights ... for it fears rain and flies above the clouds so that it cannot perceive the storm clouds. Moreover, when it flies, that means a tempest <is coming>. Many people call this <bird> Tantalus."[1] Whence Hrabanus said, "This bird can signify the souls of the elect which, fearing the turmoils of this world, lest by chance through the Devil's plotting they be completely overwhelmed by the storms of persecution, raise their attention above all temporal matters, <and> their minds toward the clear weather

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[1] Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.7.21 (André, ed., and nn. 473–76). For divulging secrets entrusted to him by Zeus, Tantulus was punished in Hades by a perpetual thirst, though he stood surrounded by the waters of a lake. The use of his name for the heron probably reflects the bird's wading habit.

caelestis ubi assidue vultus Dei conspicitur mentes suas elevant."

Licet ardea cibos in aquis quaerat, in silvis tamen et in altis arboribus nidum locat, quia iustus qui rebus labentibus et transitoriis seipsum pascit, in viris[1] sublimibus spem ponit: et cuius caro[2] sustentatur transitoriis[3] et eius anima delectatur aeternis. Ardea pullos[4] in nido[5] defendere nititur rostro, ne ab aliis avibus rapiantur. Eodem modo iustus forti invectione percutit quos perversos ad decipiendum subiectos novit.

Quaedam vero earum habent colorem album, quaedam cinericium. Uterque tamen color in bonam partem ponitur, si per album munditia, per cinericium poenitentia designetur;[6] eiusdem enim generis sunt et[7] qui poenitent, et qui munde vivunt. Et color igitur ardeae et modus vitae exemplum salutis dat religiosis.

Caput LIII De caladrio[8]

Physiologus dicit de caladrio quod totus albus sit. Cuius pars interior femoris caliginem aufert ab oculis. Natura etiam caladrii

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[1] viris : raris A; viris + tamen B

[2] *om* caro A

[3] transitoriis *om* et B

[4] pullos + suos P

[5] nido + suo P

[6] designetur : designatur LT

[7] *om* et qui poenitent . . . religiosis A

[8] *om chap.* 53 A

of the celestial home, where they continually see the face of God."[1]

Granted that the heron seeks its food in the water, nevertheless it builds its nest in forests and in tall trees, because the righteous man who is maintained by fleeting and temporal things places his hope in exalted men: not only is his flesh nourished by temporal things, but also his soul is delighted by the eternal. With its beak the heron endeavors to defend the chicks in the nest, lest they be seized by other birds. In the same way, with forceful invective, the righteous man smites those wayward people whom he knows to be prone to deceit.

Certain <herons> are in fact white in color, others ashen.[2] Each color, however, is considered to good advantage, if by white is meant purity and by the ashen penitence; for both those who are penitent and those who live purely are of the same species. And therefore the color of the heron and its way of life provide to monks a model of salvation.

Chapter 53: The Caladrius

(illustrations: figs. 19, 55a)

Physiologus says of the caladrius that it is completely white.[3] Its groin[4] removes a cataract from the eyes. Indeed, the nature of the

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[1] Hrabanus Maurus, *The Nature of Things* 22.6 (Migne, *PL* 111:246).

[2] The only white heron (*ardea occidentalis*) is native to the New World. There is an albino form of the European grey heron (*ardea cinerea*), but it is rare. My colleague, biologist Robert Engel, suggests that Hugh may have confused the heron and the plumed yellow-billed egret (*egreta alba*) from northeastern Africa, but with a possible coastal European range. Engel notes, however, that there is also the possibility of a white morph of the grey heron, as established today for the great blue heron in Florida. There is no evidence that Hugh's source of information on a white heron is other than his own observation.

[3] *Physiologus* here means B-Is bestiary (Mann, ed., 40); see above, p. 155, n. 1. On the Caladrius, see George C. Druce, "The Caladrius and its Legend, Sculptured upon the Twelfth-Century Doorway of Alne Church, Yorkshire," *Archaeological Journal* 69 (1912): 381–416, and Henkel, *Studien*, 201–2.

[4] Lit. "inner thigh." Hugh's term *interior pars femoris*, given the moralization, is best translated as "groin"; it is a paraphrase of the term *interius femur* ("inner thigh" or "thighbone marrow") in the B-Is bestiary (Mann, ed., 40). The latter term in turn may be an erroneous transcription by the B-Is compiler of the term *interior fimus*, "dung within," of the *Physiologus* (Francis J. Carmody, *Physiologus latinus*, Paris: E. Droz, 1939, 15). See the discus-

talis esse dicitur ut si ad infirmum hominem aliquotiens adducatur, utrum infirmus mori aut vivere debeat astantes certos reddat. Si enim faciem infirmi hominis respicit nec oculos avertit, sed infirmi faciem diligenter considerat, signum est quod vivat. Si autem avertat oculos a facie infirmi hominis, signum est mortis.

Per caladrium intellegimus Christum, qui venit in mundum ut salvum faceret genus humanum. Qui dicitur esse nivei coloris, quia ab omni peccato fuit immunis.

Cuius pars interior femoris tergit ab oculis obscuritatem caliginis. Per femur propagatio generis intellegitur. Interior igitur pars femoris est Incarnatio Salvatoris. Interior siquidem et occulta Incarnatio Salvatoris fuit, quae etiam Diabolo latuit.

Venit Christus in mundum ut salvum faceret genus humanum. Faciem suam a Iudeis avertit; gentiles respexit; iniquitates nostras sustinuit. Et qui peccatum non fecerat in ligno Crucis peccata nostra portavit. Sed et quotidie praedictus Caladrius infirmitates nostras visitat, mentem per confessionem considerat, et eos sanat quibus gratiam poenitendi praestat. Ab illis vero faciem avertit quorum cor impoenitens novit. Istos respuit, sed illos in quos faciem intendit sanos reddit.

Caput LIV De phoenice

"Phoenix[1] Arabiae avis dicta quod colorem pheniceum habeat; vel quod sit in toto singularis[2] orbe et unica. Nam et Arabes singula-

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[1] *om* Phoenix Arabiae avis ... spiritus inflammat A

[2] *om* singularis P; singularis : singularia L

caladrius is said to be such that if <the bird> is led several times to a sick man, it may inform those in attendance whether the sick man will die or live. For if it looks into the face of the sick man, and does not avert its eyes, but looks continually at the face of the invalid, it is a sign that he should live. If, however, it turns its eyes away from the sick man's face, it is a sign of death.[1]

By the caladrius we understand Christ, who came into the world to save humankind. It is said to be white because He was free from all sin.[2]

Its groin takes away a cataract's darkness from the eyes. By the thigh is understood the propagation of the species. Therefore, the groin is the Incarnation of the Savior. Indeed, the Incarnation of the Savior, which was concealed even from the Devil, was enclosed and hidden.

Christ came into the world to save humankind. He turned His face from the Jews; He looked at the Gentiles; He bore our iniquities. And He who did not commit sin bore our sins upon the wood of the Cross. Yet daily this same Caladrius sees our infirmities, inspects <our> mind through confession, and heals those to whom He offers the grace of penitence. But He turns His face from those whose hearts He knows to be unrepentant. He rejects these, but returns to health those upon whom He directs His gaze.

Chapter 54: The Phoenix

(illustration: fig. 13)

"The phoenix of Arabia is a bird so named because it is the color purple (*pheniceum*); or because in the whole world it is solitary and unique.[3] For the Arabs call a solitary man a phoenix. Living five

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sion of Hugh's term in Druce, "The Caladrius and Its Legend," 386-87, who was unaware of the Aviary as a distinct entity. Druce translates Hugh's phrase simply as "the marrow."

[1] B-Is bestiary (Mann, ed., 40).

[2] B-Is bestiary (Mann, ed., 40).

[3] For the textual tradition of the phoenix, Henkel, *Studien*, 202-3, R. van den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix*, and Guy Mermier, "The Phoenix," 69-87. There was thought to be only one phoenix in the world, and in antiquity unusual events—and by extension also unusual people—were compared to the phoenix; see van den Broek, 67, n. 1, who notes the Aviary reference.

rem phoenicem vocant. Haec quingentis ultra annis vivens, dum se viderit senuisse collectis aromatum virgulis rogum sibi instruit, et conversa ad radium solis alarum plausu voluntarium sibi incendium nutrit. Sicque iterum de cineribus suis resurgit." Unde Hrabanus, "Phoenix," inquit, "potest significare resurrectionem iustorum qui, aromatibus virtutum collectis, restaurationem prioris vigoris post mortem sibi praeparant."

Phoenix est Arabiae avis. Arabia vero interpretatur campestris. Campus est hic mundus, Arabia saecularis vita, Arabes saeculares. Arabes phoenicem vocant[1] singularem. Singularis est quilibet iustus, a curis saecularibus omnino remotus.

Phoenix per quingentos annos vivere creditur, sicut Scriptura testatur. Centenarius vero numerus in annis moraliter designat terminum perfectionis. Quingentorum annorum numerus assignari potest quinque corporis sensibus. Cum enim visus deficit, primus centum annorum numerus transit. Cum deficit auditus, transit secundus. Cum vero tres reliqui sensus, id est, gustus, odoratus et tactus deficiunt, tunc quingenti anni moraliter transacti sunt.

Cum vero[2] phoenix morti appropinquat tunc diversas species aromatum parat. Aromata sunt bona opera, diversae species animae virtutes. Congeriem aromatum construit et se in mediis aromatum specibus componit. Haec[3] totiens iustus agit, quotiens ad memoriam bonorum operum multitudinem reducit. Ad radium solis alis ignem voluntarium excitat, quia mentem alis contemplationis excitatam iustus ardore Sancti Spiritus inflammat.

Sic igitur phoenix incenditur, sed ex eius cinere phoenix iterum procreatur.[4] [Cum[5] ergo phoenix moritur et ex eius cinere phoenix iterum] licet nascitur, hoc exemplo agitur ut futurae resurrectionis veritas a singulis fieri credatur. Non est ergo maius miraculum fides futurae resurrectionis quam ex cinere facta resurrectio phoenicis.

Ecce volucrum natura simplicibus resurrectionis argumentum

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[1] vocant : appellant ABBrLPT

[2] vero : enim LT

[3] Haec : Hoc P

[4] *om* procreator. Cum ergo . . . licet Br

[5] *om* Cum ergo phoenix moritur . . . phoenix iterum H

hundred or more years, while it perceives that it has grown old, it builds for itself a funeral pyre of bunches of small spice twigs, and turned toward the sun's ray, with a flapping of its wings, it deliberately sets itself on fire. And thus it arises anew from its own ashes."[1] Whence Hrabanus says, "The phoenix can signify the resurrection of the righteous who, with bunches of the spices of virtues, prepare for themselves the restoration of their original vigor after death."[2]

The phoenix is a bird of Arabia. In fact, Arabia is interpreted as a plain. The plain is this world, Arabia the worldly life, the Arabians lay people. The Arabs call a solitary man a phoenix. Whoever is righteous is solitary, removed entirely from worldly cares.

The phoenix is believed to live for five hundred years, as Scripture states.[3] In fact, the reckoning of one hundred years denotes allegorically the boundary of perfection. The reckoning of five hundred years can be assigned to the five senses of the body. For when the sight fails, the first reckoning of one hundred years passes. When the hearing fails, the second passes. But when the three remaining senses, that is, taste, smell, and touch fail, then allegorically the five hundred years are accomplished.

When indeed the phoenix approaches death it then prepares various types of spices. The spices are good deeds, the various types are the virtues of the soul. It constructs a pyre of spices and sets itself in the midst of the varieties of spices. These things the righteous man does every time he reminds the multitude of good deeds. Facing the ray of the sun, <the bird> deliberately brings forth a fire with its wings, because by the heat of the Holy Spirit, the righteous man kindles the mind aroused by the wings of contemplation.

So, therefore, the phoenix is cremated, but the phoenix is born again from its ashes. [Therefore, when the phoenix dies and] yet is born [again from its ashes], by this example it happens that the truth of future resurrection is believed by everyone to be represented. Faith in a resurrection to come is therefore no greater miracle than is the resurrection of the phoenix from its ashes.

See how the nature of the birds makes known to the simple folk

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[1] Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.7.22 (André, ed., and nn. 477–79).

[2] Hrabanus Maurus, *The Nature of Things* 22.6 (Migne, *PL* 111:249).

[3] The long lifespan of the phoenix is not mentioned in the Bible but is noted so often in antiquity and by the church fathers that Hugh may have assumed it was scriptural.

praestat. Et quod Scriptura praedicat, opus naturae confirmat.

Caput LV De perdice[1]

Clamavit perdix et congregavit ova quae non peperit, faciens sibi non cum iudicio divitias. In medio enim dierum suorum derelinquet eas, et in novissimis suis erit insipiens. Unde Isidorus, "Perdix de voce nomen habet. Avis dolosa ... adeo tamen[2] fraudulenta, ut alterius ova diripiens foveat. Sed fraus fructum non habet, nam cum pulli propriae vocem genitricis audierint, naturali quodam instinctu hanc quae [fovit][3] relinquunt, et ad eandem quae genuit revertuntur." Unde Hrabanus, "Diabolus per principes haereticorum congregavit populos quos non peperit, et deceptorum sibi multitudinem consociavit, quos postea dimisit; et omnium iudicio stultissimus esse comprobatur."

Possumus ergo intellegere Diabolum per perdicem, per ovum spem. Perdix vero cuius ova furatur ecclesia procul dubio intellegitur. In perdice igitur Scriptura Diabolum nobis innuit, qui ova alterius perdicis, id est, habentes spem salutis furatur; fovet et nutrit. Furatur dum spem salutis eis subtrahit. Fovet otio, delectatione nutrit. Fovet terrenis desideriis, nutrit carnalibus illecebris. Cum autem pulli vocem propriae genetricis audiunt, quodam naturali instinctu eam recognoscunt. Similiter cum aliquis Diabolo subiectus fuerit et vocem ecclesiasticae praedicationis audit, ad

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[1] *om chap.* 55 A

[2] tamen : autem P

[3] fovit : foveat H; fovit : fovet Br

the proof of <their> resurrection. And what Scripture foretells, the work of nature confirms.

Chapter 55: The Partridge

(illustration: fig. 13)

The partridge gave a call and collected eggs which it did not lay, injudiciously producing riches for itself. For in mid course it will abandon them, and in the end will prove itself a fool (Jer. 17:11).[1] Whence Isidore says, "The partridge's name comes from her cry. It is a cunning bird . . . yet so deceitful that, seizing the eggs of another bird, she hatches them. But the deception does not bear fruit, for when the chicks hear the voice of their own parent, by a certain natural instinct, they leave <the bird> who [hatched] them, and return to the very one who produced them."[2] Whence Hrabanus says, "The Devil, through the princes of heretics, collected peoples whom he did not produce, and associated himself with the multitude of the deceived, whom afterwards he abandoned; and by the judgement of all he is proven to be very stupid."[3]

Therefore, by the partridge we can understand the Devil, by the egg, hope. But the partridge whose eggs she steals is without doubt understood as the Church. Therefore, in the <first> partridge Scripture signals to us the Devil, who steals the eggs of another partridge, that is, those with the hope of salvation; he warms and nourishes them. <The partridge> steals while <the Devil> takes from <people> the hope of salvation. He warms them with idleness, nourishes them with pleasure. He warms them with earthly desires, nourishes them with the charms of the flesh. When, however, the chicks hear the voice of their own parent, they recognize her by a certain natural instinct. Likewise, when someone has become the Devil's subject and hears the word of an ecclesiastical sermon, abandoning the Devil, he flies to the Church as if to his

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[1] The passage is from a pre-Vulgate version of Jer. 17:11 quoted by *Physiologus*; see Francis J. Carmody, "Quotations in the Latin Physiologus from Latin Bibles earlier than the Vulgate," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 13:1 (1944): 3. The Aviary's quotation of the passage comes surely from the B-Is bestiary version of the *Physiologus* (Mann, ed., 59). For the textual tradition of the partridge, see Henkel, *Studien*, 197–98.

[2] Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.7.63 (André, ed., and nn. 560–62).

[3] Hrabanus Maurus, *The Nature of Things* 22.6 (Migne, *PL* 111:249).

ecclesiam quasi ad genitricem propriam, relicto Diabolo, transvolat, ut sub alis divinae protectionis ulterius in pace vivat.

Ecce qualiter perdix perdit ova quae furatur et congregat, quia non est mirum si quos male congregaverat Diabolus iudicio veritatis perdat. In novissimis ergo suis Diabolus insipens erit, quia in Die Iudicii aeterna benedictione carebit, et tunc audiet perdix cum perditis, id est, Diabolus cum subiectis, It[at]e *maledicti in ignem aeternum qui praeparatus est Diabolo et angelis eius.* Ad hoc enim tendunt qui in hac vita Diabolo serviendo succumbunt.

Caput LVI De coturnice

"Coturnices[1] a sono vocis dictas constat, quas Graeci ortigias vocant eo quod visae fuerint primum in Ortygia insula. Haec adveniendi habent tempora, nam aestate depulsa maria transmeant. Ortygometra dicitur quae gregem ducit; eam terrae appropinquantem[2] accipiter videns rapit. Ac propterea cura est universis ducem sollicitare generis externi, per quem caveant prima discrimina. Sola haec avis sicut et homo caducum patitur morbum."

Coturnices adveniendi habent tempora, nam maria transmeant aestate depulsa. Calor aestatis est ardor caritatis; frigus hiemis est temptatio refrigeratae mentis. Ab amore igitur proximi, per mare mundi huius, transmeat iustus ad amorem Dei, ut in calida regione semper maneat. Qui semper calore dilectionis in semetipso flagrat, ut vitet[3] frigus hiemis, procellas videlicet et[4] ventos improvisae temptationis.

"Ortygometra dicitur quae gregem ducit; eam terrae appropinquantem[5] accipiter videns rapit." Terra terrena sunt desideria,

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[1] Coturnices ... patitur morbum *in bestiary version* A

[2] appropinquantem : propinquantem ABBrLPT

[3] vitet : inter Br

[4] *om* et Br (*corrected*)

[5] appropinquantem : propinquantem BBrLPT

own parent, in order to live at last in peace under the wings of divine protection.

See how the partridge loses the eggs which it steals and collects, because it is no wonder that by the judgement of truth the Devil should lose those whom he wrongly collected. In his final days, therefore, the Devil will <prove to> be a fool, because on the Day of Judgement he will be deprived of eternal blessing, and then will the partridge with the damned, that is, the Devil with his subjects, hear <the words>, Go, *ye cursed, into everlasting fire which was prepared*[1] *for the Devil and his Angels* (Matt. 25:41). For to such an end go those who in this life yield to the service of the Devil.

Chapter 56: The Quail

"It is evident that quails are named from the sound of their voice, which <birds> the Greeks call *ortygias*, because they were first seen on the island of Ortygia.[2] They have times of arrival, for at the end of summer they cross the seas. The one which leads the flock is called the *ortygometra*;[3] seeing it approach land the hawk seizes it. And therefore all take care to seek out a leader of a different species, through which they might avoid the initial dangers. Only this bird, <the quail>, like man, suffers the falling sickness."[4]

Quails have times of arrival, for they cross the sea at the end of summer. The warmth of summer is the flame of charity; the cold of winter is temptation of the languid mind. Therefore, the righteous man crosses from the love of his neighbor, through the sea of this world, to the love of God, so that he may remain forever in the land of warmth. He is always burning within with the warmth of love, so that he might avoid the cold of winter, that is to say, the storms and winds of unforeseen temptation.

"The one which leads the flock is called the *ortygometra*; seeing it approach land, the hawk seizes it." Earthly desires are the land,

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[1] Vulgate: *praeparatus* : *paratus*.

[2] *Ortygia*, "the isle of quails," is Delos.

[3] *ortygometra* = "mother of quails." According to Darcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), 123, the *ortygometra* is a corn-crake (*rallus crex*). The hawk's attack on the leader is illustrated in British Lib. MS. Harley 4751, fol. 53, and Oxford, Bodleian Lib. MS. Bodley 764, fol. 82v (reprod. in Rowland, *Birds*, 142).

[4] Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.7.64-65 (André, ed., and n. 565). The "falling sickness" is a medieval term for epilepsy.

maria mundi pericula; accipiter insidians Diabolus per suggestionem temptans. Propinquantem igitur terrae accipiter videns rapit, quia eos qui terrena quaerunt Diabolus secum trahit. Praelatus igitur qui gregem antecedit diligenter provideat qua intentione terrena petat, utrum in suos usus ea redigat, vel ad necessitatem fratrum ea quaerat, ne accipiter, id est, Diabolus, eum rapiat, qui postpositis spiritalibus terrenis inhiare non cessat.

"Propterea cura est universis ducem sollicitare generis externi, per quem caveant prima discrimina." Duo sunt genera hominum, bonorum scilicet[1] et malorum. Generis externi sunt homines perversi. Iusti igitur perversos sibi proponunt[2] dum casus et eventus eorum diligenter attendunt. Dum haec igitur attente considerant, prima peccandi discrimina considerando vitant.

Haec avis sicut homo caducum patitur morbum, quia spiritalis homo sicut et carnalis aliquotiens peccare perhibetur. Nec quotiens peccat moritur, quia ei poenitendi gratia non negatur. Unde scriptum est, *Septies in die cadit iustus*, nec tamen desinit esse iustus. Quotiens enim iustus peccat, totiens [accidit][3] ut resurgat.

Caput LVII <De upupa>

"Upupam[4] Graeci appellant eo quod stercora humana consideat et fetenti pascatur fimo. Avis spurcissima, cristis extentibus galeata, semper in sepulcris et humano stercore commorans." Unde Hrabanus, "Haec avis sceleratos peccatores significat,[5] homines qui

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[1] scilicet : videlicet ABBrLPT
[2] proponunt : praeponunt P
[3] accidit : adicit ABBrHLPT
[4] *om* Upupam Graeci . . . delectantur. A
[5] significat : designat P

the perils of this world are the seas; the hawk lying in wait is the Devil tempting by suggestion. Therefore, seeing the <leader> approach land, the hawk seizes it, because the Devil drags off with him those who seek earthly things. Thus, let the priest who leads the flock be diligently cautious as to his purpose in asking for earthly things, whether he receives them for his own uses, or seeks them for the brothers' needs, lest the hawk, that is, the Devil, seize him who, having neglected spiritual matters, continues to covet worldly things.

"Therefore all should take care to seek a leader of a different species, through whom they might avoid the initial dangers." There are two kinds of men, that is to say, the good and the bad. Wayward men are of a different species. Therefore, righteous men place wayward men in front of themselves, while they attentively await their fall and their fate. Therefore, while they observe these matters carefully, by observing they avoid the initial dangers of sinning.

This bird, like man, suffers the falling sickness, because the spiritual as well as the physical man is said to sin sometimes. As often as he sins, still he does not die, because the grace of penitence is not denied him. Whence it is written, *The righteous man falls seven times in one day*[1] (Prov. 24:16), yet he does not cease to be righteous. For as often as the righteous man sins, so often does he fall that he might rise again.

Chapter 57: <The Hoopoe>

(illustration: fig. 23)

"The Greeks call <this bird> hoopoe because it alights on human feces, and feeds on stinking dung.[2] The bird is exceedingly filthy, is helmeted with a broad crest, is always lingering in tombs, and on human feces."[3] Whence Hrabanus says, "This bird symbolizes

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[1] Vulgate: *septies enim cadet iustus.*

[2] The Greek word for hoopoe is *epops*; for an interpretation of this etymology, see Isidore, *Etymologies* (André ed. n. 56B). The bird's modern scientific name is *upupa epops*. The Migne, *PL* version of the Aviary gives an etymology which does not occur normally in the manuscripts: *Upupa Graecis epops appellatur, ab epopsaomai, quod est obsonium facio. . . .* For the textual tradition of the hoopoe, Henkel, *Studien*, 200–201.

[3] Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.7.66 (André ed., and nn. 568–70).

sordibus peccatorum assidue delectantur." Upupa etiam luctum[1] amare dicitur, quia saeculi tristitia mortem spiritus operatur. Propter quod oportet eum qui diligit Deum *semper gaudere. Sine intermissione orare. In omnibus gratias agere*, quia *gaudium fructus est spiritus.*

De upupa etiam dicit Physiologus quod cum senuerit et volare non possit, filii eius ad eam veniunt et pennas vetustissimas a corpore eius[2] evellunt, eamque fovere non cessant donec[3] iterum pennae novae recrescant. Cibos sustentant, ut Scriptura dicit, donec sicut antea sumptis viribus evolare[4] possit. Exemplum igitur perversis hominibus tribuunt qui patres suos cum senuerint a domibus propriis expellunt: qui eos cum deficiant sustenare renuunt qui ipsos cum adhuc parvuli essent educaverunt. Videat igitur homo rationabilis quid patri vel matri debeat, cum irrationabilis creatura, quod praediximus, in[5] necessitate cum senuerint parentibus reddat.

Caput LVIII De cigno

"Olor[6] avis est quam Graeci cignum appellant. Olor autem dictus quod sit totus plumis albus; nullus enim meminit cignum nigrum. Olon enim Graece totum dicitur.[7] Cignus enim[8] a canendo est appellatus, eo quod carminis dulcedinem modulatis[9] vocibus fundit. Ideo autem suaviter eum canere [perhibent],[10] quia longum collum et inflexum habet, et necesse est eluctantem vocem per longum et flexuosum iter varias reddere[11] modulationes. Ferunt

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[1] luctum + . Upupa etiam in stercoribus nidificat sumptum de postillis super Isaiam Br

[2] eius : ipsius LT

[3] *om* donec iterum pennae . . . dicit A

[4] evolare : volare A

[5] in necessitate . . . reddat *excised* A

[6] Olor avis . . . concinere *in bestiary version* A

[7] dicitur + latine BL

[8] *om* enim B

[9] modulatis : modulatius Br

[10] *om* perhibent H; perhibent + dicunt A

[11] reddere : fundere LT

wicked sinners, men who continuously delight in the filth of sins."[1] The hoopoe is also said to love sorrow, because the sadness of the world causes the death of the spirit. For that reason he who loves God should *always rejoice. Pray without ceasing. In all things give thanks* (1 Thess. 5:16–18), because *the fruit of the Spirit is . . . joy* (Gal. 5:22).

Also, Physiologus says of the hoopoe that when it grows old and cannot fly, its sons come to it and pluck the oldest feathers from its body, and continuously care for it until new feathers grow again.[2] They nourish it with food, as Scripture says (Gen. 47:12), until it can fly forth just as before with its powers renewed. Therefore, they offer an example to wayward men who cast out their own fathers from their houses when <the latter> grow old: when the latter become weak the former decline to sustain them who nourished these <offspring> when they were still small. Therefore let the rational man see what is due a father or mother, when the non-rational creature, as we have noted, attends to the necessity of its parents when they grow old.

Chapter 58: The Swan

(illustration: fig. 23)

"The swan (*olor*) is a bird which the Greeks call *cygnus*. The swan (*olor*) is so named, moreover, because it is completely white in plumage; for no one recalls a black swan.[3] In fact, in Greek *olon* means 'all.' The swan (*cygnus*) is named surely for its singing, because with melodious notes it gives forth a sweet song. Moreover, it <is said> to sing so sweetly because it has a long and curving neck, and it is inevitable that a voice forcing its way through a long and flexible passage will produce various melodies.[4] It is

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[1] Hrabanus Maurus, *The Nature of Things* 22.6 (Migne, *PL* 111:252).

[2] From the B-Is bestiary; Mann, ed., 43.

[3] The black swan, *cygnus atratus*, is a native of Australia and Tasmania; for Isidore's sources, André, ed., n. 466. Juvenal, *Satires* 6.165 notes that the black swan is rare; Martin, *The Birds of the Latin Poets*, 85.

[4] While Isidore repeats the statement of his source (Servius; see André, ed., n. 467) that the sweet sound of the swan is made because of the bird's long neck, he is the first to give the meaning of *cygnus* as the song itself, thinking perhaps of *symphonia*, which in both classical and early medieval music theory means the harmonious sound of a melody. It should be recalled that elsewhere in the *Etymologies* (Book 20) Isidore wrote knowledgeably on music theory.

in hyperboreis partibus praecinentibus citharoedis olores plurimos advolare apteque ad modum concinere."

Cignus plumam habet niveam, sed carnem nigram. Moraliter color niveus in plumis designat effectum simulationis qua caro nigra tegitur, quia peccatum carnis simulatione velatur. Cignus dum in flumine natat cervicem capitis erectam gestat, quia superbus qui cum rebus transitoriis[1] trahitur etiam labentium rerum possessione[2] ad tempus gloriatur.

"Ferunt in hyperboreis partibus praecinentibus citharoedis olores plurimos advolare apteque ad modum concinere," quia qui voluptatibus totis desideriis inhiant quasi advolantes voluptuosis concordant. Sed et in extremis cum cignus moritur, valde dulciter moriens canere perhibetur. Similiter cum de hac vita superbus egreditur, adhuc dulcedine praesentis saeculi delectatur, et quae male gessit ad memoriam moriens reducit.

Cum vero pluma nivea cignus exuitur, in veru[3] positus ad ignem torretur. Similiter cum dives superbus moriens exuitur

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[1] *om* transitoriis L

[2] possessione : possessionem P

[3] veru : verum A

reported that many swans fly to the singing lyricists in the northern regions, and join properly in the mode."[1]

The swan has snowy plumage, but black skin.[2] Allegorically the snowy color of plumage denotes the effect of the pretense by which the black flesh is hidden, because a sin of the flesh is veiled by pretense. While the swan swims in the river it carries its neck erect, because a proud man who is enticed by worldly possessions also at the same time prides himself in possession of transitory things.

"It is reported that many swans fly to the singing lyricists in the northern regions, and join properly in the mode," because those who covet pleasures with all their hearts harmonize with pleasure seekers as if flying to them. But at the last, when the swan is dying, it is said to sing exceedingly sweetly as it dies.[3] Likewise, when the proud man departs this life, he delights still in the sweetness of this world, and dying, he remembers the things which he did wrong.

But when the swan is deprived of its snowy plumage, set on a spit, it is roasted at a fire. Likewise, when at death the wealthy,

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[1] Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.7.18–19 (André, ed., and nn. 466–70). Although all manuscripts have *admodum*, it is closer to the meaning of the passage to read *ad modum*, "in the mode," that is, in the proper octave species. The octave species were the theoretical foundations of melody in both ancient and medieval music. The meaning of *modus* in Isidore's time is explained in *The New Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), 12:378–79.

[2] Hugh's source for the swan's black skin is unknown but may be literary. It is found, likewise as a symbol of hypocrisy, in the 13th-century *Quest of the Holy Grail*, a courtly tale influenced by Cistercian thought and intended to teach spiritual and moral lessons; see Albert Pauphilet, ed., *La queste del Saint Graal* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1923; repr. 1948), 185, line 32. Here, however, the Aviary might itself be the source. For the motif in other literature, see Ignacio Malaxecheverria, *Le bestiaire médiéval et l'archétype de la féminité* (Paris: Lettres Modernes, 1982), 75. Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou tresor* I.161, also remarks on the black skin. This and one other similarity to the Aviary (see below, p. 249, n. 4) in the *Tresor*, however, are not strong enough parallels to justify Carmody's occasional citation of the Aviary as a source for Latini (Francis J. Carmody, ed., *Li livres dou tresor de Brunetto Latini*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1948).

[3] This ancient legend is noted by many classical writers; Karl Knortz, *Die Vögel in Geschichte, Sage, Bruch und Literatur* (Munich, 1913), 58. The tale is not mentioned in any of Hugh's regular sources but must have been as well known in his day as it is now. There may be a factual basis for the legend, for whistling or tundra swans (*cygnus columbianus*) in the U.S., for example, have a plaintive "departure song" which can also be heard when a bird dies; *National Wildlife* 25:2 (1987): 5.

mundana gloria; descendens ad flammas inferni, cruciabitur per tormenta, et qui cibum quaerere consueverat in imis, in abyssum descendens, fit cibus ignis.

Caput LIX De pavone

Classis Salomonis per mare ... semel per tres annos ibat in Tharsis, deferens inde aurum et argentum, dentes elephantorum, et simias et pavos.

Tharsis interpretatur exploratio gaudii. Est autem gaudium praesentis saeculi, est et futuri. Gaudium praesentis vitae fine clauditur, gaudium vero futurae nequaquam fine terminatur. Gaudium praesentis vitae[1] dolor et tristitia sequitur, gaudium vero futurae nec[2] dolor nec tristitia subsequitur.[3] Gaudium praesentis saeculi est honoribus sublimari, rebus transitoriis ad tempus perfrui, abundare parentum copia et eorum delectari praesentia. Cum[4] aliquis privatur honoribus, spoliatur rebus, cum aliquis amicorum moritur, tunc dolor sequitur.[5] Hoc gaudium igitur semper doloribus immiscetur.

Per tres annos semel classis Salomonis per mare mittitur in Tharsis. Classis Salomonis est virtus confessionis. Hac classe per huius mundi mare vehimur, ne submergamur. In Tharsis ergo classis[6] mittitur, quae inde aurum et argentum, dentes elephantorum, simias et pavos deferre perhibetur. Aurum et argentum in Tharsis esse dicitur, id est, viri sapientia[7] clari, eloquentia periti, qui dum praesentis saeculi gaudium implorant et exquirunt, seipsos cognoscunt, et dum per classem Salomonis de Tharsis ad Ierusalem veniunt, in pace Ecclesiae per confessionem puriores fiunt. De hoc auro purissimo fecit rex Salomon scuta aurea. Scuta aurea sunt qui pure vivunt et alios ab incursu Diaboli defendunt. Ex praedicto etiam[8] argento fiunt tubae argenteae, id est, doctores Ecclesiae.

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[1] *om* vitae L

[2] futurae nec : futurae non A; futurae nec : futurae vero Br

[3] subsequitur : subsequetur P

[4] Cum + autem ABBrLPT

[5] sequitur : subsequitur B

[6] *om* classis A

[7] sapientia : eloquentia P

[8] etiam : autem P

proud man is stripped of his worldly glory, descending to the flames of hell, he will be punished with torments, and he who was accustomed to seek nourishment in the lowest quarters, descending into the abyss, becomes food for the fire.

Chapter 59: The Peacock

(illustrations: figs. 47a, b)

For Solomon's navy ... once in three years went across the sea to Tharsis, and brought from thence gold, and silver, and elephants' teeth, and apes, and peacocks (3 Kings 10:22).

Tharsis is interpreted as the exploration of joy.[1] Now there is joy of the present time, and there is <joy> of the future. The joy of the present life is enclosed by a limit, but the joy of the future is in no way bound by a limit. Grief and sadness succeed the joy of the present life, but neither grief nor sadness follows the joy of the future. The joy of the present world is to be elevated by honors, to enjoy temporal things for the moment, to overflow with an abundance of kindred, and to delight in their presence. When anyone is deprived of the honors, robbed of possessions, when one of his friends dies, then grief follows. Therefore this joy is always mixed with sadness.

The fleet of Solomon is sent once in three years across the sea to Tharsis. Solomon's fleet is the virtue of confession. In this fleet we are carried through the sea of this world, lest we be drowned. Therefore, the fleet is sent to Tharsis, which <fleet> is said to bring back from there gold and silver, the tusks of elephants, monkeys, and peacocks. There is said to be gold and silver in Tharsis, that is, men famous for wisdom, skilled in eloquence, who, while they call upon and search out the joy of the present world, know themselves, and while they come from Tharsis to Jerusalem with the fleet of Solomon, in the peace of the Church they are made purer through confession. From this purest gold King Solomon made golden shields (3 Kings 10:16). The golden shields are those who live a pure life and defend others from the attack of the Devil. Also from the aforementioned silver are made silver trumpets, that is, the teachers of the Church.

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[1] *Tharsis exploratio gaudii*: St. Jerome, *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum* (*CC* 72:113).

Attulit etiam simias et pavos, id est, derisores et delicatos, ut qui in Tharsis derisores et delicati fuerant in pace conversionis humiles existant. Attulit etiam classis Salomonis dentes elephantorum, id est,[1] detractores[2] superborum. Dum enim verbis bonis operibus simplicium detrahunt quasi dentibus eorum ossa rodunt. Nota quod dentes elephantis materia fiunt[3] eboris, et de materia eboris fit thronus Salomonis. Qui enim ex rapina vivere consueverant, subiecti vero Salomoni seipsos postea sedem parant.

Per tres annos semel classis Salomonis ire consueverat in Tharsis. Primus annus moraliter est cogitatio, secundus locutio, tertius operatio. Cum igitur de his tribus agitur simul confessio, quasi a servis Salomonis per tres annos semel in Tharsis itur.

Sed et *Iosaphat rex Iuda*, sicut Historia dicit, *classes in mari fecit, quae navigarent in Ophir propter aurum et ire non potuerunt, quia confractae sunt in Asiongaber*. Iosaphat iudicans, Iudas confessio interpretatur. Iosaphat autem rex Iuda esse[4] dicitur, quia iudicium confessioni[5] dominatur. Cum enim peccator in confessione seipsum iudicat, tunc rex Iosaphat in Iudea regnat. Ophir vero herbosum interpretatur; herbosa terra dicitur quae ab aliquo non elaboratur, quae vestitur abundantia graminis, ut moveat affectum delectationis. In hoc herboso voluptuosi sedent, desidiosi iacent. Sed[6] assiduitate sedent, dissolutione iacent. Hoc herbosum est hic mundus, sterilis et infecundus. In Ophir igitur classis Iosaphat ire propter aurum nititur, ut dum mundi casus attenditur mentis puritas acquiratur. Sed cum agitur hoc,[7] in Asiongaber classis Iosaphat fracta fuisse perhibetur. [Gaber][8] sicut a[9] Ieronimo dicitur iuvenis sive fortis interpretatur. Non est[10] igitur mirum si classem confessionis frangat impetus iuventutis.

Quoniam de praemissis plura[11] diximus, restat ut de pavone, de quo agere intendimus, aliquid postea dicamus. "Pavo," sicut

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[1] *om* id est A

[2] detractores : detractiones Br

[3] fiunt : sunt P

[4] *om* esse ALT

[5] confessioni : confessionis A

[6] *om* Sed Br

[7] *om* hoc A

[8] Gaber sicut : Gaber Sion LT; Gaber : Gabis H

[9] *om* a A

[10] *om* est ALT

[11] plura : plurima P

<The fleet> also carried monkeys and peacocks, that is, the mockers and sensualists, so that those who in Tharsis were mockers and sensualists might live a humble life in the peace of conversion. The fleet of Solomon also carried the tusks of elephants, that is, the disparagers among the proud. For while they detract with words from the good deeds of simple folk, it is as if they gnawed <the latters'> bones with their teeth. Note that the tusks of elephants are made of ivory, and from ivory the throne of Solomon was made (3 Kings 10:18). For those who were accustomed to live by plunder, having however submitted themselves to Solomon, thereafter made of themselves a seat <i.e., to serve others>.

For one year in three the fleet of Solomon was accustomed to go to Tharsis. The first year, allegorically interpreted, is meditation; the second, declaration; the third, action. Therefore, when confession is made from these three steps together, it is as if the servants of Solomon go one year in three to Tharsis.

As <sacred> History states, But indeed *Jehoshaphat, King of Judah, put navies on the sea*[1] *to sail into Ophir for gold, and they could not go because they were wrecked in Asiongaber* (3 Kings 22:49). Jehoshaphat is interpreted as "judging," Judah as "confession." Moreover, Jehosaphat is said to be the king of Judah, because judgement rules confession. For when a sinner judges himself in confession, then King Jehoshaphat rules in Judea. But Ophir is interpreted as "grassy"; a land not worked by anyone is said to be a grassy land, one which is clothed in an abundance of flora, so that a pleasurable mood is produced. The sensualists sit in this grassy place, the idle lie <there>. But the former sit endlessly, the latter lie in depravity. This grassy place is this world, empty and infertile. Therefore, the fleet of Jehoshaphat strives to go to Ophir for gold, so that one might acquire purity of mind while he awaits the destruction of the world. But when this occurs, the fleet of Jehoshaphat is reported to have been destroyed in Asiongaber. *Gaber* as noted by <St.> Jerome is interpreted as "young" or "strong."[2] It is no wonder, then, if the impetuousness of youth destroys the fleet of confession.

Since we have said much about these prefatory matters, it remains that we should then say something thereafter about the peacock, about which we intend to speak. "The peacock," as Isi-

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[1] Vulgate: *Rex vero Iosaphat fecerat classes in mari quae. . . .*

[2] *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum* (*CC* 72:111, line 9): *aut vir, aut iuvenis, vel fortis sive viriliter.*

Isidorus dicit, "a sono vocis nomen accepit." Cum enim ex improviso clamare coeperit, pavorem subitum audientibus incutit. Pavo igitur a pavore dicitur, cum per vocem eius pavor audientibus inferatur. Pavo dum in Tharsis habitat delicatos designat, cum vero per classem in Ierusalem delatus fuerit, doctorum praedicantium figuram gerit. Duras habet carnes et putredini resistentes, quae vix a coco [coquantur][1] foco, vel a calore epatis coqui possint in stomacho. Tales sunt doctorum mentes quas nec flamma cupiditatis exurit, nec calor libidinis accendit.

Habet pavo vocem terribilem, incessum simplicem, caput serpentinum, pectus sapphirinum. Habet etiam in alis plumas aliquantulum rufas. Habet etiam caudam longam et, ut ita dicam, quasi oculis plenam. Habet pavo vocem terribilem quando praedicator peccatoribus minatur inextinguibilem Gehennae ignem. Simpliciter incedit quotiens in operibus suis humilitatem non excedit. Habet caput[2] serpentis dum caput mentis tenetur sub custodia callidae circumspectionis. Color[3] vero sapphirinus in pectore caeleste desiderium designat in[4] humana mente. Color subrubeus in pennis amorem designat contemplationis. Longitudo caudae longitudinem innuit[5] futurae vitae. Quod autem quasi oculos in cauda[6] habet, ad hoc pertinet, ut[7] quod unusquisque doctor praevidet quod periculum in fine singulis[8] imminet. Est in cauda color viridis, ut initio conveniat finis. Varietas igitur colorum designat diversitatem virtutum.

Nota etiam quod pavo, dum laudatur, caudam erigit,[9] quia praelatus quilibet adulantium laudibus per vanam gloriam mentem levat. Pennas in ordine ponit, quia quicquid doctor agit se ordinate fecisse credit. Cum autem cauda erigitur,[10] posteriora nudantur, et sic quod laudatur in opere, deridetur[11] in elatione.

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[1] coquantur : coquatur HL

[2] caput : captum A

[3] *om* Color vero sapphirinus . . . mente. LT

[4] in humana mente. Color *mutilated* A

[5] innuit : designat P

[6] *om* in cauda P

[7] *om* ut B

[8] singulis : saeculi P

[9] erigit : erigat Br

[10] cauda erigitur : caudam erigit A

[11] deridetur : denudatur B

dore said, "takes its name from the sound of its voice."[1] For when it begins unexpectedly to cry, it inflicts a sudden alarm on its hearers. Thus the peacock (*pavo*) is named from "alarm" (*pavor*), since at its call an alarm is brought about in the hearers. While the peacock lives in Tharsis it designates sensualists, but when it is brought to Jerusalem by the fleet, it is a symbol of the sermons of the teachers. It has flesh which is hard and resistant to decay, <and> which the cook finds difficult [to cook] on the fire,[2] or which can scarcely be digested in the stomach by the heat of the liver. Such are the minds of the teachers which neither the flame of passion burns, nor the heat of lust kindles.

The peacock has a fearful voice, an easy gait, a serpent-like head <and> sapphire breast. Furthermore, on its wings it has somewhat reddish feathers. It also has a tail <which is> long, and, as I should note, as if full of eyes. The peacock has a fearful voice when the preacher threatens sinners with the unquenchable fire of hell. It walks with an easy gait whenever he maintains humility in his actions. It has a serpent-like head while his mind is maintained in the care of experienced caution. But sapphire color on the breast denotes the desire for heaven in the human mind. The rosy color on the wings denotes the love of contemplation. The length of the tail signifies the length of the future life. Moreover, that <the peacock> has eye-like forms on its tail refers to the fact that every teacher foresees what danger ultimately threatens each person. There is a green color on the tail, so that the end might accord with the beginning.[3] Therefore the variety of colors denotes the diversity of virtues.

Note also that the peacock, while it is praised, raises its tail, because some prelate or other lifts his mind in vainglory to the praises of flatterers. <The peacock> settles its wings in an orderly way, because whatsoever the teacher <in question> does, he believes he was in order when he did it. When, however, the <peacock's> tail is raised, its rear end is exposed, and thus that which is praised in the <teacher's> action is scorned in <his> pride.[4] There-

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[1] Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.7.48 (André, ed., and nn. 526-27).

[2] Isidore, *Etymologies* (André, ed., and n. 526). Compare St. Augustine, *Civitas Dei* 21.4.

[3] That is, so that the green of the tail recalls the green of the head.

[4] Brunetto Latini makes a similar comment on the peacock, saying that when it raises its tail "por avoir le dos des gens" it exposes its ugly behind (*Li livres dou tresor*, 1.169), but he does not interpret this morally. For a recent study of peacock symbolism, see John B. Friedman, "Peacocks and Preachers:

Oportet igitur ut pavo caudam submissam gerat ut quod doctor agit cum humilitate fiat.

Caput LX <De aquila>

"Aquila[1] vocata ab acumine oculorum; tanti enim contuitus esse dicitur ut, cum super maria immobili penna feratur nec humanis pateat obtutibus, de tanta sublimitate pisciculos natare videat, ac tormenti instar descendens raptam praedam pennis ad litus pertrahat.

"Nam et contra radium solis fertur obtutum non flectere, unde et pullos suos ungue suspensos radiis solis obicit. Et quod viderit immobilem tenere aciem ut dignos genere conservat. Si quos vero inflectere obtutum quasi degeneres abicit." Unde beatus Gregorius, "Aquilae vocabulo in Sacra Scriptura aliquando maligni spiritus, raptores animarum, aliquando praesentis saeculi potestates, aliquando vero vel subtilissimae sanctorum intellegentiae, vel incarnatus Dominus ima celeriter transvolans et mox summa repetens designatur.

"Aquilarum nomine insidiatores spiritus exprimuntur. Ieremia attestante, qui ait, *Velociores fuerunt persecutores nostri aquilis caeli.* Persecutores enim[2] nostri aquilis caeli velociores sunt, cum tanta[3] contra nos maligni homines faciunt, ut ipsas[4] aerias potestates inventionibus malitiae praeire videantur.

"Aquilae vocabulo potestas terrena figuratur. Unde[5] per Iezechielem prophetam[6] dicitur, *Aquila grandis magnarum alarum, longo membrorum ductu, plena plumis et varietate venit ad Libanum et tulit medullam cedri et summitatem frondium eius evulsit.* Quia[7] videlicet aquila quis alius quam Nabuchodonosor rex Babyloniae designatur, qui pro immensitate[8] exercitus magnarum alarum, pro diuturnitate temporum longo membrorum ductu, pro multis vero divitiis plenus[9] plumis, pro innumera autem terrenae gloriae

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[1] *om* Aquila vocata . . . abicit A

[2] *om* enim Br

[3] *om* tanta L

[4] ipsas + etiam ABBrLPT

[5] Unde + et A

[6] *om* prophetam A

[7] Quia : Qua L

[8] pro immensitate : prae universitate A

[9] plenus : plena A

fore the peacock should carry its tail lowered, so that what the teacher does is done with humility.

Chapter 60: The Eagle

"The eagle (*aquila*) is named for the sharpness (*acumine*) of its eyes; for it is said to be of such vision that when it is borne on motionless wing above the sea and is not accessible to human gaze, from such height it sees the little fish swimming, and descending like a missile, it drags off to the beach the prey seized on the wing.

"Now, it is said that <the eagle> maintains its gaze at the sun's ray, whence it exposes its chicks, held by a claw, to the rays of the sun. And it keeps as worthy of the species the one which it sees holding an immobile gaze. But if <it sees> any <chicks> turning their gaze away, <the eagle> rejects them as degenerate."[1] Whence the blessed Gregory said, "By the word *eagle* in sacred Scripture is sometimes meant evil spirits, robbers of souls, sometimes powers of this world, or sometimes either the most subtle minds of the saints, or the incarnate Lord swiftly flying over the lowest regions and then seeking again the heights.

"By the eagles' name is represented waylayers of the spirit. It was the testimony of Jeremiah who said, *Our persecutors were swifter than the eagles of the air* (Lam. 4:19). For our persecutors are swifter than the eagles of the air when evil men do such things against us that they appear to exceed those masters of the air in inventions of evil.

"Earthly power is symbolized by the word 'eagle.' Whence it is said by the prophet Ezekiel, *A large eagle with great wings, long-limbed, full of feathers, and of variety, came to Libanus and took away the marrow of the cedar and cropped off*[2] *the top of the twigs thereof* (Ezek. 17:3-4). Because surely who else does the eagle represent but Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who is described by the vastness of <the eagle's> great wings for the vastness of his army, by the length of its legs for the long duration of his life, as full of feathers for his truly great wealth, by rich color moreover for the boundless

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Analytic Technique in Marcus of Orvieto's *Liber de moralitatibus* (Vatican lat. MS. 5935)," in *Birds and Beasts*, ed. Clark and McMunn, 179-96.

[1] Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.7.10-11 (André, ed., and nn. 450-52; see also Henkel, *Studien*, 192-94.

[2] Vulgate: om *et* / *evulsit* : *avellit.*

compositione plena[1] varietate describitur? Quae *venit ad Libanum et tulit medullam cedri et summitatem frondium eius evulsit*, quia Iudeae celsitudinem petens nobilitatem regni eius, quasi medullam cedri abstulit; et dum tenerrimam regum prolem a regni sui culmine captivando sustulit, quasi summitatem frondium eius evulsit.

"Aquilae vocabulo subtilis sanctorum intelligentia exprimitur. Unde idem propheta dum sub animalium specie Evangelistas quattuor se vidisse describeret. In eis quartum animal, id est, Iohannem[2] significans, qui[3] volando deseruit terram, quia[4] per subtilem intelligentiam interna[5] mysteria Verbum videndo penetravit." Similiter qui adhuc[6] terrena mente deserunt, velut aquila cum Iohanne per contemplationem caelestia[7] petunt.[8] Item beatus Gregorius de aquila, "*Sicut aquila volans ad escam.* Moris quippe est aquilae ut inreverberata acie radios solis aspiciat. Sed cum refectionis indigentia urgetur, eandem oculorum aciem quam radios[9] solis infixerat ad respectum cadaveris inclinat. Et quamvis ad alta evolet, pro sumendis tamen carnibus terram petit. Sic videlicet sic antiqui patres fuerunt qui, in quantum humanitatis infirmitas admittebat, Creatoris lucem erecta mente contemplati sunt. Sed incarnandum Hunc in mundi fine praescientes, quasi a solis radiis ad terram oculos deflexerunt,[10] et quasi de summis ad ima veniunt, dum Deum super omnia, et Hominem intra omnia agnoscunt. Quem pro humano genere, dum passurum moriturumque conspiciunt, qua scilicet morte semetipsos refici atque reformari[11] noverunt, quasi aquilae more post contemplatos solis radios in Cadavere escam quaerunt.

"Aliter, *sicut aquila volans ad escam.* Aquila enim alto valde volatu suspenditur, et adnisu praepeti ad aethera libratur, sed per appetitum ventris terras expetit, seseque a sublimibus repente deorsum fundit. Sic sic humanum genus in Parente Primo ad ima de sublimibus corruit, quod nimirum conditionis suae dignitas in

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[1] plena : plenus Br

[2] Iohannem : Iohannes H; Iohannem significans : Iohannem per aquilam significat B

[3] qui : quasi P

[4] quia : qui A

[5] interna : in terra P

[6] *om* adhuc B

[7] *om* caelestia Br

[8] petunt : quaerunt LT

[9] radios : radiis P

[10] deflexerunt : defluxerunt Br

[11] reformari + ad vitam ABBrLPT

array of his worldly glory? <The bird> *came to Libanus and took away the marrow of the cedar and cropped off the top of the twigs thereof*, because, seeking the grandeur of Judea, <Nebuchadnezzar> removed the nobility of his kingdom, as though they were the marrow of the cedar; and while he brought down the tenderest offspring of the kings from the heights of their kingdom by taking them captive (4 Kings 24:14-16), it is as though <the peacock> plucked off the highest branch of the <cedar>.

"By the word 'eagle' the subtle discernment of the saints is represented, whence so likewise is the prophet <Ezekiel> while he described his vision of the four Evangelists in the form of animals (Ezek. 1:5-10). Among these it is the fourth animal, that is, the one symbolizing St. John, which left the earth in flight, because by subtle discernment <St. John> penetrated the innermost mysteries by comprehending the Word."[1] Likewise, they who still deliberately abandon worldly things, like the eagle and St. John seek heavenly things through contemplation. At the same time the blessed Gregory said of the eagle, "*Like the eagle flying to the prey* (Job 9:26). It is, however, the custom of the eagle to look with unflinching gaze at the rays of the sun. But when it is impelled by the need of refreshment, it turns the same gaze that it fixed upon the sun's rays to the sighting of a corpse. And although it flies very high, it nevertheless seeks the earth in order to seize meat. Thus it is clear that the ancient fathers were similar, who to the extent that human frailties allowed, contemplated the light of the Creator with an upright mind. But with foreknowledge that He would be incarnate at the end of the world, they turned their eyes as it were from the sun's rays toward the earth, and come as if from the heights to the depths while they acknowledge God above all things, and <God-made->Man within all things. While they perceive that He will suffer and die for human kind, by that death they know with certainty that they themselves will be renewed and reformed, just as, in the manner of the eagle, after contemplating the Sun's rays, they seek food in a Corpse.

"Put another way, *like the eagle flying to the prey*. For the eagle is lifted in very high flight, and with a nimble effort is poised on the upper air, but because of the wants of its belly it seeks the earth, and casts itself suddenly down from the heights. So thus humankind in the First Parent <Adam> fell from the heights to the depths, because his status in Creation was surely poised in the heights of

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[1] St. Gregory, *Moralia in Job* 31:47 (*CC* 153B:1614, lines 2-35).

rationis celsitudine quasi in aeris libertate suspenderat. Sed quia contra praeceptum cibum contigit per ventris concupiscentiam, ad terras venit; et quasi post volatum carnibus pascitur, quia illa libera contemplationis inspiracula perdidit et deorsum voluptatibus corporeis delectatur."[1]

Item de aquila. *Renovabitur ut aquilae iuventus tua.* Solet dici[2] de aquila, dum senectute premitur, quod rostrum illius aduncetur, ita ut sumere cibum nequeat sed macie languescat. Veniens ad petram rostrum acuit, et cibum sic capiens iterum iuvenescit. Petra est Christus, aquila quilibet iustus qui ad petram rostrum acuit, dum seipsum Christo per bonam operationem conformem reddit.

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[1] delectatur : pascitur P; delectatur : laetatur ABBrLT

[2] *om* dici A

reason as if in the freedom of the air. But because <he responded to> his belly's wants <and>, contrary to <God's> order, seized food, he came to earth; and <now> he eats flesh as if after a flight, because he lost those free breezes of contemplation, and is enticed downwards by fleshly desires."[1]

Again concerning the eagle. *Thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle's* (Ps. 102:5). It is usually said about the eagle that when it is burdened by age, its beak becomes hooked, so that it is not able to eat, but becomes weak from thinness. Coming upon a rock, it sharpens its beak, and thus, eating again, it is rejuvenated.[2] The rock is Christ, the eagle any righteous man who sharpens his beak on the rock while through good deeds he renders himself like unto Christ.

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[1] *Moralia in Job* 9:26 (*CC* 143B:489, lines 1–15; 492, lines 54–64.

[2] The beak grinding is described in a number of commentaries on Psalm 102:5 (*thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle's*), including those of St. Augustine and Cassiodorus; Rudolf Wittkower, "The Eagle and the Serpent," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 2 (1938): 313, who attributes the trait to legend.

Appendix 1

The Illustrated Aviary Manuscripts

Below are listed the names given here to the illustrated Aviary manuscripts, and their library identifications. Accompanying bestiaries, if present, are noted by version. Fragments and manuscripts with Aviary excerpts (Bodley 764, Harley) are counted among the fully illustrated Aviaries if all chapters have pictures. The following symbols are used: in the Aviary column, F = fully illustrated, P = partly illustrated, D = with only the diagrams; in the bestiary column, EX = excerpts only; ? = version uncertain.

Aviary	*Shelf Number*	*Bestiary*
Aberdeen Bestiary-F	Aberdeen Univ. Lib. 24	*2 fam.*
Alcobaça Aviary-F	Lisbon Bibl. Nac. ALC 238	
Ashmole Bestiary-F	Oxford Bodl., Ashmole 1511	*2 fam.*
Anchin Aviary-D	Douai Bibl. Mun. 370	
Aulne Aviary-P	Brussels Bibl. Roy. II,1076	
Avignon Aviary-F	Paris BN lat. 2495	
Bardney Aviary-F	London BL Roy. 10 A vii	*?, EX*
BBR 8536 Aviary-P	Brussels Bibl. Roy. 8536-43	*B-Is*
Bodley 602 Aviary-F	Oxford Bodl. Bodley 602	*B-Is*
Bodley 764 Bestiary-F	Oxford Bodl. Bodley 764	*2 fam.*
Bordeaux Aviary-F	Bordeaux Bibl. Mun. 995	
Caius Bestiary-F	Cambridge, Gonville and Caius 372/621	*2 fam.*
Cambrai Aviary-F	Cambrai Bibl. Mun. 259	
Christie's Aviary-F	Priv. Coll (Christie's Sale 2 Dec. 1987, Lot 15)	
Cîteaux Aviary-D	Dijon Bibl. Mun. 225(187)	

Clairmarais Aviary-F	St. Omer Bibl. Mun. 94	
Clairvaux Aviary-F	Troyes Bibl. Mun. 177	
Cremona Aviary-F	Cremona Bibl. Stat., Gov. 199	
Da Silva Neto Aviary-F	Rio de Janiero, Prof. Serafin da Silva Neto	
Douce Bestiary-F	Oxford Bodl. Douce 151	*2 fam.*
Dubrowsky I Aviary-F	Leningrad Gos. Pub. Bibl. lat.Q.v.I,131	
Dubrowsky II Aviary-F	Leningrad Gos. Pub. Bibl. lat.Q.v.III,1	*DC*
Dyson Perrins Aviary-F	Malibu, Getty Museum XV,3	*B-Is*
Foucarmont Aviary-F	Paris BN lat. 2495A	*H*
Frankfurt Aviary-D	Frankfurt Stadtbibl. barth. 167	
Friar Kilian's Aviary-F	Bamberg Staatsbibl. Msc.Theol.233	
Gloucester Aviary-F	Malibu, Getty Museum XV,4	*B-Is*
Harley Bestiary-F	London BL Harley 4751	*2 fam.*
Harvard Aviary-F	Cambridge Houghton Lib. Typ 101	*DC*
Heiligenkreuz Aviary-F	Heiligenkreuz (Aus.) Stiftsbibl. 226	
La Ferté Aviary-F	Chalon-sur-Sâone Bibl. Mun. 14	*H*
Le Jardinet Aviary-P	Namur Museum de Groesbeeck de Croix 48	
Lorvão Aviary-F	Lisbon Arq. Nac. Torre do Tombo 90	*2 fam.EX*
Lyell Aviary-F	Oxford Bodl. Lyell 71	
Melk Aviary-P	Melk Stiftsbibl. Mell. 6 (154,C32)	
Notre Dame Aviary-P	Paris BN fr. 24428	*G.le Clerc*
Paris lat. 2495B Av.-F	Paris BN lat. 2495B	*H*
Polling Aviary-D	Munich Staatsbibl. clm 11315	
Rohr Aviary-D	Munich Staatsbibl. clm 15407	
Rome Aviary-F	Rome Bibl. Casanatense 444	
Santa Cruz Aviary-F	Porto, Bibl. Pub. Mun. 43	
Sidney Sussex Aviary-F	Cambridge Sidney Sussex Coll. 100	*H*
Signy Aviary-D	Charleville Bibl. Mun. 166B	
Sloane Aviary-F	London BL Sloane 278	*DC*

St. Amand Aviary-F	Valenciennes Bibl. Mun. 101	*H*
St. Martin Aviary-F	Brussels Bibl. Roy. 18421-29	*DC*
St. Sulpice Aviary-D	Bourges Bibl. Mun. 121	
St. Victor Aviary-F	Paris BN lat. 14429	*H*
Sta. Cruz Aviary-F	Porto Bibl. Pub. Mun. 43	
Tegernsee Aviary-D	Munich Staatsbibl. clm 18368	
Ter Duinen Aviary-F	Bruges Grootsem. 89/54	
Univ. Coll. Bestiary-F	Oxford Bodl. Univ. Coll. 120	*2 fam.*
Vendome Aviary-D	Vendôme Bibl. Mun. 156	
Yale Aviary-F	New Haven, Beinecke 189	
Zwettl Aviary-F	Zwettl (Aus.) Stiftsbibl. 253	

Nine Aviaries have spaces left for illustrations—see Catalogue.

Appendix 2
Diagram Texts and Illustration Inscriptions

Texts in Prologue miniature, diagrams, and illustrations, based on Heiligenkreuz 226, with omissions filled and corrections made from Paris lat. 2495B.

Prologue Miniature

Ecce in eadem pertica sedent accipiter et columba.
See how the hawk and the dove sit on the same perch.

Haec pertica est regularis vita.
This perch is the life of the Rule.

Paries sanctarum cogitationum. Paries bonorum operum.
The wall of the thoughts of the saints. The wall of good works.

Clericus et miles.
Cleric and knight.

Contemplativa vita et vita activa.
Contemplative life and active life.

Dove Diagram

(Summarizes Chapters 1-11)

Frame:

Si dormiatis inter medios cleros. Pennae columbae deargentatae et posteriora dorsi eius in pallore auri.
If you sleep among the midst of the lots. The wings of the silvered dove and the lower part of her back in pale gold.

Upper quadrants:

Pennas virtutum, simplicitatis columbae. Quis dabit mihi pennas sicut columbae? Color argenteus in pennis est in linguis docentium sermo sanctae exhortationis. / Volabo desiderio. Requiescam in pace. Et volabo et requiescam. Color aureus in posterioribus est in futuro aeternae retributionis munus.

The wings of virtues <and> of the simplicity of the dove. Who will give me wings like a dove's? The silvery color on the wings is the sermon of holy exhortation on the tongues of the teachers. I shall fly by desire <for salvation>. I shall rest in peace. I shall both fly and rest. The gold color on the hinderparts is the gift of eternal reward to come.

Wheel rim and inner circle:

Inter expectationem caelestium et contemptum terrenorum dormit qui [inter haec duo moriens] vitam finit. In medio sortium Veteris et Novi Testamenti dormit qui eorum auctoritatibus acquiescit. Inter medios sortes dormit qui sperat et diligit. Inter extremas vigilat qui timet et desiderat.

He who ends his life [dying between the two <testaments>] sleeps between the expectation of the heavenly and contempt of the worldly. He who rests by their authority sleeps in the midst of the lots of the Old and New Testaments. He who hopes and loves sleeps within the midst of the lots. He who fears and desires keeps watch within the outermost <lots>.

Hub:

Amor Desiderium Spes [Timor].

Love Desire Hope [Fear].

Spokes:

Sententiae Veteris et Novi Testamenti grana frumenti et ordei sunt.

The maxims of the Old and New Testaments are the seeds of corn and barley.

Between spokes, corresponding with words directly across:

Expectatio caelestium - due sortes - Contemptus terrenorum / Timor poenae - extremae sortes - Desiderium gloriae / Vetus Testamentum - due sortes - Novum Testamentum / Spes veniae - mediae sortes - Amor gratiae.

Expectation of the heavenly - two lots - Contempt of the worldly / Fear of punishment - outermost lots - Desire for glory / Old Testament - two lots - New Testament / Hope for mercy - middle lots - Love of grace.

Lower quadrants:

[Elongavi in mente. Fugiens mundum.] Ecce elongavi fugiens. Color aerius in alis est amor divinae contemplationis. / [Perseveravi in contemplatione, mansi in solitudine.] Color maris in reliquo corpore tribulationem designat in carnali mente.
[I have withdrawn mentally. Fleeing the world.] See how I have withdrawn in flight. The celestial color on the wings is the love of divine contemplation. / [I persevered in contemplation, I remained in solitude.] The color of the sea in the rest of its body denotes distress in the carnal mind.

Vertical bar:

Rubor pedum cruor martyrum. Oculus croceus maturitas sensus.

The red of the feet is the blood of the martyrs. The yellow eye is the maturity of reason.

The Three Doves

Columba Christi data gratis non pro meritis. (in frame:) Columba nivea est Sancti Spiritus gratia. / Columba David amicta varietatibus variis virtutibus. (in frame:) Columba varia est Sancta Ecclesia. / Columba Noe formosa opere, nigra tribulatione. (in frame:) Columba est anima nigra sed formosa.
The dove of Christ given freely, not for merits. The white dove is the grace of the Holy Spirit. The dove of David is covered in varicolored attire by the manifold virtues. The parti-colored dove is the Holy Church. / The dove of Noah is beautiful in action, black with tribulation. The dove is the soul, black but beautiful.

Hawk Diagram

Numquid per sapientiam tuam plumescit accipiter expandens alas suas ad austrum? Ponam sedem meam ad aquilonem et ero similis altissimo.
Doth the hawk wax feathered by thy wisdom, spreading her wings to the south? <Job 39:26> I shall place my seat in the direction of the north wind, and I shall be as the Almighty. <Is. 14:13-14>

Turtledove Diagram

In nidulo meo moriar et sicut palma multiplicabo dies. In nidulo suo moritur, cuius vita in fide terminatur. In nidulo turtur

nutrit pullos et ecclesia in fide spirituales filios.
In my nest I shall die and as the palm I shall multiply my days. He whose life is ended in faith dies in his nest. In the nest the turtledove nourishes her chicks and in faith the Church nourishes her spiritual sons.

Tituli in pt. 2 illustrations

These inscriptions appear in all fully illustrated Aviaries, except for Harvard, Dubrowsky II, the Aberdeen Group, Sidney Sussex, Bodley 602, Cremona, Lyell, St. Victor, Rome, St. Amand and the vernacular versions.

Chap. 38, The Pelican:
Mors pelicani, Passio Christi.
The death of the pelican is the Passion of Christ.

Chap. 39, The Nycticorax:
Nicticorax in domicilio, conversus in occulto.
The nycticorax in its abode is the lay-brother in seclusion.

Chap. 40, The Raven:
Corvus crocitans, doctor praedicans.
The raven cawing is the teacher preaching.

Chap. 41, The Cock:
Gallus alis se percutiens est doctor aliis exemplum praebens.
The cock flapping his wings is the teacher offering a model to others.

Chap. 42, The Ostrich:
Strutio in deserto, simulatio in converso.
The ostrich in the wasteland is insincerity in a lay-brother.

Chap. 43, The Vulture:
Occulus vulturis est intentio Redemptoris.
The eye of the vulture is the purpose of the Redeemer.

Chap. 44, The Crane:
Ordine litterato volantes designant ordinate viventes.
Those flying in lettered order denote those living by the Rule.

Chap. 45, The Kite:
Milvus carnes rapiens, desidiosus voluptuosa quaerens.
The kite seizing meat is the slothful man seeking pleasures.

Chap. 46, The Swallow:
Clamor hirundinis, dolor poenitentis.
The cry of the swallow is the grief of the penitent.

Chap. 47, The Stork:
Pietas ciconiae circa pullos est amor magistri erga discipulos.
The dutifulness of the stork toward its chicks is the love of the master toward his pupils.

Chap. 48, The Blackbird:
Merula volitans, suggestio temptans.
The blackbird flying about is suggestion tempting.

Chap. 49, The Owl:
Infelix bubo, peccator homo.
The unhappy owl is the sinful man.

Chap. 50, The Jay:
Garritus graculi, rumores garruli.
The chattering of the jay is the slanders of the garrulous man.

Chap. 51, The Goose:
Clamor anseris, accusatio fratris.
The cry of the goose is the indictment of the brother.

Chap. 52, The Heron:
Volatus ardeae, processus animae.
The flight of the heron is the advance of the soul.

Chap. 53, The Caladrius:
Candor huius caladrii est mundicia Christi.
The whiteness of this caladrius is the purity of Christ.

Chap. 54, The Phoenix:
Resurrectio huius phoenicis est spes futurae resurrectionis.
The resurrection of this phoenix is the hope of the resurrection to come.

Chap. 55, The Partridge:
Furtum perdicis, insidiae daemonis.
The deceit of the partridge is the ambush of a demon.

Chap. 56, The Quail:
Coturnix maria transmeans est anima labentia calcans.
The quail crossing the sea is the soul crushing transitory things.

Chap. 57, The Hoopoe:
Upupa avis spurcissima peccatores designat homines.

The hoopoe, a most filthy bird, denotes sinful men.

Chap. 58, The Swan:
Albedo cigni, simulatio conversi.
The whiteness of the swan is the insincerity of a lay-brother.

Chap. 59, The Peacock:
Clamor pavonis, terror doctoris.
The cry of the peacock is the alarm of the teacher.

Chap. 60, The Eagle:
Iuventus aquilae, renovatio animae.
The eagle's youth is the renewal of the soul.

Catalogue of Illuminated Aviary Manuscripts

The catalogue provides an overview of the manuscripts: basic codicological data and summaries of the decoration and iconography. All measurements are given in millimeters. There are no illustrated Aviaries in contemporary bindings, and therefore bindings are noted only when significant for other discussions. The phrase "typical program" in the category of iconography indicates that the illustrations conform in general design to the twenty-seven miniatures and three diagrams of Heiligenkreuz MS. 226 as the standard for an Aviary program. The most elaborately painted initials are referred to as "decorated initials"; large colored letters are called "initials"; small colored letters are called "capitals." Library catalogue entries are not included in the bibliographies unless they contain extensive descriptions of an Aviary manuscript. Aviary manuscript lists in Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* 2; Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*; McCulloch, *Medieval ... Bestiaries*; and de Clercq, "Hugues de Fouilloy" are summarized in the Ohly and Häring references given below and are therefore not cited; my article "The Medieval Aviary" is not cited, but it lists all illustrated manuscripts in the catalogue except nos. 2, 16, 19, 21, 22, 24, 30, 31-33, 47, and 55. A * after a manuscript number indicates that I have not examined the manuscript personally.

1. ABERDEEN, University Library MS. 24 Figs. E, 7b. 59a-c
ca. 1200, England (Aberdeen Bestiary)

Contents: Genesis excerpts (fols. 1-5); Second Family bestiary incorporating AVIARY (fols. 25v-63 om 18 chaps., others interspersed among or combined with bestiary bird chapters. < > = bestiary chapter.

Prol. 1 beg. "Columbam cuius pennae," ends "praesentatur," Prol. 2, chaps. 1–15, <Hawk>, 16–19, 23, <Turtledove>, 24–27, 30–31, 38 beg. with excerpts from bestiary Pelican, 39, <Epops, Magpie, Raven>, 40, <Cock>, 41, <Ostrich>, 42, <Vulture>, 43, 44 beg. "Possumus autem per vigiles," 45, <Parrot, Ibis, Swallow>, 46–49, <Hoopoe>, 57 beg. "Huppupa etiam luctum," <Noctua, Bat, Nightingale>, 51, 52, [missing: Siren, Cinnemologus, Ercinea] <Partridge [two chaps.], Kingfisher, Coot, Phoenix [two chaps.]>, 54 beg. "Sic igitur phoenix incenditur," <Caladrius, Quail>, 58 beg. "Cignus plumam," <Duck, Peacock>, 59, <Eagle>, 60 beg. "Unde beatus Gregorius.") St. Isidore, *De natura hominis* (fols. 80v–93); Firestones (fols. 94v–95. Lapidary added in later 13th c. (fols. 95–103v). *Aviary group*: Aberdeen. *Codicology*: 302 x 210 (185 x 110/115) probably cropped lower edge, 1 + 103 fols., 1 col., 28 text lines, text placed above top line, *littera textualis formata*, a second hand fols. 49–56v, third hand added fols. 94–103v, ruled in lead, six ruling schemes: usually double horizontal and single vertical bounding lines, one with double vertical lines, one with two upper one lower set of double horizontal lines; spacing of horizontals varies. *Production place*: England, perhaps south, possibly Canterbury (see chap. 2). *Provenance*: London, Royal Library, 1542 cat. (James); Thomas Reid (sec'ty to James I) who gave it to Marischal College (Univ. of Aberdeen) 1624 (first flyleaf: "Liber Academia Marischallana Aberdonensis," written over earlier press nos.: 2.B.XV sc, H.II.7, O.4.6.). *Condition*: fragmentary, leaves missing, miniatures excised, extensive damage to miniatures fols. 3, 81; 3 pictures excised in AVIARY (part of Three-Doves, Cock, Jay); bestiary missing 12 chaps. entirely, 5 partially, and 31 miniatures (if compared with Ashmole 1511) including 2 from Creation cycle; fols. 3v–4 and 6–6v blank; fols. 56v and 57, fols. 93v and 94 glued together.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (26, originally 29), bestiary (62, including some in Aviary section, originally probably 91); two closely related painters; fully colored: dark blue, bright blue, aqua, med. green, rose, bright red, rose red, orange red, rust, gold brown, brown, beige, grey, white, black; burnished gold grounds, occasional diapered grounds, silver (tarnished) on a few metal objects; Aviary birds usually with round inner borders. *Style*: relates directly to no. 36, and to St. Omer Bibl. Mun. 476 (*Decretum*), Brit. Lib. 104 (psalter cuttings fols. 350, 354, 364v; Morgan); less direct relationships in Muratova, "Etude," 52. *Minor initials*: 4, 5, 8-line refined decorated initials on gold, with colored vine-scroll, some inhabited by small "lions" for large divisions (Vermin, Trees, Fish, Peredens of bestiary, divisions of Isidore); 2-line gold capitals for chapters: rose or blue grounds with delicate white filigree, long blue and red spray in margins.

Iconography: AVIARY: Part 1: Prol., Three Doves, Hawk but no diagram, Turtledove diagram, abstract Cedar with woman; Part 2: Nycticorax, Raven, Kite, Swallow, Blackbird, Owl, Goose, Quail (but not the Aviary chap.), Hoopoe, Swan, Peacock; Cock excised (Aviary type in Ashmole); others in bestiary tradition, including Pelican (see below), adorsed Turtledoves and Vultures, Crane holding stone guards others, Herons chattering, Caladrius prophesying, Hoopoes grooming, Eagle dives for fish; Jay (shown in tree in Ashmole) excised. Bestiary: Creation cycle, Majesty and Adam naming animals (7 of original 9 large miniatures), all chapters illustrated, including those in AVIARY section, but omits large Fishes and Whale miniatures seen in Ashmole. Isidore: large "portrait" of author. Lapidary: stones partly illustrated in awkward, slightly later style; not in Ashmole Bestiary. Unusual Pelican miniature in which bird kills and restores young: may be result of copying error, for in Brit. Lib. Add. 11283, earliest Second Family bestiary, the Hoopoe grooming scene which precedes the Pelican restoring scene, closely resembles the Aberdeen (and Ashmole) killing scene.

Comment: The text has been corrected here and there throughout, mostly by marginal notations. Five very faint marginal sketches in leadpoint, and occasional indications of color: fols. 32 (Turtledove), 32v (Turtledove for diagram, with Old French color notation *ni* = *niteur*, bright or clear); 36v (Hoopoe), 44v (Vulture), 68v (Amphisbena), 93v (Firestones, with Old French color notations *bis* = grey, *mine* = *minium*, red). Seventeen miniatures punched for copying: fols. 2 (fishes only), 3 (figures of Adam and Eve), 11v (Hyaena, all punched), 12v (Ape, all), 18 (Dogs, the animals punched), 24 (Mole, all), 36v (Hoopoe, bird punched), 37 (man only), 51v (Bat, all), 54 (bird and nest punched), 56 (Phoenix, all), 59 (Duck, birds punched), 59v (Peacock, bird punched), 63 (Bee, hives punched), 66v (Viper, all), 68v (Amphisbena, animal), 69v (Seps, snake).

Bibliography: James, *Bestiary*, 55 fols., and "The Bestiary in the University Library"; Boase, *English Art*, 293, 295; Muratova, "Adam donne leurs noms aux animaux," 376, "Etude," "I manoscritti," "Les manuscrits-frères," *Bestiarium* passim, "Workshop Methods"; Rickert, *Painting in Britain*; Klingender, *Animals in Art*; Einhorn, *Spiritualis Unicornis*; Zahlten, *Creatio mundi*; Morgan, *Early Gothic 1*, no. 17; *English Romanesque Art 1066–1200* (exh. cat. London, 1984), no. 86.

2. BAMBERG, Staatsbibliothek MS. Msc. Theol. 233 (Q.V.26)*
dated 1469, Germany (Friar Kiliam's Aviary)

Contents: Aristotle, *Liber de pomo et morte* (fols. 1–4); Hugh of Fouilloy, *De medicina animae* (fols. 4v–13v), AVIARY (fols. 13v–37v), *De rota verae et falsae religionis* (fols. 37v–51), *De pastoribus* (fols. 52–66). *Aviary Group*: Ter Duinen. *Codicology*: 215 x 150 mm, 2 cols., 36 text lines, *littera cursiva* set below top line, 2 single horizontal and single-double-single vertical bounding lines. *Production place*: Erfurt Dominicans ("1469 in conventu Erfordensi ... per frairem Kilianum gross ord. predicatorum pro conventu bambergensi eiusdem ordinis," fol. 66). *Provenance*: Dominicans of Bamberg.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (30), line drawings in brown and red. Many birds in circular frames with square outer borders, crude trilobe leaf forms in interstices. *Style*: unskilled, provincial; relationships uncertain. *Minor initials*: 1 to 4-line colored capitals without ornament.

Iconography: AVIARY: typical program, cf. no. 5.

Comment: Text closely reflects no. 5: has most variants of no. 5, including the long interpolation at 156:10. At the *De medicina*: "Explicit capitula libri magistri hugonis prioris sancti laurencii"; cf. nos. 5, 6.

Bibliography: none

3. BORDEAUX, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 995* Fig. 7e
second half 13th c., France (Bordeaux Aviary)

Contents: Hugh of Fouilloy, *De claustro animae* (fols. 1–62), AVIARY (fols. 62–79v, complete), *De nuptiis* (fols. 79v–86). Fragment of a moral treatise (fol. 86). Commentary on Romans added later. *Aviary group*: Heiligenkreuz. *Codicology*: 235 x 160 (180 x 120), 116 fols., 2 cols., 39/40 text lines placed below top line, *littera textualis currens*, catchwords. *Production place*: probably Bordeaux. *Provenance*: Augustinians of Bordeaux, for whom it may have been made.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (30), framed and unframed line drawings heightened with color: light blue, pale yellow, bright green. *Style*: provincial, relationships uncertain. *Minor initials*: 2-line chapter capitals with well developed pen flourishes.

Iconography: AVIARY: typical program.

Bibliography: Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, 62 n. 2; Ohly, "Probleme" 199; Häring, "Notes," 68.

4. BOURGES, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 121*
mid-13th c., France (Bourges Aviary)

Contents: Hugh of Fouilloy, *De claustro animae* (frag., fols. 1–127v), AVIARY (fols. 128–38, Prol. 1–chap. 11, chap. 16 incompl., chaps. 12–15, 18–23, 28–29 incompl). *Aviary group*: St. Martin. *Codicology*; 135 x 80 (105 x 60), 138 fols., 2 cols., 29 text lines, *littera textualis* placed below top line. *Production place*: unknown. *Provenance*: Bourges, Abbey of St. Sulpice (Ben.). *Condition*: Aviary a fragment.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (1 diagram) pen drawn with wash, on colored ground. *Style*: relationships unknown. *Minor initials*: 2-line with pen scroll infills for chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY: Hawk diagram only.

Bibliography: Häring, "Notes," 68.

5. BRUGES, Grootseminarie MS. 89/54
Figs. B, 3, 6a, 9c, 40–43, 47b
ca. 1190–1200, Flanders (Ter Duinen Aviary)

Contents: Hugh of Fouilloy, *De medicina animae* (pp. 1–27), AVIARY (pp. 27–87, complete), *De rota* (pp. 87–114), *De pastoribus* (pp. 114–142). Sermons of Achardus of St. Vaast, Bishop of Avranches (pp. 142–312), financial records (14c) bound in pp. 303–6. *Aviary group*: Ter Duinen. *Codicology*: 338 x 225 (228 x 155), 156 + 1 fols., paginated, 2 cols., 30 text lines, *littera textualis formata* placed above top line, ruled in lead, 2 double-spaced horizontal and single-triple-single vertical bounding lines, signatures: roman numerals in brown ink ornam. with dots on final leaf verso, 15th c. tooled and stamped calf covers on boards. *Production place*: ?written at Ter Duinen, ?decorated in region of St. Omer. *Provenance*: Abbey of Ter Duinen (Cist.), inside front cover: *Liber Beatae Mariae de Dunis* (1618). *Condition*: a ?later hand has smudged a light brown paint over text capitals in *The Medicine of the Soul* and Part 1 of the Aviary; stitchings loose, ink spilled in modern times on edges, staining p. 85 and part of Eagle miniature; most leaves and miniatures otherwise in good condition.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (30) *De rota* (2 diagrams), *De* *pastoribus* (1 miniature), a single artist throughout, fully colored: red, green, blue, beige, brown, grey, orange, interesting combinations of brown, orange and beige; birds on light-colored grounds in square, texted frames; decorative borders for full-page miniatures. *Style*: recalls a mid-12th-c. artist who worked for Abbey of St. Bertin (e.g., in St. Omer 12, St. Omer 34, see Introduction, p. 65, n. 3). *Minor initials*: 5-line two-color initials of Cistercian type pp. 1, 2, 116; 2-line initials for chapters in red, blue, green with no decoration.

Iconography: AVIARY: typical program, Cedar has man seated on rainbow, holding scepter; Palm an unusual design (see chap. 2); Caladrius has wide bill with bump on top; *De rota*: 2 wheel diagrams with figures (pp. 88, 100); *De pastoribus*: full-page allegorical picture of Christ, abbot, shepherds, sheep, goats, (p. 115).

Comments: Scribal indications, in inner margins, of subject for painter. Identifies Hugh correctly: p. 27v: (Prol. 2) *Item alius prologus magistri Hugonis prioris Sancti Laurentii* (cf. nos. 2, 6).

Bibliography: Lieftinck, *De librijen*; *Tentoonstelling van miniaturen en boekbanden* (Bruges, 1927) no. 6; de la Mare, *Catalogue . . . Lyell*, 213; Kraus, *Monumenta*, no. 2; Smeyers and Cardon, "Vier eeuwen Vlaamse miniatuurkunst," 142–49; Denaux and Vander Berghe, eds., *Duinenabdij*; Dubois and Huyghebaert, "Abbaye des Dunes."

6. BRUSSELS, Bibliothèque Royale MS. 8536–43 Fig. 24
ca. 1250, France or Flanders (BBR 8536 Aviary)

Contents: bound with two other MSS as fols. 73–126v: AVIARY (fols. 73–98, complete, chap. order: 14, 13, 16, 15); B-Is bestiary (fols. 98–116); Hugh of Fouilloy, *De medicina animae* (fol. 116–26). *Aviary group*: Heiligenkreuz. *Codicology*: 238 x 165 (170 x 118), 53 fols. in relevant manuscript, 1 col., 30 text lines, *littera textualis* placed below top line. *Production place*: ?north France, south Flanders. *Provenance*: possibly Cistercian (see under Iconography below); Bollandist Library, (bound with MS owned by a Bernardine, Martin de Lyra). *Condition*: good.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (1, spaces for 29 others), bestiary (1 historiated initial with spaces at all chaps.), *De medicina* (1 miniature, 1 historiated initial), fully colored: rose, red, blue, green; burnished gold grounds; single artist. *Style*: relationships uncertain. *Minor initials*: 4-line decorated initial on gold for Aviary, chap. 1; 2-line capitals with well developed pen flourishes for chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY: ?lay-brother in grey, monk in white sit by tree (for Prologue 1). Bestiary: lion breathes on cub (for Prologue). *De medicina animae*: 2 monks seated, vision of soul (for Prologue), man holding globe (chap. 1).

Comment: Identifies Hugh correctly: *Prologus magistri Hugonis prioris Sancti Laurentii.* (fol. 73), cf. nos. 2, 5.

Bibliography: Ohly, "Probleme," 200; Häring, "Notes," 69.

7. BRUSSELS, Bibliothèque Royale MS. 18421–29 Fig. 69
ca. 1200, Flanders (St. Martin Aviary)

Contents: Miscellany: Lives of saints with related materials (fols. 1–42); AVIARY (fols. 42–63, complete, chap. order: 1–11, 17–16, 12–15, 18–60); DC bestiary (fols. 63–70v); *Moralia de libris philosophorum* (fols. 70v–87v); Dadon, Life of St. Eloi, epistle to Radbert (fols. 144–49v). *Aviary group*: St. Martin. *Codicology*: 290 x 205 (217 x 150) (leaf sizes vary), 149 fols., 2 cols., 38 text lines, 2 triple horizontal and single-double-single vertical bounding lines, *littera textualis* set above top line, several scribes (2 in AVIARY), catchwords. *Production place*: south Flanders. *Provenance*: Tournai, Abbey of St. Martin (Ben.): *Liber sancti martini tornacensis* (fol. 12v, 13c., in colors, with contents). *Condition*: good.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (28, omits those for prologue and Three Doves), bestiary (32): pen drawn without color, one artist throughout MS, bestiary mins. in round frames like those of Aviary. *Style*: relationships unknown. *Minor initials*: two 7-line Cistercian-type colored initials for Aviary prologues; 2-line colored capitals without decoration for chapters through Ostrich.

Iconography: AVIARY: sparrows fill Cedar, Hawk on rinceaux in diagram, Turtledove on nest in tree, Caladrius and sick woman (cf. Bern MS. 318, fol. 8v), otherwise typical. Bestiary: fully illustrated.

Comment: Identifies Hugh correctly and names treatise: *Praefatio magistri Hugonis de Sancto Laurentio ad fratrem Ranierum in libro qui inscribitur columba deargentata* (fols. 42, 42v, 46v at end of chap. 22). Expanded *tituli* for most chapters. More than the usual copying errors.

Bibliography: A. d'Herbomez, "Les manuscrits de l'abbaye Saint-Martin de Tournai"; Ohly, "Probleme," 200; Häring, *Notes*, 70.

8. BRUSSELS, Bibliothèque Royale MS. II,1076 Figs. 52a–b
late 12th c., Mosan region (Aulne Aviary)

Contents: Three works entitled *De viris illustribus* by St. Jerome, Gennadius, Sigibert of Gembloux (fols. 3–45v). St. John Chrysostom, Homilies and sermons (fols. 45v–81v). Hugh of Fouilloy, *De rota* (fols. 82–93), *De pastoribus* (fols. 93–104v), *De nuptiis* (fols. 104v–133v), AVIARY (fols. 124–44, complete text, partial miniatures). *Aviary group*: Ter Duinen. *Codicology*: 312 x 230 (235 x 178), 144 + 1 fols., 2 cols., 34 text lines, *littera textualis* placed above top line, 2 single horizontal and single-double-single vertical bounding lines, 4 scribes (AVIARY is 4th). *Production place*: ?Abbey of Aulne. *Provenance*: Abbey of Aulne (Cist.), fol. 2v: *Liber sancte Marie de Alna* (13c.); several 16th–18th c. owners; Sir Thomas Phillipps (no. 4657); Bibl. Roy. 1888. *Condition*: good.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (10), *De rota* (2 diagrams), *De pastoribus* (space for 1 miniature) brown-ink framed and unframed line drawings with details in red and green; same draughtsman throughout MS. *Style*: relationships unknown. *Minor initials*: 6-line colored, slightly ornamented Cistercian type capital for chap. 1, 2-line capitals in same style for other chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY: Typical illustrations of Part 1 and Pelican, the Palm and Cedar resembling cacti, the Pelican of the Heiligendreuz type with chicks climbing frame; Turtledove and Sparrow inhabit large colored capital for chap. 23; no spaces for other pictures. *De rota*: 2 wheel diagrams with figures (fols. 82, 87).

Comment: Copied into no. 34.

Bibliography: Gaspar and Lyna 1, no. 48, p. 128; *Art Mosan et arts anciens du pays de Liège* (exh. Liège, 1951); *St. Bernard et l'art des Cisterciens* (exh. Dijon, 1953); T. Luykx, *Atlas historique et culturel de la Belgique*, 2nd ed. (Brussels, 1959); Ohly, "Probleme," 200; Häring, 69

9. CAMBRAI, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 259 Figs. 9a, 20a–b
last quarter 13th c., France (Cambrai Aviary)

Contents: numerous theological works, especially of Anselm of Canterbury and Richard of St. Victor. AVIARY (fols. 192–203v, complete). *Aviary group*: Heiligenkreuz. *Codicology*: small for an Aviary, 207 x 150 (160 x 100), 324 fols., 2 cols., 58 text lines, several scribes (Aviary scribe fols. 170–203v), *littera textualis* placed below top line. *Production place*: north France. *Provenance*: Abbey of St.

Louis near Noyen (Franciscan), fol. 3: *Iste liber est domus Sancti Ludovici prope Novidunum* (14th c.); P. Preudhomme, 16/17th c.; Cambrai Cathedral at unknown date. *Condition*: excellent, but fol. 186 should read 196, misbound at fol. 97.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (30), diagrams reduced to half-page height, one-col. width, miniatures fully colored, zigzag borders, colored grounds, bold colors: red, blue, dark green, blue green, beige, rust, brown, grey, frequent blue green and dark green grounds; gold and silver on Dove fol. 192; various frame shapes. *Style*: probably north French. *Minor initials*: 7-line decorated initial in red, blue and beige for chap. 1; 2-line colored capitals with extended pen flourishes for chapters.

Iconography: Aviary: typical program; Cedar a version of the Heiligenkreuz one, but without figure.

Bibliography: Ohly, "Probleme," 199; Häring, "Notes," 70.

10. CAMBRIDGE, MA, Houghton Library MS. Typ 101 Figs. 35, 37
1230s-1240s, France (Harvard Aviary)

Contents: AVIARY (illustrations fols. 1-8v, text fols. 15-58, complete, added text chaps.: Noctua [=Owl] and Crow, both from a Second Family bestiary, originally in the order Pelican, Nycticorax, Noctua, Raven, Crow, now misbound (fols. 15-58; cf. no. 22). Coot and Ibis (fols. 59-60), chaps. for the Dove (2, first one attrib. to "Hugo prior") and Peridexion Tree (fols. 60v-62v), all from a B-Is bestiary. DC bestiary (model book fols. 9-14v, text fols. 60-87, with four added chapters from an H bestiary; close textual relationship with Dubrowsky II Aviary (and bestiary, no. 22). *Aviary group*: Paris. *Codicology*: 160 x 110/115 (110 x 80) mm, cropped top and outside edge, 2 + 14 + 73 + 2 fols. (modern foliation [2+] 89; 13th c. foliation [14] + 73), 1 col., triple horizontal and double vertical bounding lines ruled by hard point, 24 text lines, *littera textualis* set below top line, different scribes in model book and text, modern signatures, parchment of differing quality in model book and text; original binding holes different in the two parts of MS; out of, but with, its binding at Dawsons, rebound after 1940; covers: 15th c. stamped calf on oak boards, ?rebound 17th or 18th c. by John Ballami, whose name near spine of end flyleaf. *Production place*: Paris (see under Decoration). *Provenance*: Johannes Spergaz I[uris] B[accalarius] (fol. 15, 15th c. *ex libris*); William Cheslyn (18th c., flyleaf IIv); John Jorrom (his anathema 18 or 19th c., end flyleaf); Dawson's Bookshop, Los Angeles (1940s); H. P. Kraus; Philip Hofer

(1946–83); Houghton Library, by gift 1983. *Condition*: parchment worn, yellowed, especially in model-book quires, fol. 9 loose, fols. 32/36–33/37, 64–67 reversed; 26 Aviary and 15 bestiary miniatures punched, some repeatedly, for transfer copying; many damaged by this and rubbing (from tracing procedures?); compass-point holes in many miniatures with round frames (cf. no. 43). Part of Stag punched through 3 leaves; some random punches.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (32 in first two quires; 3 incomplete diagrams, frames for 2 miniatures and spaces for miniatures in text); Coot, Ibis, Peridexion Tree; bestiary (36). Model-book miniatures fully colored: "muddy" rose and grey-blue or greenish-blue, which dominate, bright minium red, medium green, beige, grey, black, brown, white, pale yellow, round inner borders. *Style*: 2 model-book painters who relate to R. Branner's (*Manuscript Painting*) painters 3 and 4 of the Dominican Bible (Paris Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 16719–16722), (*Manuscript Painting*, 59–60, 207–8), and to no. 22. *Minor initials*: for chaps. 2-line red and blue capitals with pen flourishes in margins.

Iconography: AVIARY: typical program except for: Palm replaces bird in Turtledove diagram; Cedar has short trunk like no. 28; Ostrich with horseshoe; Blackbird illustrated with legend of St. Benedict (from St. Gregory, *Dialogues*, *PL* 77:150 ff.), 2 Phoenix miniatures, adds Crow, Coot, Ibis. Bestiary pictures include Sawfish of Paris Group but omit Whale, omit or missing Dragon, have unusual Beaver displaying after self-castration (cf. nos. 22, 27). Almost identical with no. 22.

Bibliography: Ives and Lehmann-Haupt, *An English 13th Century Bestiary*; *Illuminated and Calligraphic Manuscripts*; McCulloch, *Medieval ... Bestiaries*, 42; Ohly, "Probleme," 199; Miner, "More about Medieval Pouncing"; Henkel, *Studien*, 30, n. 43; Kraus, *In Retrospect*, No. 13, Aviary illustrations p. 39; Häring, "Notes," 72; Japp, *Birds*, 65, 76; Clark, "The Aviary-Bestiary."

11. CAMBRIDGE, Gonville and Caius College MS. 372/621

Figs. 64, 65

ca. 1300, England (Caius Bestiary)

Contents: Second Family bestiary incorporating AVIARY (fols. 1–126, as e.g., in no. 36). Bound with another MS. *Aviary group*: Aberdeen. *Codicology*: 235 x 165 (175 x 115), 4 + 63 + 1 fols., 1 col., 30 text lines, *littera textualis* set below top line, 2 double horizontal and single vertical bounding lines, paginated. *Production place*:

England. *Provenance*: Fr. John of Milham (14th c.); Fr. John Zouch, Provincial of the Franciscans in England, Bishop of Llandaff (d. 1423). *Condition*: good.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (28, 2 marginal drawings), bestiary (fully illustrated, 3 marginal drawings); one artist, pen drawn with washes, on colored grounds with floral patterns (grounds may have been added later); colors: brown-rose, blue, red, grey (opaque); green, blue, brown (washes), more opaque colors in Aviary than in the rest. Marginal drawings heightened with white. *Style*: derives from "Court School," e.g., Douce Apocalypse (Oxford, Bodleian Douce 180). *Minor initials*: 2 and 3-line colored capitals with pen flourishes for chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY: illustrations not based on Aviary model: omits Prologue min., small space for Cedar, no diagrams; only Palm and 15 birds of Part 2 are standard, others anecdotal. Marginal drawings of doves, ?falcon, siren; and in bestiary for sections on fishes and trees. Despite close text relationship to Aberdeen Bestiary, illustrations entirely different.

Bibliography: James, *A Descriptive Catalogue ... Gonville and Caius* 2; James, *The Bestiary*, 16, 59; Saxl and Meier, *Verzeichnis*, 3:1, 241; *English Illuminated Manuscripts* (exh. Brussels, 1973), 95.

12. CAMBRIDGE, Sidney Sussex College MS. 100 Fig. 34
ca. 1250, France (Sidney Sussex Aviary)

Contents: AVIARY (fols. 1–26v, wants end chaps. 20 to 25, 32–38). H bestiary (fols. 26v–43, chaps. missing). *Aviary group*: Paris. *Codicology*: 290 x 210 (207 x 146), 43 fols., 2 cols., 32 text lines, *littera textualis* set above top line, 2 double horizontal and single vertical bounding lines, catchwords. *Production place*: Paris. *Provenance*: bound at unknown date with 11th c. MS from Durham; given to the College by rector of Willingdale-Spain. *Condition*: Aviary and bestiary both large fragments; some miniatures rubbed, parchment discolored, leaves removed.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (20, wants Palm, Turtledove, Cedar, Part 2: 6 missing and 1 omitted), Ibis, Coot, bestiary (19, others missing or spaces only) fully colored: mainly rose and blue, also red, pale orange, pale green, light brown, a metallic-looking brown, grey, white, grainy and crusty gold, round inner borders. *Style*: drawn by one hand and colored by another, less talented painter; style relates to St. Nicaise Missal (Reims Bibl. Mun. 230), another missal (Paris BN lat. 830), and a "Digeste" (Paris, BN fr. 20118), and generally to R. Branner's Bari Atelier (*Manuscript Painting*, 102–107, 229–230). *Minor initials*: decorated initials for Prologue 1 and chap. 1, 2-line colored capitals with tightly curled pen flourishes for chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY: Hawk without diagram, otherwise typical in remaining miniatures. Bestiary: includes Whale typical of H bestiaries.

Bibliography: Burlington Fine Arts Club Exh. 1908; James, *A Descriptive Catalogue . . . Sidney Sussex College*; James, *Bestiary*; Ives and Lehmann-Haupt, *An English . . . Bestiary*, 18; Saxl and Meier, *Verzeichnis* 3:1, 427; Ohly, "Probleme," 198; de la Mare, *Catalogue . . . Lyell*, 212; Häring, "Notes," 71; Japp, *Birds*, 17, figs. 7, 29; Clark, "The Aviary-Bestiary."

13. CHALON-SUR-SAÔNE, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 14*

Figs. 31a-b

1240s, France (La Ferté Aviary)

Contents: 2 MSS: (A) Hugh of Fouilloy, *De claustro animae* (fols. 1–9v). Hugh of St. Victor, *De institutione novitiae*, *De arrha animae* (fols. 9v–28). St. Ambrose, *Contra Auxentium*, letter (fols. 29–35). St. Jerome, letters (fols. 35v–36), *De beata Maria* (fol. 36). *Evang. de nativitate beatae Mariae* (fols. 35–38). (B) Texts copied from Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 2495B: Hugh of Fouilloy, *De medicina animae* (fols.39v–54, fragment), AVIARY (fols. 55–74v, fragment, mid-chap. 40-end, with verses from Peter Riga, *Aurora* in text column, cf. no. 45). Ibis and Colors of the Dove and Coot from a B-Is bestiary (fols. 75–77v). H bestiary (fols. 78–89v, 18 chaps., wants at beginning and end). *Aviary group*: Paris. *Codicology*: 320 x 250 (250 x 185), 2 + 89 + 1 fols., 2 cols., 28 text lines (fols. 38–89), *littera textualis formata* set below top line, a different scribe for each MS, single vertical and horizontal bounding lines, signatures: 17/18th c. capital letters first leaf of quire. *Production place*: Paris. *Provenance*: Abbey of La Ferté-sur-Grosne (Cist.), *ex libris* fol. 38. *Condition*: Stork miniature excised, recently treated for preservation.

Decoration (for fols. 39–89 only): *Illustrations*: AVIARY (19 from Part 2, 1 excised), Ibis (1), Coot (1), bestiary (18), single artist, fully colored: mainly rose, red, blue, also medium green, brown, beige, grey, white, burnished gold at frame corners, round inner borders; grounds with small dots, flowers, stars; white arabesques in frame corners. *Style*: single painter, same as one hand of Paris Bibl. Nat.

lat. MS. 11207 (2nd Fam. bestiary), related to no. 51, and to R. Branner's Amiens Atelier (*Manuscript Painting in Paris*, 67–69, 210, esp. figs. 126, 127); frame designs like other MSS in group, pen-scroll flourishing resembles that in no. 12; *Minor initials*: large inhabited initial on colored grounds with gold details for prol. of *De medicina animae*, large colored initial for chap. 1; 2-line colored capitals with tightly curled pen flourishes for all chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY: some anecdotal pictures from unknown source or based on text: Ostrich with horseshoe in beak, Kite takes domestic birds, Jays chattering in trees, Heron flies before sun, Phoenix with pyre and sun, Partridge stealing eggs, Quails fly over sea, Hoopoe with chick in nest, Eagle holds chick toward sun. Bestiary: from Paris, Bibl. Nat. 2495B, with Sawfish and Whale designs typical of H bestiary.

Comment: Text and pictures modelled on Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 2495B.

Bibliography: Ohly, "Probleme," 200; Häring, "Notes," 72; typescript codicological survey IRHT, Paris; Clark, "The Aviary-Bestiary"; Regine Pernoud, *Couleurs du moyen-âge I: Image du monde*, 28–33, 60, 61 (without identification).

14. CHARLEVILLE, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 166B
late 13th c., France (Signy Aviary)

Contents: Hugh of Fouilloy, *De claustro animae*, AVIARY (fols.113v–139, complete text). Lives of St. Martin. *Aviary group*: none. *Codicology*: 305 x 208 (216 x 145), 2 cols., 31 text lines, *littera textualis* set above top line. *Production place*: north France. *Provenance*: Abbey of Signy (Cist.).

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (1 diagram).

Iconography: Dove diagram without the inhabiting bird.

Bibliography: Bibolet, "Portraits."

15. CREMONA, Biblioteca Statale MS. Governativa 199* Fig. 1e
late 12th, early 13th c., Italy (Cremona Aviary)

Contents: Hugh of Fouilloy, AVIARY (fols. 1–29, complete, chaps. 24–29 reordered, 25 rearranged; complete), *De rota* (fols. 29–42), *De nuptiis* (fols. 42–52), *De medicina animae* (fols. 52–64), *De pastoribus* (fols. 64v–70). *Aviary group*: none. *Codicology*: 273 x 180 (193 x 132), 70 fols., 2 cols., 29 text lines, *littera textualis* set above top line, 2 single vertical horizontal and double-single-double vertical bounding lines. *Production place*: ?Lombardy ("portraits" of Sts. Ambrose, Simplician and Galdin fol. 70v). *Provenance*: Cremona, Abbey of St. Augustine (Aug., dioc. of Milan): *Iste liber est conventus fratrum heremitarum ordinis Sancti Augustini de Cremona* (15th c.). *Condition*: good, some miniatures rubbed.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (28), *De rota* (2 diagrams), *De pastoribus* (1 min.), single artist, fully colored with gold or colored grounds; square frames, some with round inner borders. *Style*: north Italian, see Introduction, p.87, n. 1. *Minor initials*: 11-line decorated initial to begin Aviary; 2-line colored capitals with modest pen scroll for chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY: typical program, omitting diagrams for Hawk and Turtledove, modifications of other Part 1 miniatures: in prol. min. priest and soldier in ?monastery with angels in windows; in Dove diagram 4 Fathers in the corners; for Cedar a king in aureole flanked by trees; standard bird "portraits" in Part 2. *Wheels of religion*: two wheel diagrams, each with 4 monks. *Shepherds and Sheep* (or independent devotional picture): Virgin in glory with Milanese saints (Simplician, Ambrose, Galdin).

Bibliography: Carta, Cipolla, Frati, *Atlante paleografico-artistico* (Turin, 1899), pl. xlv; Warner, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 78; D. Diringer, *The Illuminated Book* (rev. ed. New York, 1967), 303; L. Carlino, "Un manoscritto spagnolo in Lombardia," with color illustrations.

16. DIJON, Bibliothèque Publique MS. 225*

end 12th c., France (Cîteaux Aviary)

Contents: Hugh of Fouilloy, *De claustro animae* (fols. 2–92v), AVIARY (fols. 92v–98v, prol. 1, omits prol. 2; chaps. 1–11, 17, 16, 12–15, 18–22, 24–27, 23, 28 ends imperf., omits last sent. of chap. 26; cf. no. 31). St. Anselm, sermon. St. Augustine, *De vero poenitentia*. Ivo of Chartres, *De sacramentis*, Treatise on Old and New Testaments. Hildebert of Tours, *Versus*. *Aviary group*: St. Martin. *Codicology*: 335 x 225 (232 x 180), 143 fols., 2 cols., 33 text lines, *littera textualis* set above top line. *Production place*: ?Abbey of Cîteaux. *Provenance*: Abbey of Cîteaux (Cist.). *Condition*: large fragment, originally through ?chap. 29.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (3 diagrams), colored line drawings. *Style*: relationships uncertain. *Minor initials*: 4-line Cistercian-type initials for prol. I and chap. 1; 2-line slightly elaborated capitals for chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY: Dove, Hawk and Turtledove diagrams; only the last complete, but with leaves at center.

Bibliography: Ohly, "Probleme," 198; Häring, "Notes," 73; Bibolet, "Portraits."

17. DOUAI, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 370 Fig. 4a
end 12th c., France (Anchin Aviary)

Contents: Hugh of Fouilloy, *De claustro animae* (fols. 1-101v), AVIARY (fols. 102-108, prol. 1, omits prol. 2; chs 1-11, omits 12-14; 17, 16, 18-23, 28, 29 + *Sed et turtur tempus adventus sui . . . peccator ad Dominum revertitur*, 24-27; cf. nos. 18, 19, 21, 30, 32, 33, 53), *De pastoribus* (fols. 109v-13); Walter of Clairvaux, beginning "Sicut reges scilicet suos sibi hostes" (fols. 113-33v); Odo of Canterbury, sermons (fols. 134-55). Originally 2 vols. (?or booklets), all in same scribal hand, with Aviary at end of vol. 1. *Aviary group*: St. Martin. *Codicology*: 246 x 170 (185 x 142), 155 fols., 2 cols., 33 text lines, *littera textualis* set above top line, 2 double horizontal and single-double-single vertical bounding lines, signatures: roman numerals with small red dots. *Production place*: north France, prob. Anchin. *Provenance*: Abbey of Anchin (Ben.) D389. *Condition*: good.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (3 diagrams), colored line drawings with fully colored birds: grey Dove with gold and silver (tarnished) on wings, red Hawk, green and red Turtledove. *Minor initials*: decorated initial with gold for *De claustro*, 8 to 13-line colored, inhabited (dragons, leaf mask) and foliate initials for each work.

Iconography: AVIARY: three diagrams of Part 1 in typical form.

Bibliography: Ohly, "Probleme," 199; Häring, "Notes," 73; Bibolet, "Portraits."

18. FRANKFURT, Stadtbibliothek MS. Barth. 167*
ca. mid 13th c., ?eastern France (Frankfurt Aviary)

Contents: A theological miscellany: St. Bernard, excerpts from works (fols. 1-13v); Anon. moral treatise (fols. 13v-14v); Wm. of St. Thierry, letter to Monte Dei (fols. 14v-39); Decretal excerpts (fols. 39v-42v, 14c. add.); St. Bernard, *Meditationes de cognitione humanae conditionis* (fols. 43-54); ?Eckhart, Tracts (fols. 54v-62v, 14c add.); AVIARY (fols. 63-85, prol. 1, chaps. 1-11, 17, 16, 12-15, 18-23, 28, 29 + *Sed et turtur tempus adventus sui . . . peccator ad Dominum*, 24-27, prol. 2,chaps. 30–60; cf. nos. 17, 19, 21, 30, 32, 33, 53); sermons (fols. 85v–87v); Alan of Lille, *De sex alis cherubim* (fols. 88v–93); ?Alcherus of Clairvaux, *De spiritu et anima* (fols. 93–112); Florilegium of St. Augustine works (112v–19); St. Bernard, *De diligendo Deo* (fols. 111–27v). *Aviary group*: St. Martin. *Codicology*: 170 x 120 (145 x 90), 1 + 127 + 1 fols., 2 cols., 37 text lines, single-double-single vertical and single horizontal bounding lines, *littera textualis currens* in a number of 13th c. hands, with 14th c. additions, signatures: red *a* through *p*, last 5 quires numbered, 15th c. covers. *Production place*: north France. *Provenance*: Bernardine works suggest original Cistercian ownership; Bartholomaeusstift 1455. *Condition*: treated for preservation 1936.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (3 diagrams), Alan of Lille (1 diagram), colored line drawings with washes: yellow, green, red. *Style*: design relationship to Dove diagram in no. 7, esp. to arrangement of words in innermost circle. *Minor initials*: 2 ornamented, colored initials; 1 to 3-line colored capitals.

Iconography: AVIARY: typical diagrams for Dove, Hawk, Turtledove, but Winds heads in top corners of Hawk diagram (cf. no. 37). Alan of Lille: allegorical cherubim.

Bibliography: Swarzenski, Schilling, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, 33–34, pl. 9; Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, fig. 62; Ohly, "Probleme," 198; de la Mare, *Catalogue . . . Lyell*, 212; Häring, "Notes," 74.

19. GHENT, Univ. Library MS. 546*
13th cent., ?Flanders (Grammont Aviary)

Contents: Hugh of Fouilloy, *De claustro animae*, AVIARY (fols. 114–21, Prols.1,2, chaps. 1–22, 17, 16, 12–15, 18–23, 28, 29 + *Sed et turtur adventus sui . . . peccator ad dominum convertitur*, om last sent. of chap. 26; cf. nos. 17, 18, 21, 30, 32, 33, 53). *Aviary group*: St. Martin. *Codicology*: 275 x 190 (207 x 137), 2 cols., 31 text lines. *Provenance*: St. Adrian, Grammont (Ben.).

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (3), pen drawings colored brown and green.

Iconography: AVIARY: 2 incomplete diagrams (Dove, Turtledove), Hawk on perch (intended for Hawk diagram).

20. HEILIGENKREUZ, Stiftsbibliothek MS. 226 Figs. 1a, 5, 7a, 11, 13
late 12th c., ?eastern France (Heiligenkreuz Aviary)

Contents: Hugh of Fouilloy, AVIARY (fols. 129–45v, complete), *De rota* (fols. 145v–53v), bound with an unrelated MS of St. Bernard letters and writings (fols. 1–128v). *Aviary group*: Heiligenkreuz. *Codicology*: 261 x 175 (202 x 129), 153 fols., 2 cols., 42 text lines, Hugh of Fouilloy works in one *littera textualis* hand set above top line, ruled in lead and ink, double upper, single lower horizontal and single-double-single vertical bounding lines, signatures: roman numeral (one only). *Production place*: ?Burgundy or Lorraine. *Provenance*: Heiligenkreuz (Cist.), fol. 153v: *Liber sanctae mariae virginis* (13th c.), Cat. of 1381 (*Mittelalt. Bibliothekskat. Oesterr.*). *Condition*: rebound too tightly 1957, otherwise good.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (30), *De rota* (2 diagrams), line drawings in brown and red, various frame shapes. *Style*: a single artist related to earlier Cîteaux MSS, e.g., Dijon Bibl. Pub. 641, 642. *Minor initials*: 7-line brown and red initial for prol. 1; 2 and 3-line capitals in red and occasionally brown for chapters, some with modest pen flourish infill.

Iconography: AVIARY: the foundation program on which all others are here judged; Hugh and Rainier pictured in prologue min., Thibaut in the Cedar. *De rota*: 2 wheel diagrams with figures.

Comment: Large *punctus elevatus* marks added later throughout Aviary text, undoubtedly for reading aloud; may be same hand which occasionally corrected spelling (e.g., *phenis* to *phenix*). Omits *qui inter haec duo* in Dove diagram; cf. nos. 38, 51. Illustrations of Hugh's *Wheels of Religion* in London, Lambeth Palace MS. 107 relate to those in the Heiligenkreuz manuscript.

Bibliography: *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Oesterreichs*; A. Heimann, R. Krautheimer, eds., *Richard Salomon, Opicinus de canistris* (Studies/Warburg Inst., London, 1936), pl. 42; W. von Blankenburg, *Heilige*, 133, 136, 139; Walliser, *Cisterzienzer Buchkunst* with figs. and bibliography; *Romanische Kunst in Österreich*, no. 47; W. von den Steinen, in *Symbolon* 4 (1964), 233, fig. 11; Ohly, "Probleme," 198; de la Mare, *Catalogue ... Lyell*, 212; *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte* VI (1973), col. 1263, fig. 10; H. P. Kraus, *Monumenta*, no. 22, and *In retrospect*, no. 14; Häring, "Notes," 74; *Die Kuerninger* (exh. Zwettl, 1981), no. 248; Bibolet, "Portraits."

21. LENINGRAD, Gos. Publichnaia Biblioteka Saltykova-Shchedrina
MS. Lat. Q.v.I,131 Fig. 7f
ca. 1200–1210, France (Dubrowsky I Aviary)

Contents: AVIARY (fols. 2–37, om prol. 2, chap. order 1–11, 17 [in 2 sections]), 16, 12–15, 18–23, 28, 29 + *Sed et turtur . . . peccator ad Dominum convertitur*, 24–27 [26 in 2 sections], 30–47, wants 48 and beg. of 49, 49 (p. 218, l. 1)–60; cf. nos. 17, 18, 19, 30, 32, 33, 53); bestiary excerpts (fols. 36–37) seem to be paraphrases from B-Is version, but with unidentified additions (some perhaps from observation, e.g., young foxes play with hares, then kill them). *Aviary group*: Ter Duinen on the basis of text variants and painting style, but has chapter order of St. Martin Group. *Production place*: north France, ?region of Douai. *Provenance*: Coll. P. P. Dubrowsky, a Russian diplomat in Paris at the time of the French Revolution (fol. 2: "ex museo Petri Dubrowsky"; cf. no. 22); ca. 1805 sold to Russian government; shelf marks (17th or 18th c., inside front cover): 152.2 and 7/IR/19). *Codicology*: 287 x 199 (216 x 127), 38 fols., 1 col., 28 text lines, *littera textualis* set above top line, ruled by lead point, double vertical and single horizontal bounding lines, covers: ?18th c. white parchment over pasteboard. Roman numerals, 13th c., in margins by miniatures, beginning with Cock (vi). Tends to set off moralizations by display capital. *Condition*: one chap. and part of another lost, otherwise good; lower right corners well thumbed.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (26; lost: prol. min., 3 Doves, Blackbird, Owl; first of the 3 Doves may be misplaced as a curious bird medallion set at the left-hand corner of Dove diagram); original hand: line drawings in red, blue, green, with solid blues and greens probably added later in Cedar and Palm; tarnished silver on Dove, fol. 6v; square texted frames (cf. no. 5). *Style*: original hand: full-bodied animals resemble those of nos. 5 and 50, drapery forms recall Douai Bibl. Mun. 90, a Missal of 1218 from Anchin; the broad leaf forms, Douai Bibl. Mun. 33/34, a Gospels from Marchiennes of about the same date; some designs overpainted or completed by naturalistic painter of 14th or 15th c. (Raven, Crane, Swallow, Stork, Swan in part). Preliminary drawing of Palm, fol. 11. *Minor initials*: well flourished red, blue, and green initials, one 3-line, others 2-line, many with modest leafy in-fills.

Iconography: AVIARY: close relations with nos. 5 and 50, especially in Palm, Stork, Caladrius (with duck bill), Hoopoe, and Swan, but not their distinctive forms for Cedar, Pelican, Nycticorax, or Ostrich. The Cedar design (fig. 7f) a handsome variant on the common design. Extra bird roundel at lower left of Dove Diagram: ?part of missing Three Doves illustration.

Comment: Especially interesting as a visual confirmation of the textual relationships between the Ter Duinen and St. Martin groups.

Bibliography: Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits* 2, p. 55, no. 1132; Romanova, *Rukopisnaia kniga*, 87, 204; Muratova, *The Medieval Bestiary*, reproductions 141, 144, 154, 155, 161, 162, 164, 165, 167, 176.

22. LENINGRAD, Gos. Publichnaia Biblioteka Saltykova-Shchedrina
MS. Lat. Q.v.III,1 Fig. 36
1230s–1240s, France (Dubrowsky II Aviary)

Contents: AVIARY (fols. 1–34, complete, text as in no. 10, but Part 2 begins Pelican, Nicticorax, Noctua, Raven, Crow), Coot and Ibis (fols. 34–35), 2 Dove chaps. (the first attrib. to "Hugo prior") and Peridexion Tree (fols. 35–36v). DC bestiary (fols. 37–54v). *Aviary group*: Paris. *Production place*: Paris, based on style. *Provenance*: ?listed in 18th c. inventory of St.-Germain-des-Près, Paris (Delisle, *Cabinet* II, 55, no. 1131); ?Coll. Chancellor Pierre Seguier, 17th c., no. 1202; ?Henri-Charles de Coislin, Bishop of Metz, as legacy from his uncle Seguier; ?1731 left by Coislin to St. Germain-des-Près; ca. 1791 Coll. P. P. Dubrowsky (fols. 1, 54v *ex museo Petri Dubrowsky*; cf. no. 21); 1805 sold to Russian government. *Codicology*: 229 x 161 (172 x 105), 54 fols., paper flyleaves, 1 col., 31 text lines, *littera textualis formata* set below top line, frequent chancery flourishes into upper and lower margins, ruled in lead, double horizontal and single vertical bounding lines; covers: late 18th c. white tawed leather over thin pasteboard. *Condition*: good, a few miniatures slightly rubbed, fols. 6 and 7 reversed, a number of leaves glued in on new strips.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: Aviary (32), Coot (1), Ibis (1), Peridexion Tree (1), bestiary (33), all fully colored: dominated by rose, dark and medium grey-blue, also light brown, grey-green, grey, bright red, beige. Frame types atypical of Paris Group, but with round inner borders. *Style*: single artist of R. Branner's Dominican Group (*Manuscript Painting*, 59–60, 207–208); cf. no. 10, but less accomplished figure painter, yet decoration more elegant. *Minor initials*: 2-line red and blue capitals without penscroll for chaps.

Iconography: AVIARY and bestiary: pictures integrated into text, otherwise almost identical with no. 10, but bestiary has miniatures for Whale and Dragon, conflates the Siren and Centaur and the two Elephant miniatures; several other minor differences.

Comment: Preliminary drawing for Ostrich's head, fol. 18. Measurements of animals in selected miniatures differ considerably from those in model book of no. 10, some larger, some smaller. Shares most Aviary variants with no. 10 (e.g., p. 130, n. 8 om *argentum igne . . . Domini casta*; p. 134, l. 26 *meliora dicta + scilicet moralia*; p. 136, n. 3 *pandetur + omne*), and includes all added chaps. of no. 10 in Aviary and bestiary. Sometimes has the more common reading where no. 10 varies (e.g., p. 150, l. 18 *fert : facit*).

Bibliography: ?Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits* 2, p. 55, no. 1131; Mokretsova and Romanova, *Frantsuzskaia knizhnaia miniatiura*, no. 10, illustrate all mins.; Clark, "The Aviary-Bestiary"; Romanova, *Rukopisnaia kniga*, 87, 204, 230; M. Francois, "Pierre Dubrowsky et les manuscrits de Saint-Germain-des-Près," esp. 338; Alexander de Laborde, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures conservés dans l'ancienne Bibliothèque Impériale Publique de Saint-Pétersbourg* (Paris, 1936–38), no. 24; N. Garelin, "Dve rukopisnikh bestiaria Ross. Publitchnoi Biblioteki," *Sbornik Publitschnoi Biblioteki* 1 (Leningrad, 1924), 267–69.

23. LISBON, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo MS. 90

Figs. A, 1f, 7c, 10b, 15a, 16, 17

1184 (Era 1222), Portugal (Lorvão Aviary)

Contents: AVIARY (fols. 1–65v, complete, with passage on birds' feet from St. Ambrose, *Hexameron* V,21,74 between chaps. 15/16 and 16/17; bestiary excerpts (fols. 65v–67); St. Isidore, *De creatione hominis* (fols. 67v–90v); flyleaves from a later theological work. *Aviary group*: Heiligenkreuz. *Codicology*: measurements: 210 x 135 (171 x 91), cropped, 2 + 92 fols., 1 col., 21 text lines, *littera textualis* written by Egeas (known in Lorvão Apocalypse, Lisbon, Arq. Nac. Torre do Tombo MS. 160), set above top line, 2 single horizontal and 2 vertical bounding lines. *Production place*: Abbey of St. Mamede of Lorvão, fol. 67: *Ad honorem Dei et sancti Mametis in monasterio laurbanense est scriptus liber iste. In diebus Johannis abbatis FINITO LIBRO DONA DEN[IQUE] LARGIORA magistro. Era M.CC.XXII* [1184]. On fol. 90v: *Scriptus est liber este ad laudem et honorem Dei omnipotentis et sancti Mametis laurbanensis monasterii temporum regis Alfonsi, in diebus Johannis abbatis. Era M.CC.XXI* [1183]. *Provenance*: Lorvão Abbey (Ben., later Cist.). *Condition*: misbound: fols. 1 and 6 exchanged before present foliation; Aviary and bestiary excerpts of 1184 placed ahead of Isidore of 1183; otherwise good condition.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: Aviary (30), Isidore (1), line drawings in brown ink with minium red, bright yellow, and black body color on figures and grounds; texted, round frames. *Style*: Mozarabic, two painters identical with two in Lorvão Apocalypse of 1189. *Minor initials*: 6 and 9-line decorated initials with dragons and vine scrolls on colored grounds for prol. 1 and chap. 1; 1, 2, and 3-line capitals outlined with pen scroll for chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY: typical program, except it omits Hawk and Turtledove diagram cross-arms (cf. no. 45). Isidore: God creates Eve.

Comment: Text and illustrations very similar to no. 47. Hugh identified as prior of St.-Laurent (fol. 182, "Hugonis de Folieto prioris canonicorum Sancti Laurentij in pago ambiensis."), cf. nos. 24, 43, 49.

Bibliography: Pedro de Azevedo and António Baião, *O archivo da Torre do Tombo* (Lisbon, 1905); A. Forjaz de Sampaio, *Historia da literatura portuguesa ilustrada* 1 (Paris, Lisbon, 1929), 17, 62; de Egry, *Un estudo de O Apocalipse*, passim; *Bull. Soc. Franc. de Reprod. des Mss à Peint.* 14 (1930; Paris, 1932), 7, pl. 1; J. Mota, et al, eds., *Livro das Aves*, 4, n. 8; Diringer, *The Illuminated Book*, pl. III-36; F. Crespo and F. Frade, *Anotacões et comentarios sobre o Libro das Aves*; de Clercq, "La nature et le sens . . . ," 277; Reynaldo dos Santos, *Oito séculos de arte portuguesa* 3: 226-29, with figures; Bibolet, "Portraits"; Antonio Cruz, "O 'Libro das aves' um códice ignorado idéntico ao de Lorvão." (Lorvão Apocalypse pictures in color in dos Santos and *Enciclopedia luso-brasileira de cultura* 2 [Lisbon, 1964], 750-52.)

24. LISBON, Biblioteca Nacional MS. ALC. 238 Fig. 18b
Portugal, ca. 1200-1210 (Alcobaça Aviary)

Contents: Hugh of Fouilloy, *De claustro animae, De medicina animae, De socium volentem nubere* (fols. 86-202v), AVIARY (fols. 202v-27, complete) are a separate booklet (originally beginning in quire 1) bound with works of St. Augustine, St. Isidore, Richard of St. Victor and ?Genadius of Marseille. *Aviary group*: Heiligenkreuz. *Codicology*: for the Hugh of Fouilloy works: 318 x 218 (227 x 151), 141 fols., 2 cols., 36 text lines, set above top line, the main text a compact brown *littera textualis* atypical of Alcobaça, but certain corrections and the *tituli* of chaps. 42 ff. in a characteristic black Alcobaça *textualis*; 4 double-spaced horizontal, and single-double-single vertical bounding lines. *Production place*: Portugal, ?Coimbra. *Provenance*: Alcobaça Abbey (Cist.).

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (30), Cedar fully colored in rich and opaque red, green, light brown, others line drawn in blue, green, pale yellow, red, light brown; round frames and frameless. Two painters. *Style*: rustic, with late Mozarabic overtones. *Minor initials*: a 6-line blue and light yellow initial with strapwork infill for chap. 1 (cf. chap. 1 init. of no. 47), otherwise 2-line red and blue capitals with modest leaf-like infill (cf. no. 47), most influenced by Clairvaux minor initials.

Iconography: AVIARY: typical program, treated as in no. 51, and for the most part nos. 23 and 47.

Comment: Hugh identified (fol. 182: "prioris canonicorum Sancti Laurentii in pago Ambiensis."), cf. nos. 23, 43, 49.

Bibliography: none.

25. LONDON, British Library MS. Harley 4751 Fig. 66
ca. 1230-40, England (Harley Bestiary)

Contents: Second Family bestiary incorporating AVIARY excerpts (chaps. 18-22 with omissions and variant readings, 49-52, 56, 58), and added bestiary chapters, moralizations and animal lore, including Barnacle Goose from Gerald of Wales, *Topography of Ireland*. *Aviary group*: Aberdeen. *Codicology*: 305 x 233 (200 x 140), 74 fols., 1 col., 27 text lines, *littera textualis formata* set above top line, signatures: roman numerals. *Production place*: ?southern England (see no. 38). *Provenance*: Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford, second quarter 18th c. *Condition*: good.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: (106), colored in heavy washes, mostly in medium tones of rose, magenta, blue, orange red, green, olive green, mustard; touches of silver fol. 35v. Animals sometimes in contrasting colors as in nos. 1, 36. Grounds often panels of differing colors, one overlaying the other; pictures unusually large, especially Unicorn, Bear, Elephant. *Style*: some relationship to Ashampstead (Berkshire) frescoes, and perhaps Labors roundels in Salisbury choir vaults (Morgan, *Early Gothic* 1: 125). *Minor initials*: unfinished decorated initial fol. 1; 2, and 3-line colored capitals with extensive pen scroll for chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY: none standard; based on text: Owl attacked by other birds (fol. 47, chap. 49; cf. Bodley 764, in Rowland, *Birds*, 118), Quail leader attacked by hawk (fol.53, chap. 56). Bestiary: fully illustrated.

Bibliography: See Morgan, *Early Gothic* 1, no. 76.

26. LONDON, British Library MS. Royal 10.A.vii Fig. 70
second quarter 13th c., England (Bardney Aviary)

Contents: Wm. of Lincoln, *Distinctiones theologicae* (fols. 1–115v), sermons (fols. 115v–139v); Ivo of Chartres, letter to nuns of Chateaudun (fols. 141–149); AVIARY (fols. 150–159v, Part 2 order: 38, 39, 43–47, omits 48–49, 51–54, omits 55–58, 59, 40–42); various anonymous theological writings and verse (fols. 167–212 and 217–18); Adelard of Bath, trans. of Euclid (frag., fols. 213–15); bestiary excerpts (fols. 215–16v). *Aviary group*: none. *Codicology*: 232 x 173 (180 x 130), 218 fols., 2 cols., 44 text lines, *littera textualis* set above top line, 2 single horizontal and single-triple-single-single vertical bounding lines. *Production place*: ?Bardney Abbey, (note monastic and theological treatises, amateurish painting). *Provenance*: Bardney Abbey (Cist.), Lincolnshire, 15th c. *ex libris* fol.1. *Condition*: good.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (22), pen drawn, first in lead point, then inked; frames in lead point, but not inked; bestiary (none). *Style*: drawings perhaps by scribe, unaccomplished, relationships uncertain. *Minor initials*: 2-line colored capitals for chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY: only prol. min., Dove diag. (without any texts), Turtledove diag. related to tradition; Part 2 birds take odd forms, some resembling a falcon.

Bibliography: Ohly, "Probleme," 199; Häring, "Notes," 75.

27. LONDON, British Library MS. Sloane 278 Figs. 1c, 38a–b
ca. 1250–60, France (Sloane Aviary)

Contents: AVIARY (fols. 1–43v, complete); Ibis and Coot (fols. 42v–43v); DC bestiary (fols. 44–57, chap. order slightly different from nos. 10 and 22). *Aviary group*: Paris. *Codicology*: 267 x 187 (235 x 134), 57 fols., 1 col., 26 text lines, *littera textualis formata* set below top line, one scribe, single horizontal and single vertical bounding lines, and 1 double horizontal ruling in lower margin. *Production* *place*: ?Paris, ?French Flanders. *Provenance*: ?Benedictine (monk in dark grey, fol. 7); ?Archbishop George Neville of York (d. 1476), by Greek inscrip. fol. 1 (James, *Bestiary*, 11, compares to inscrip. in York Chap. Lib. XVI.Q.7 owned by Neville); Sir Hans Sloane, 17/18 c. *Condition*: good; some colors have bled through to reverse of leaf, 1 min. cut out.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (31), Ibis (1), Coot (1), bestiary (23), one artist throughout, fully colored, colors somber and saturated: rose and blue dominant, medium brown, red brown, mustard, orange red, grey. *Style*: frames, grounds similar to nos. 13 and 45; figure style recalls, in general, contemporary Bruges painting. *Minor initials*: 5-line colored capital with pen scroll for prol. 1, similar 2- and 3-line capitals for chapters and main divisions.

Iconography: AVIARY: typical program except for anecdotal scenes for Caladrius and Partridge; affinities with no. 45; Cedar has texted borders like no. 20; after chap. 11 of Aviary a large picture of monk kneeling before Virgin and Child with dish of apples, with inscription, *Visio prima* (fol. 7). Ibis and Coot "portraits." Bestiary: Sawfish and other compositions of H bestiaries in Paris Group, and "displaying" Beaver and Ostrich with horseshoe of nos. 10 and 22.

Comment: Sloane, the last private owner, was a physician, student of natural history and avid collector of books and nature specimens; see N. Barker et al, *Treasures of the British Library* (London, 1988), 14–18.

Bibliography: James, *Bestiary*, 11; Warner, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 78; Sbordone, "La tradizione . . . ," 258; Saxl and Meier, *Verzeichnis* 3:244; Ohly, "Probleme," 200; Häring, "Notes," 75; Bibolet, "Portraits"; Clark, "The Aviary-Bestiary."

28. MALIBU, CA, Getty Museum MS. XV,3* Figs. 57a–c
ca. 1270–1280, France (Dyson Perrins Aviary)

Contents: Hugh of Fouilloy, AVIARY (fols. 1–45), *De pastoribus* (fols. 45–66v, complete); B-Is bestiary (fols. 67–102v). *Aviary group*: Ter Duinen. *Codicology*: 191 x 142 (cropped) (135 x 94), 102 fols., 2 cols., 29 text lines, *littera textualis currens* set below top line, signatures: numbers with red frames first and last leaves of quire, single horizontal and single-double-single vertical bounding lines. *Production place*: region of St. Omer on basis of style. *Provenance*: probably monastic (inclusion of *De pastoribus*), possibly Cistercian (n. fol.104v: *Codicis istius dat coeptum virginis ortus*, for specifics, see below); Joseph Barrois, Lille; Bertram, 4th Earl of Ashburnham, 1849; Charles Fairfax Murray, 1901; C. W. Dyson Perrins, 1906 (MS. 26); H. P. Kraus, 1958; Dr. Peter Ludwig to 1983 (MS. XV,3). *Condition*: bestiary wants 2 leaves.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (30), *De pastoribus* (1), bestiary (35), fully colored: rose and blue dominant, burnished gold borders and grounds, the latter often punched or incised with small patterns, also floral ground patterns on gold or in gold on colored ground, a few in decorative shapes, various frame shapes. *Style*: single artist, relationships with Lausanne Cant. and Univ. Lib. U964, New York Morgan Lib. 97 (Beer), Bodleian Douce 49 (Carlvant), with ties to St. Omer region; see also chap. 2, p. 71, n. 2. *Minor initials*: 5 and 6-line decorated inhabited initials with pinwheeling extenders and "dragon spray" for beginning of Aviary and *De pastoribus*, 2-line blue and red capitals with extended pen scroll for chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY: typical Part 1 program; Palm has same general form as Cedar, same unusual Heiligenkreuz-type Cedar design as no. 29 but with figure named as Thibaut (fig. 57b), some bestiary birds in Part 2, but not the same ones as in no. 29. *De pastoribus*: full-page, as in no. 5. Bestiary: fully illustrated (wants Ant, Unicorn), no relation to no. 29.

Comment: Directions for color beside some miniatures (*R*, *A*, *W*, *G*, interpreted as "rose," "azur," "wite," "groen" —Warner).

Kraus, *In Retrospect*, proposed royal ownership because fleur-de-lys and castle motifs used as ground in the bestiary (Lion, f. 67; Pelican, f. 72) were heraldic charges of Blanche of Castile. Stirnemann, "Les bibliothèques princières et privées," n. 44, supports this proposal. If, as suggested above, the first owner was monastic, indeed Cistercian, the royal connection would have been through patronage; the recipient might have been Royaumont, the abbey built by Blanche and her son Louis IX, or either of the Cistercian houses founded by Blanche, Lys and Maubuisson.

Bibliography: Burlington Fine Arts Club exh., London, 1908, no. 81; James, *Bestiary*, 11; Warner, *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 26; Sotheby catalogue 10 June 1901, lot 288 and 9 Dec. 1958, no. 7; Beer, "Zum Problem der 'Biblia Porta'," 282, 286; *Weltkunst aus Privatbesitz*, Cologne, 1968, no. D 60; A. Stones, "The Illustrations of the Prose Lancelot," chap. 5; Ohly, "Probleme," 200; de la Mare, *Catalogue . . . Lyell*, 213; Kraus, *Monumenta*, no. 21 and *In Retrospect*, no. 14; Häring, 80; K. Carlvant, "Thirteenth-Cent. Illumination in

Bruges and Ghent," 76–78; A. von Euw, J. M. Plotzek, *Handschriften der Samml. Ludwig* IV, 172–87.

29. MALIBU, CA, Getty Museum MS. XV,4 Figs. 2, 54, 55a–b
1277, France (Gloucester Aviary)

Contents: Table of contents (fols. 5–6v, by main scribe); Hugh of Fouilloy, AVIARY (fols. 1–54, complete, with interpolations for Turtledove, Pelican and Nycticorax from a B-Is bestiary after chaps. 29, 38, 39), *De pastoribus* (fols. 54–72v, 105–110); B-Is bestiary (fols. 110–12v, 73–104v), pictures of the Monstrous Races (Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* Bk. 7; fols. 117–20); Wm. of Conches, *Philosophia mundi* (fols. 121–64v, 173–76v, 165–72, 177v); fifteen questions on the Body and Soul (fols. 178–97). *Aviary group*: Ter Duinen. *Codicology*: 231 x 165 (150 x 112); 4 + 2 + 197 + 1 fols. (numbering begins with Aviary), 2 cols., 21 text lines, *littera textualis formata* set below top line, signatures: Roman numerals to III, double horizontal and single-double-single vertical bounding lines, dated fol. 197: *Anno milleno biscenteno septuagesimo septimo*. *Production place*: probably region of St. Omer. *Provenance*: Duke Humfrey of Gloucester (fol. 197), visible by ultra violet light: *Ce livre est A moy Humfrey duc de Gloucestre Comte de Pembrokshire*; fol. 2v: "London" (16th c.), probably indicating that the MS was to be sent to Royal Library, as were many of Humfrey's MSS at his death; Edmund Lathum, flyleaf signature, 16th c.; John Arundell, fol. 1v: "John the soon of Roger Arundell of Trerise bought this boocke of one Mr Gold att Lambethe the 30th of Maye 1608 pryse XXs witnes William Vallens and others: Jo. Arundell"; London, Syon College (MS. Arc.L.40.2/28); Dr. Peter Ludwig, 1977 (MS. XV,4). *Condition*: misbound in *De pastoribus* and bestiary.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (30), *De pastoribus* (1), bestiary (40), Monstrous Races (7 full-page pictures of usually 4 units each), Wm. of Conches, *Philosophia mundi* (13); all fully colored: full color range, preference for pink and grey combinations, much green shading with grey, burnished gold grounds, some in decorative shapes; various frame shapes. *Style*: two painters related to a large north French group (see Introduction, p. 71, n. 2) with ties to St. Omer region, especially St. Omer 5 (Randall, *Images*, e.g., fig. 411), Bonn Univ. Lib. 526 (Gould, *Psalter*, pl. 57). *Minor initials*: 5-line decorated initials with long, cusped extenders and drolleries, strapwork or enterlace within letter, for beginning of Aviary and Wm. of Conches; 4-line ones for Aviary, chaps. 1, 2, and beginning of bestiary; 2-line colored capitals with elaborate scrolling for chapters, 1-line for lesser sections; by a second decorator: gold capitals on colored grounds with pen-scroll infills fols. 121–end.

Iconography: AVIARY: typical Part 1 program, same variation on Cedar as no. 28 (fig. 57b), some bestiary birds in Part 2 but not the same ones as in no. 28. *De pastoribus*, full page, as in no. 5. Bestiary: fully illustrated, no relation to no. 28. Monstrous races: nude figures with the characteristics of the races. Wm. of Conches, *Philosophia mundi*: maps and diagrams, including a *mappa mundi*.

Comments: The Hawk in the prol. miniature, fol. 1v, and the bird in the Eagle miniature, fol. 52v, punched for copying, perhaps for heraldic devices.

Bibliography: Burlington Fine Arts Club exh., London, 1908, no. 84; James, *Bestiary*, 11; Warner, *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 26; E. Edmondston, "Sion College," *The Book Collector* 14 (1965), 172, pls. 2, 3; Ohly, "Probleme," 200; Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* 1:283–85; A. Stones, "The Illustrations of the Prose Lancelot," chap. 5; Sotheby sale 13 July, 1977, Lot. 72; Häring, "Notes," 75; Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought*, passim; von Euw and Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig* 4, no. 4; *Ornamenta ecclesiae* 1, A29, 112–13.

30. MELK, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Mell. 6 (154, C32)*
ca. 1200, ?Melk (Melk Aviary)

Contents: St. Gregory, sermons (fols. 1–17); sermons (fols. 127–33v); Bede, sermon (fols. 133v–36v); Anselm, *Liber quod Deus homo* (fols. 136v–68v); sermons (169–76); Raymund, *Summula metrica* (fols. 169–87 in lower margins); Alan of Lille, *De sex alis cherubim* (fols. 176–78v); Hugh of Fouilloy, AVIARY (here attrib. to Hugh of St. Victor; fols. 179–95v, prol. 1, chaps. 1–11, 17–16, 12–15, 18–23, 28, 29 + *Sed et turtur tempus adventus sui . . . peccator ad Dominum convertitur*, prol. 2, 14–17, 30–60; cf. nos. 17, 18, 19, 21, 32, 33, 53); St. Athanasius, *Libellus de passione imaginis*; Raymond of Penafort, *Summa liber 4 de matrimonio et sponsalibus*. *Aviary group*: Saint Martin. *Codicology*: 420 x 305 (314 x 252), 2 cols., 36 text lines, *littera textualis*; B.46 in cat. of 1483. *Production place*: ?south Germany. *Provenance*: Melk Abbey.

Decoration: Two diagrams (Turtledove, Hawk).

Bibliography: *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Oesterreichs*.

31. MUNICH, Staatsbibliothek clm 11315
first half 13th c., south Germany (Polling Aviary)

Contents: A miscellany of theological works; Hugh of Fouilloy, *De claustro animae* (fols. 1-113v), AVIARY (fols. 114v-122v, prol. 1, om prol. 2; chaps. 1-11, 17, 16, 12-15, 18-22, 24-27, 23, 28, 29 + *Sed et turtur tempus adventus sui . . . peccator ad Dominum convertitur*, cf. no. 16). *Aviary group*: St. Martin. *Codicology*: 263 x 170 (212 x 129); 130 fols., 1 col., 34 text lines, *littera textualis* set above top line. *Production place*: south Germany. *Provenance*: Polling Abbey (Aug.). *Condition*: good.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY: (3 diagrams, 1 incomplete), line drawings. *Minor initials*: red 3 and 4-line Cistercian type initials.

Iconography: AVIARY: Dove and Turtledove diagrams, frame for Hawk figure but no diagram.

Comment: Fol. 1: *Hugonis de Corbi Canonici S. Laurentii de Fulleio libri de claustro animae*; fol. 114: *Eiusdem epistolae mystica et moralis de columba et aliorum animalium proprietatibus.*

Bibliography: none

32. MUNICH, Staatsbibliothek clm 15407*
14th c., south Germany (Rohr Aviary)

Contents: William of Conches, *Philosophia* (fols. 1-43); Alan of Lille, *De sex alis cherubim* (fols. 43-45); *Confessio laudis* (fol. 45v); AVIARY (fols. 46-50, prol 1, om prol. 2; chaps. 1-11, 17, 16, 12-15, 18-23, 28, 29 + *Sed et turtur tempus adventus sui . . . peccator ad Dominum convertitur*, 24-27; cf. nos. 17, 18, 19, 21, 30, 33, 53) *Aviary group*: St. Martin. *Codicology*: 265 x 175 (206 x 112 varies), 50 fols., 2 cols., 42-44 text lines. *Production place*: south Germany. *Provenance*: Abbey of Rohr (Aug.).

Iconography: AVIARY: Dove diagram without dove figure.

Bibliography: Häring, "Notes," 75.

33. MUNICH, Staatsbibliothek clm 18368*
14th c., south Germany (Tegernsee Aviary)

Contents: Hugh of Argentières, *Compendium theologicae veritatis* (fols. 1-76); Honorius, *Summa et imago mundi* (fols. 77-100v); Anselm of Canterbury, *De incarnatione Verbi* (fols. 101-17v); Alan of Lille, *De sex alis cherubim* (fols. 118-20v); Hugh of Fouilloy, AVIARY (attrib. here to Hugh of St. Victor; fols. 121-32v, prol. 1, om prol. 2; chaps. 1-11, 17, 16, 12-15, 18-23, (wants 28, 29), 24-27; cf. nos. 17, 18, 19, 21, 30, 32, 53); sermons (fols. 133-147). *Aviary group*: St. Martin. *Codicology*: 290 x 220 (218 x 157), 147 fols., 2 columns, 41/48 text lines. *Production place*: south Germany. *Provenance*: Abbey of Tegernsee (Ben.). *Condition*: wants leaf between fols. 126-27.

Iconography: AVIARY: Dove diagram without dove figure, Turtledove diagram.

Bibliography: Häring, "Notes," 76.

34. NAMUR, de Groesbeeck de Croix Museum MS. 48*
probably after 1430, Mosan region (Le Jardinet Aviary)

Contents: Hymn of St. John the Baptist (fols. 1-2); St. Augustine, Bible commentary (fols. 5-73v); Hugh of Fouilloy, *De rota* (fols. 74-86v), AVIARY (fols. 87-111v), *De nuptiis* (fols. 126-36); claustral sign language (fol. 136); Hugh of Fouilloy, *De medicina animae* (fols. 137-49v). *Aviary group*: Ter Duinen. *Codicology*: on paper, 295 x 215 (236 x 149); 223 fols., 2 cols., 40 text lines, *littera textualis cursiva* set above top line. *Production place*: ?Aulne Abbey after 1430 acquisition of Le Jardinet. *Provenance*: Abbey of Le Jardinet (Cist.).

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY: line drawings as in no. 8, omitting one inhabited initial (non-illustration). *Style*: uncertain. *Minor initials*: 5 to 8-line colored initials; 2-line colored capitals for chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY and *De rota*: as in no. 8.

Comment: Copied closely from no. 8.

Bibliography: Ohly, "Probleme," 200; Häring, "Notes," 76.

35. NEW HAVEN, CT, Yale University, Beinecke Library MS. 189
Fig. 19
ca. 1200, France (Yale Aviary)

Contents: Hugh of Fouilloy, AVIARY (fols. 1-10, fragment), *De medicina animae* (fols. 10v-14v, fragment). *Aviary group*: Heiligenkreuz. *Codicology*: 275 x 190 (145 x 219), 14 fols., 2 cols., 35 text lines, *littera textualis* set above top line, single horizontal and single-triple-single vertical bounding lines. *Production place*: ?north France. *Provenance*: Sir Thomas Phillipps, MS. 3691; W.H. Robinson, Ltd., London; William R. Coe who presented it to Yale, 1962. *Condition*: fragment, misbound.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (18) unframed line drawings in blue, brown, grey with washes. *Style*: ?north French. *Minor initials*: 4-line initial in blue and red with acanthus infill for *De medicina*; 2-line colored capitals with modest pen scroll for chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY: Cock through Eagle, wants Jay, Goose; Pelican and Ostrich designs typical of group, Caladrius looks like a duck (cf. nos. 20, 51, 54).

Bibliography: W. Cahn and J. Marrow, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, no. 17; Häring, "Notes," 76.

36. OXFORD, Bodleian Library MS. Ashmole 1511 Figs. 60a-b
ca. 1200-10, England (Ashmole Bestiary)

Contents: (As in no. 1 but intact) Creation excerpts (fols. 1-10), Second Family bestiary with AVIARY (fols. 9v-95), Isidore (fols. 95-103v), Firestones (fols. 103-104). *Aviary group*: Aberdeen. *Codicology*: 275 x 185 (186 x 112); 105 fols., 1 col., 30 text lines, *littera textualis formata* set above top line, 2 double horizontal and 2 double vertical bounding lines. *Production place*: England, probably south, possibly Canterbury (see chap. 2). *Provenance*: William Wryght, vicar of Chipping Wycomb, 1550 (fol. 8); given 1609 by William Mann to Sir Peter Manwood, d. 1625 (fol. 1); John Tradescant, 1623, inherited by his son John; Elias Ashmole, who left it to Oxford in 1677. *Condition*: excellent.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (29) fully colored: bright rose red, light rose, orange red, medium brown, light rust, gold brown, medium green, deep blue, grey blue, white, yellow beige; burnished gold grounds, some punched with hatched or dot patterns, occasional diapered grounds; bestiary (112, including several in Aviary section, and the Creation cycle), colors as in Aviary; Isidore: (1), fully colored. *Style*: two painters, both closely related to Aberdeen Univ. Lib. 24, St. Omer Bibl. Mun. 476, and especially Bible cuttings in Brit. Lib. 104 (fols. 350, 354, 364v); see also no. 1 above under Style. *Minor initials*: 2, 6, and 7-line decorated initials in gold on colored and floral patterned grounds for main divisions of text; 2-line colored initials with modest pen scroll for chapters.

Iconography: See for no. 1.

Bibliography: Extensive bibliography in Morgan, *Early Gothic* 1, no. 19, to which should be added Muratova, *Bestiarium* and "Workshop Methods."

37. OXFORD, Bodleian Library MS. Bodley 602 Fig. 39
ca. 1240–50, England (Bodley 602 Aviary)

Contents: B-Is bestiary (fols. 4–36v); AVIARY (fols. 36v–65v, wants chaps. 52–60); a second, unrelated MS. *Aviary group*: Paris. *Codicology*: 240 x 175 (181 x 102), 65 fols. in bestiary-Aviary, 1 col., 29 text lines, *littera textualis* set above top line, single horizontal and double vertical bounding lines. *Production place*: ?south England. *Provenance*: ?Dominican (see under Iconography); Canon Thecher of Newark Priory (Aug.) before 1538 and John Rosse, canon of Newark and curate of Weylde, 1538, n. fol. 13v. *Condition*: Aviary a large fragment.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (18, several in margins) unframed line drawings with heavy washes and body color: magenta, orange, blue, grey, rust brown, light brown, medium green, aqua, medium blue, white. *Style*: provincial version of Matthew Paris style. *Minor initials*: 5 and 6-line colored initials for start of main texts; 2-line capitals for chapters, no pen scroll.

Iconography: AVIARY: only prol. min. is standard; omits diagrams except Turtledove, ?Dominican monk (black cloak over white robe) in Turtledove diagram. Palm and Cedar have identical forms, winds illustrated (cf. no. 18), Part 2 illustrations anecdotal. Bestiary: fully illustrated. Illustrates some of the moralizations in both Aviary and bestiary; shows some actual traits: Vulture on carcass, Kite flies off with prey. A few illustrations in margin: heads of falcons and sparrows beside their chaps., devil for chap. 12, Christ for chap. 14, righteous man for chap. 26. No visual relationship to its group.

Bibliography: Full bibliography in Morgan, *Early Gothic* 1, no. 54, to which should be added: *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie* I, col. 77; Ohly, "Probleme," 199; Häring, "Notes," 76.

38. OXFORD, Bodleian Library MS. Bodley 764 Fig. 68
ca. 1230–40, England (Bodley 764 Bestiary)

Contents: Second Family bestiary with excerpts from AVIARY (chaps. 18–22 with omissions and variants, 49–52, 56, 58; new chapters, moralizations and animal lore in bestiary, including Barnacle Goose from Gerald of Wales, *Topography of Ireland*); Isidore, *De natura hominis*. *Aviary group*: Aberdeen. *Codicology*: 298 x 195 (209 x 115) slightly cropped at top, 137 fols., 1 col., 27 text lines, *littera textualis formata* set below top line, double horizontal and single vertical bounding lines with double horizontal lines above text area and single vertical line in outer margin. *Production place*: south England. *Provenance*: heraldic devices of the Monhaut (Marches), Clares (Marches) and Berkeley (Gloucestershire) families in miniatures—Baxter; "Gauntes," fol. IVv; Bodleian in 17th c. *Condition*: bestiary missing chaps. for Crocodile through Dog.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: bestiary fully illustrated (7 non-Aviary miniatures for Aviary chaps.), fully colored: light rose, blue, bright orange red, medium green, light brown, tan, mustard yellow, white, grey; for grounds: colored or burnished (sometimes tooled) gold panels, or combination thereof. Frequent pied clothing, animals with splotchy coats. *Style*: prelude to mid-13th c. Salisbury styles (Morgan). *Minor initials*: 10-line gold decorated initial with gold, orange, white filigree infill, colored grounds; 3-line colored initial for bestiary prologue; 2-line colored capitals with pen scroll for chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY chaps.: all anecdotal, including Owl harassed by other birds (Rowland, *Birds*, 142), and Quail leader attacked by hawk. Bestiary: fully illustrated, to include pictures of motifs from everyday life (cow being milked, ass carrying flour to mill; Rowland, *Animals*, 25, 47), and Gerald of Wales' Barnacle Goose.

Bibliography: Full bibliography in Morgan, *Early Gothic* 2, no. 98; Roland Baxter, "A Baronial Bestiary. Heraldic Evidence for the Patronage of Manuscript Bodley 764," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 50 (1987): 196–200.

39. OXFORD, Bodleian Library MS. Douce 151 Fig. 62
ca. 1300, England (Douce Bestiary)

Contents: As in no. 36. *Aviary group*: Aberdeen. *Codicology*: 243 x 180 (180 x 115), 84 fols., 1 col., 29 text lines, *littera textualis cursiva* set below top line, single horizontal and double vertical bounding lines. *Production place*: England. *Provenance*: Francis Douce, early 19th c. *Condition*: damage to miniatures, ends imperfect.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (17) fully colored: light green, bright red, light brown, dark blue, colors are opaque and powdery. *Style*: provincial, relationships uncertain. *Minor initials*: 2-line colored capitals for chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY: as in no. 36 (e.g., the oval around Christ in majesty, omission of shepherd in Wolf min.), except a few in common with no. 41 (e.g., Dog and king in a town, fig. 62).

Bibliography: James, *Bestiary*, 22; Yapp, *Birds*, figs. 26, 30.

40. OXFORD, Bodleian Library MS. Lyell 71 Figs. 1d, 25
ca. 1300, Italy (Lyell Aviary)

Contents: Table of diabolical attributes (fols. 1v–2), table of godly attributes (fol. 2v); AVIARY (fols. 3–15v, wants chaps. 41, 43–30. chaps. 21–23 misbound); lion chapter from B-Is bestiary (fols. 16–16v); excerpt from Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica* (fol. 16), Peter of Poitiers, *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* (fol. 16v); Hugh of Fouilloy, *De rota* (fols. 29–40), *De medicina animae* (fols. 40v–49); a commentary on Ps. 44 (fols. 49–53); *De arbore altissima supra montem posita* from parable in *Romance of Barlaam and Josaphat* (fol. 53). *Aviary group*: Heiligenkreuz. *Codicology*: 230 x 176 (170 x 130), 1 + 53 + 1 fols., 2 cols., 31 text lines, *littera textualis* set below top line, signatures: catchwords. *Production place*: ?Lombardy. *Provenance*: Italy, 18th c. (Italian binding of the period); Art Ancien S.A., Zürich, 1936; Rosenthal; James P. R. Lyell, 1942. *Condition*: AVIARY: miniatures rubbed, flaking of ink.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (10), bestiary (1), *De rota* (2), *De arbore* (1), fully colored: red, blue, pink, blue green, rose, grey, violet; colored and burnished gold grounds, gold square frames and details of pictures (e.g., falcon of Aviary Prol. min. is gold), various inner border shapes. *Style*: single painter, uncertain style relationships. *Minor initials*: decorated initials on gold for major divisions in AVIARY and *De rota*; 2-line colored capitals with extended pen scroll for chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY: knight and priest in prol. min., slight variations on usual program. Bestiary: crowned lion rampant. *De rota*: wheels of good and bad abbots, with figures. *De arbore*: allegory of man in tree.

Comment: Omits *qui inter haec duo* in Dove diagram; cf. 20 and 54.

Bibliography: Art Ancien S.A., Zürich, Cat. 19, no. 11, 1936; N. R. Ker, "Oxford College Libraries in the sixteenth century," *Bodleian Library Review* 6 (1957–61): 505; Ohly, "Probleme," 199; Pächt and Alexander 2, no. 144, pl. xiv; de la Mare, *Catalogue . . . Lyell*, 211–16, pl. xvii; Häring, "Notes," 77.

41. OXFORD, University College MS. 120 Fig. 63
early 14th c., England (University College Bestiary)

Contents: As in no. 36, but without Creation excerpts (pp. 1–115); Walter Burlay, *De universalibus libellus* (pp. 117–139). *Aviary group*: Aberdeen. *Codicology*: 238 x 153 (193 x 123), 70 fols., 1 col., 35 text lines, *littera textualis cursiva* set below top line, paginated. *Production place*: England. *Provenance*: ?a nunnery. *Condition*: missing end chap. 39, beginning chap. 40 of Aviary; loose binding; miniatures discolored.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (17) line drawings with washes and body color: red, white, blue, brown, green, light yellow. *Style*: relationships uncertain. *Minor initials*: AVIARY: one 2-line colored capital at the beginning. Bestiary: 2-line spaces for capitals for all chapters.

Iconography: Most miniatures as in Ashmole Bestiary, with slight variations and a few differences in bestiary; see no. 39 under Iconography; a nun inhabits Cedar.

Bibliography: James, *Bestiary*, 22; Clark, "The Medieval Aviary," 74.

42. PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. fr. 24428 Fig. 72
1265, France (Notre Dame Aviary)

Contents: Walter of Metz, *Image du monde* (fols. 1–48, fragment); Ormond the Clerk (Omons li clers), *Li volucraires* (fols. 49–52, French verse adaptation of AVIARY chaps. 17, 12–14, 30, 33, 59) which Ormond signs at the beginning:

> . . . si com bien le puet faire
> Dou latin a trait ceste rime
> Omons li clers. . . .

William the Norman's bestiary (fols. 53–78v); *Li lapidaires* (fols. 79ff); Marie of France, *Lais* (fol. 89ff); Instructions for confession (fol. 115ff). At end of *Image du monde*, fols. 47v–48:

> . . . que fu escris cis livres droit
> Quant li miliaires corrit
> L'an MCC sixante et cinc. . . .
> Omons a non, qui fist ceste weure.

Aviary group: none. *Codicology*: 312 x 218 (240 x 150), 118 fols., 2 cols., 34 text lines, *littera textualis* below top line, double-triple-double vertical and double horizontal bounding lines with double horizontal rulings in lower margin. *Production place*: probably Paris. *Provenance*: ?Franciscan (monks in ?Franciscan habits fol. 49v, but a variety of habit colors elsewhere); Nicholas of Lessy, who loaned it to Fr. Jean Cotusse, guardian of the Friars Minor, Sens, 1412 (note fol. 118v); Antoine Loisel (fol. 1); pressmark (M-18) of

Notre Dame, Paris (fol. 1); Notre Dame MS. 193 (fol. 1); covers: cypher of Louis-Philippe.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: *Image du monde*: cosmological drawings with color; AVIARY (2), and bestiary (fully illustrated), both fully colored: blue, rose, brown, grey, beige; gold and colored grounds. *Style*: single artist related generally to Parisian court styles of the period, especially secular MSS. *Minor initials*: 5-line decorated gold initial to begin Aviary and bestiary; 1 and 2-line colored capitals with extended pen scroll for sections of a text.

Iconography: AVIARY: also illustrates the moralizations: Palm and Crucifixion (chap. 27), Cedar with monks beside tree (chap. 30) (cf. illustrated moralizations in no. 37, and a bestiary, Paris BN fr. 14969, the latter Franciscan). The king in the Cedar may be a literal interpretation of an addition by Ormond to Hugh's text:

> . . . the Celestial King who is in Paradise above,
> sits on a faldstool as king, and holds in his hand
> a bough of fleur-de-lys.

Monks in grey with rope belts beside the Cedar; elsewhere monks in black, blue, and purple! Bestiary: fully illustrated, also illustrating the moralizations.

Comments: Corrected in a second hand.

Bibliography: B. de Montfaucon, *Biblioteca bibliotecarum* (Paris: Briasson, 1739) 2:1109, n. 792; Le Grand d'Aussy, *Notes et extraits des manuscrits* V, 243-266. *HLF* 23 (1856), 321-323; McCulloch, *Medieval . . . Bestiaries*, 57, 76; Einhorn, *Spiritalis Unicornis*; Kleineidam, ed., "Li volucraires."

43. PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 2495 — Figs. 10c, 21
early 13th c., France — (Avignon Aviary)

Contents: Hugh of Fouilloy, AVIARY (fols. 1-31, complete), *De claustro animae* (fols. 31-143v), *De medicina animae* (fols. 144-156v), *De nuptiis* (fols. 156v-167); attrib. (by Walter Simons) to Hugh of Fouilloy, *Visio cuiusdam monachi* ("Electe caput fili. . . ."). *Aviary group*: Heiligenkreuz. *Codicology*: 305 x 220 (228 x 169), 2 + 167 fols., 2 cols., 31 text lines, *littera textualis* set above top line, double-triple-double vertical and 3 double horizontal bounding lines, double marginal prickings for double horizontal lines; signatures: Roman numerals at beginning and end of quire; ancient press marks: .ff. z. over H. *Production place*: ?south France ?Savoy. *Provenance*: given by Card. Jean Allarmet de Brogny, Bish. of Ostia

(1405–1426) to the monastery of St. Pierre-de-Luxembourg (Celestins), Avignon (note, fol. 167v); Celestins of Avignon (fol. 1); Colbert 2769; Regius 3909^3. *Condition*: excellent.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (30) fully colored: red, rose, light brown, light and medium blue, beige, bright yellow, green, white; grainy gold and tarnished silver; colored (often beige or red) and gold grounds, various frame shapes. *Style*: both the underdrawing (when visible) and the painting are somewhat awkward and provincial, ?southern French traits in ornament (see chap. 2), relationships uncertain. *Minor initials*: 2 and 7-line colored initials with palmette infills for Aviary prologues and similar initials for beginning of two other texts; 2 and 3-line colored and modestly decorated capitals for chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY: typical program, unnamed king in Cedar.

Comment: Hugh identified (fol. 31: "prioris canonicorum Sancti Laurentii in pago ambianensi"), cf. nos. 23, 24, 49. Compass-point holes sometimes visible in designs with circular frames, cf. no. 10.

Bibliography: Ohly, "Probleme," 174 ff., pls.; Häring, "Notes," 78; Bibolet, "Portraits."

44. PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 2495A
second quarter 13th c., France (Foucarmont Aviary)

Contents: AVIARY (fols. 1–17v, fragment, wants chaps. 31–60 and several leaves); Ibis [Coot missing]; The colors of the Dove (incompl.); H bestiary (fragment, fol. 18, chaps. 20–35); Hugh of Fouilloy, *De rota* (fol. 25); letter of Alexander to Dindimus (fol. 36); Disputation of Secundus against Adrian, trans. by William de Gap, Abbot of St. Denis (fol. 41v); Richard of St. Victor, *De trinitate* (fol. 44); Godfrey of Auxerre, *Declamationes* on a St. Bernard sermon (fol. 106v). *Aviary group*: Paris. *Codicology*: 280 x 200 (193 x 129) cropped top and bottom, 123 fols., 2 cols., 27 text lines, *littera textualis* set above top line; single-triple-single vertical and single horizontal bounding lines. *Production place*: Paris or north France. *Provenance*: Foucarmont Abbey (Cist.): 16th c. *ex libris* fol. 72v). *Condition*: Aviary and bestiary both fragments, most miniatures excised, remaining ones damaged.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (1 remains); bestiary (3 remain); fully colored: blue, red, green, grey, black; colored grounds with small three-dot patterns in white; colorless, texted frames in Aviary. *Style*: relationships undetermined.

Iconography: AVIARY: Nycticorax. Bestiary: Viper (identical with that of no. 45), Ant, Asp.

Bibliography: Ohly, "Probleme," 200; Häring, "Notes," 78; Clark, "The Aviary-Bestiary."

45. PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 2495B Figs. 26-28a-b, 30
ca. 1230, France (Lat. 2495B Aviary)

Contents: H bestiary I (chaps. 3-begin. 14, originally separate MS, fols. 1-4v); AVIARY (fols. 5-27, complete); Ibis and Coot (fols. 27v-29v); H bestiary II (fols. 29v-47); B-Is bestiary essay on the Dove (fols. 28-29v); Hugh of Fouilloy, *De medicina animae* (fols. 47v-57), *De rota* (fols. 57-63); Passion of the 11,000 Virgins (fols. 63v-72v); four poems on Vices and Virtues ("Quae volat et vaga fit carnem"; fol. 72v). *Aviary group*: Paris. *Codicology*: 306 x 210 (235 x 158), 72 fols., 2 cols., 36 text lines, *littera textualis* set above top line, double-triple-double vertical and single horizontal bounding lines, single vertical ruling in outer margin, signatures: catchwords. *Production place*: probably Paris. *Provenance*: Claude Barthélemy Morisot (1592-1660); Colbert 3304; Regius 5326^5 (fol. 1). *Condition*: 4 leaves of a bestiary added to beginning of the Aviary, probably modelled on bestiary with identical iconography following Aviary, the second bestiary also a fragment.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (30), bestiary I (11), bestiary II (34) fully colored: red, rose, mauve, blue, green, deep yellow, black, white; colored grounds with variety of dot patterns; silver, often tarnished, on bird in Dove diagram and some frames; frames in Dove diagram painted and not texted; rectangular frame with various inner border shapes. *Style*: single painter in Aviary and bestiary II; another in bestiary I, whose style relates to Parisian stained glass (see chap. 2). *Minor initials*: 4 and 6-line multicolored initial for beginning of Aviary; 1 to 4-line colored capitals with modest pen scroll for Aviary and bestiary chapters and other treatises.

Iconography: AVIARY: typical program, plus Ibis and Coot, a blue sun included in center of Hawk diagram. Bestiaries: virtually identical except in style, no. II has Sawfish and Whale designs typical of H bestiary.

Comment: Marginal poems (in main scribe's hand) in the Aviary from Peter Riga, *Aurora*: for the Hawk, Turtledove, Nycticorax, Raven, Ostrich, Vulture, Kite, Owl, Hoopoe, Swan and Eagle. Texts

for all but the Turtledove and Nycticorax verses printed in P. E. Beichner, ed., *Aurora Petri Rigae Biblia Versificata* Part 1 (Notre Dame: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1965), 171-76, although in none of the MSS studied in Beichner is the wording identical with the lat. 2495B poems.
Partially copied in no. 13: Aviary text only; bestiary text and pictures.

Bibliography: Ohly, "Probleme," 200, pls.; Häring, "Notes," 78; Bibolet, "Portraits"; Clark, "The Aviary-Bestiary."

46. PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. lat. 14429 Fig. 71
ca. 1250-60, France (St. Victor Aviary)

Contents: probably 3 separate MSS: A) Postiles by St. Bonaventure and Nicholas of Gorran (fols. 1-95); B) AVIARY (fols. 96-109v, complete but conflates chaps. 13-15); H bestiary (fols. 109v-18v); C) Postiles by William of Militone (Altona) (fols. 155-207v). *Aviary group*: none. *Codicology*: 330 x 240 (237 x 165); 3 + 207 + 2 fols., 2 cols., 45 text lines, *littera textualis* set below top line, different scribes for first postiles, the Aviary-bestiary, and second postiles; signatures: catchwords. *Production place*: probably Paris. *Provenance*: Paris, Abbey of St. Victor (Aug.), *ex libris* and arms fols. a-verso, 1. *Condition*: good.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (31), bestiary (35), both fully colored but with different but related painters; colors: rose red and blue dominant, bright blue green, pink, beige, grey; Aviary miniatures small, and often set into text of chapter (cf. no. 52) or in margins, rectangular frames. *Style*: related in general to later 13th-c. secular painting in Paris; tendency toward naturalism in the birds. *Minor initials*: 2-line colored capitals without ornament.

Iconography: AVIARY: independent program: a single bird for the Dove diagram, no human figure in Cedar, Ship of Solomon as a second illustration for chap. 59.

Comment: May not have been made for St. Victor; see discussions in chaps. 2 and 3.

Bibliography: Ohly, "Probleme," 200; Häring, "Notes," 79; Bibolet, "Portraits"; Clark, "The Aviary-Bestiary," n. 36; Gilbert Ouy et al, *Le catalogue de la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Paris de Claude de Grandrue 1514* (Paris: CNRS, 1983), 22.

47. PORTO, Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto MS. 43

Fig. 18a

early 13th c., Portugal (Santa Cruz Aviary)

Contents: AVIARY (fols. 89–110v, wants first leaf), originally a separate booklet, bound with other works written in the same hand. *Aviary group*: Heiligenkreuz. *Codicology*: 330 x 238 (242 x 169), 2 cols., 35 lines, *littera textualis* set above top line, single-double-single vertical and single horizontal bounding lines, ruling prickings on inner margins; modern foliation in Aviary, medieval in rest of MS, which was rebound in ?15th century. *Production place*: Coimbra (based on style and iconography), probably Santa Cruz; cf. designs of no. 23). *Provenance*: Abbey of Santa Cruz (Aug.), Coimbra (19th-cent. book lists of the abbey; style and iconography). *Condition*: first leaf of Aviary missing, otherwise good.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: (28; prologue, Dove diagram missing), line drawings, colored line drawings and colored miniatures; one painter; round, texted frames. *Style*: relates to late 12th–early 13th-c. work in other Santa Cruz books. *Minor initials*: 2-line red and blue capitals with modest penscroll, influenced by Clairvaux capitals; 7-line capital for chap. 1, much like initial in no. 24.

Iconography: AVIARY: program as in no. 23, and for the most part in nos. 24 and 51.

Bibliography: Reynaldo dos Santos, *Oito séculos de Arte Portuguesa* 3, p. 228; Antonio Cruz, "O 'Livro das aves,' um Códice ignorado idéntico ao de Lorvão" and *Santa Cruz de Coimbra na cultura portuguesa da idade média* 1 (Porto, 1964), figs. 18, 119; Biblioteca Publica Municipal do Porto, *Exposição 150 aniversãrio da sua fundação 1833–1983* (Porto, 1984), no. 116; Avelino de Jesus da Costa, *Album de paleografia e diplomatica portuguesas* 1, 3rd ed. (Coimbra, 1976), fig. 45.

48. RIO DE JANIERO, Coll. of late Prof. Serafin da Silva Neto*

Fig. 73

early 14th c., Portugal (da Silva Neto Aviary)

Contents: Portuguese trans. of AVIARY, with added moralizations (cols. 1–36, fragment; Ezekiel's vision (cols. 34–35). *Aviary group*: none. *Codicology*: 302 x 220 (229 x 176); 9 fols., 2 cols., 36 text lines, *littera textualis* set below top line, single horizontal and single-double-single vertical bounding lines. *Production place*: Portugal. *Provenance*: no early provenance; bought by Dr. Jorge de Faria in

Vila do Conde before 1925. *Condition*: lower portion of leaves eroded by moisture, with considerable text loss on all but two leaves; pictures which remain are in relatively good condition.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (10), Ezekiel's vision (1), fully colored on colored grounds with repeat patterns of three white dots, square frames. *Minor initials*: 2-line colored capitals with modest pen flourish for chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY: prologue min., 2 mins. of Hawk on perch, Palm, Ostrich, Swallow (bird flies to rooftop), Stork (clatters), Nycticorax (bird flies to castle), Peacock, Eagle (dives to water); Ezekiel's Vision (Ezekiel stands, with symbols of Evangelists). Anecdotal scenes reminiscent of English bestiaries.

Comment: Unique as a Portuguese translation of the Aviary, edited in Mota, Matos, et al.

Bibliography: Pedro de Azevedo, "Uma versão portuguesa da história natural das aves do séc. XIV," *Revista lusitana* 25 (1925); J. A. Mota, R. V. Matos, V. C. Sampaio, N. Rossi, eds. *Livro das aves*; M. Martins, "Simbologia das aves," in *Estudos de literatura médieval* (Braga, 1956) and *Alegorias, simbolos e exemplos* . . . ; Antonio Cruz, "O 'Livro das aves' um códice ignorado idéntico ao de Lorvão," 172.

49. ROME, Biblioteca Casanatense MS. 444* Figs. 22, 23
ca. 1230–40, France (Rome Aviary)

Contents: Hugh of Fouilloy, AVIARY (fols. 1–22, prologues missing), *De claustro animae* (fols. 22–91v). *Aviary group*: Heiligenkreuz, close text relationship to no. 43. *Codicology*: 318 x 213 (223 x 155), 91 fols., 2 cols., 22 text lines, *littera textualis* set above top line; single-double-single vertical and single horizontal bounding lines, signatures: Roman numerals with 4 surrounding dots. *Production place*: Paris or north France. *Provenance*: note (flyleaf) in 18th c. hand says MS once belonged to a French Benediction house, but this may be a misreading of note (fol. 22) referring to installation of a bell at Rheims by Henry de Saumaise "abbe de reims" (so far unidentified), in 1481. *Condition*: AVIARY wants one leaf at the beginning.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (28), framed and frameless, fully colored: red, red brown, blue, green, black; round framed and frameless. *Style*: related generally to Paris and north France: designs of Pt. 2 recall those of no. 35. *Minor initials*: 3 and 7-line ornamented initials for Aviary, chap. 1 and begin. of *De claustro animae*; 2-line colored capitals for chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY: typical program, but prol. min. and Dove diag. missing, birds only for Hawk and Turtledove (i.e., no diagrams).

Comment: Hugh identified (fol. 22: "prioris canonicorum Sancti Laurentii in pago ambianensi."), cf. nos. 23, 24, 43.

Bibliography: A. Moricca Caputi, *Catalogo dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Casanatense* 5 (Rome, 1958), 73–74.

50. ST. OMER, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 94
Frontispiece, Figs. C, D, 45–47a, 48, 49
ca. 1200–1210, France (Clairmarais Aviary)

Contents: Hugh of Fouilloy, *De medicina animae* (fols. 1–11v), AVIARY (fols. 12–36v, complete), *De rota* (fols. 36v–48), *De pastoribus* (fols. 48–59); Aelred of Rievaulx, letter to William Eysengrein, Bish. of London (fols. 59v–65v), sermons (fols. 65v–137v). *Aviary group*: Ter Duinen. *Codicology*: 344 x 240 (247 x 162), 137 fols., 2 cols., 33 text lines; *littera textualis formata* set above top line, double-triple-double vertical and double-spaced double horizontal bounding lines, signatures: Roman numerals and catchwords. *Production place*: decorated probably at St. Omer by itinerant painters. *Provenance*: Abbey of Clairmarais (Cist.), fol. 137: *Liber Sanctae Mariae de Claromaresch* (13th c.). *Condition*: excellent.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (30), *De rota* (2 diagrams), *De pastoribus* (1), one painter; rich and varied colors: bright red, pink, orange, beige, bright blue, light blue, blue green, bright green, brown, grey, black, white; diapered and colored grounds, some of the latter with white floral filigree; texted rectangular frames, wide decorated frames for full-page miniatures. *Style*: very fine "Channel Style," probably professional, same hand in St. Omer Bibl. Mun. 100 (glossed Exodus), related closely to St. Omer Bibl. Mun. 193 (Papias, *Elementarium, Grammatica*), and to later Corbie Bibles Amiens Bibl. Mun. 21, 23, and (?Corbie) Mazarine 36. *Minor initials*: 5 and 8-line decorated initials with enterlace, dragons and clasping flowers; 4 and 7-line colored initials with modest but formal pen scroll and pen-drawn rinceaux infills; one 7-line pen drawn decorated initial in same style as the preceding; 2-line colored capitals for chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY: as in no. 5; man with septer in Cedar but no rainbow; *De rota*: as in no. 5, but abbots in Benedictine habits (for reasons, see Clark, "Three Manuscripts"); *De pastoribus*: as in no. 5.

Bibliography: Lieftinck, *De librijen*, 20, pl. 7; *St. Bernard et l'art des cisterciens* (exh. Dijon, 1953), no. 104; Ohly, "Probleme," 198; Häring, "Notes," 80; Bibolet, "Portraits"; Clark, "Three Manuscripts."

51. TROYES, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 177

Figs. F, 7d, 9d, 10a

ca. 1200, ?Portugal **(Clairvaux Aviary)**

Contents: Hugh of Fouilloy, *De claustro animae* (fols. 1–111), *De medicina animae* (fols. 111–24), *De nuptiis* (fols. 124–34v), AVIARY (fols. 135–60v, complete); *De templo Salomonis* (fols. 160v–71v); *De concordia temporum conregnantium in Juda* (fols. 171v–75v); *De potestate ligandi et solvendi* (fols. 175v–86v); *De triplici vicio mutabilitatis et inconstantia mentis* (fols. 186v–88); *De edicto Alexandri regis militiae caelorum* (fols. 188–97v); *De tribus processionibus celebrioribus* (fols. 197v–210); St. Cyprian, *De duodecim abusibus saeculi* (fols. 210–16); *De sacramentis* (fols. 216–23); Table of contents (fols. 223–23v). *Aviary group*: Heiligenkreuz. *Codicology*: 342 x 240 (239 x 169), 233 fols., 2 cols., 30 text lines, *littera textualis formata* set above top line, single-double-single vertical and single horizontal bounding lines, ruling prickings on inner margins. *Production place*: ?Portugal ?Coimbra, ?Alcobaça. *Provenance*: Abbey of Clairvaux (Cist.): inside back cover: *Liber Sanctae Mariae Clarevallis* (13th c.). *Condition*: excellent.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (30) mostly unframed, one painter, colored line drawings with occasional heavy washes, colors: blue, green, red, brown, yellow; round frames and frameless. *Style*: ornamental and stylized. *Minor initials*: 5 and 6-line colored initials with floral infills and modest pen scroll for beginning of each work; 2 and 3-line colored capitals with modest flourishing for chapters, most influenced by Clairvaux minor initials.

Iconography: AVIARY: typical program; relates closely to no. 24, and for the most part to nos. 23 and 47.

Bibliography: A. Wilmart, *Codices regensis latini* 2 (Rome 1954), 111; Lieftinck, *De librijen*; Morel-Payen, *Les plus beaux manuscrit*, 61, pl. IV; C. Jean-Nesmy, *Bestiaire roman*, reprods. passim; Ohly, "Probleme," 199; Häring, "Notes," 81; A. Vernet and J.-F. Genest, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux* (Paris: CNRS, 1979); Bibolet, "Portraits."

52. VALENCIENNES, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 101 Fig. 32
1240s, France (St. Amand Aviary)

Contents: Guillaume Breton, Dictionary of the Bible (fols. 1-69v); AVIARY (fols. 171-87, complete); Ibis and Coot (fols. 188-88v); H bestiary (fols. 189-200v); Table of contents (later addition), fol. 201. *Aviary group*: Paris. *Codicology*: 350 x 230 (240 x 147), cropped at bottom, 201 + 1 fols., 2 cols., 49 text lines, *littera textualis currens* set below top line, one scribe despite clear separation of the Guillaume from the rest; single-widely spaced double-single vertical and single horizontal bounding lines, double horizontal title rulings; signatures: Roman numerals; without Aviary's usual rubrics and *tituli*; many chaps. of Part 1 as well as Aviary and bestiary separated only by paragraph signs. *Production place*: Paris. *Provenance*: Abbey of St. Amand (Ben.), no. B 248. *Condition*: excellent.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (32); Ibis and Coot (1 each); bestiary (35), all fully colored: dark blue, dark rose, deep green, brown, rosy pink, rust, black; rectangular frames. *Style*: miniatures very small, often set in body of chapter; single painter throughout, same as one hand of Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 11207 (2nd Fam. bestiary), and related to no. 13 and to R. Branner's Amiens Atelier (*Manuscript Painting in Paris*, 67-69, 210, esp. figs. 126, 127). *Minor initials*: 2-line colored capitals with moderate pen scroll for chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY: typical program, Christ but no sparrows in Cedar, 3 sparrows for chap. 32, and extraneous dragon's head in margin fol. 173v; bestiary: iconography only generally related to other H bestiaries (lacks distinctive Sawfish and Whale).

Comment: The largest in dimension of any extant Aviary MS.

Bibliography: Ohly, "Probleme," 200; Häring, "Notes," 81; Bibolet, "Portraits"; Clark, "The Aviary-Bestiary."

53. VENDÔME, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 156*
second half 13th c., France

Contents: AVIARY (fols. 1-9, wants prologues and chaps. 1-4; chaps. 5-11, 17, 16, 12-15, 18-23, 28, 29 + *Sed et turtur tempus adventus sui . . . peccator ad Dominum revertitur*, 24-27; cf. nos. 17, 18, 19, 21, 30, 32, 33). *Aviary group*: St. Martin. *Codicology*: 220 x 162 (161 x 115), 9 fols., 2 cols., 27 text lines, *littera textualis currens* set above top line. *Production place*: north France. *Provenance*: ?Abbey of L'Aumône (Cist.). *Condition*: wants at beginning, loose in damaged vellum binding.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (3 diagrams) line drawings with washes. *Style*: design affinities with no. 7. *Minor initials*: 5-line colored with moderate pen scroll initial for prol. 1; 2-line colored capitals with moderate pen scroll for chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY: Dove and Hawk diagrams with birds at center, Turtledove diagram without bird.

Bibliography: Ohly, "Probleme," 198; Häring, "Notes," 81.

54. ZWETTL, Stiftsbibliothek MS. 253* Figs. 1b, 9b, 12
ca. 1200, S. Germany (Austria) (Zwettl Aviary)

Contents: Boethius, *De trinitate* (fols. 1–80v); Cicero, *De officiis* (fols. 81–132v), *Lelius* (fols. 133–44); AVIARY (fols. 145–64v, complete); Hugh of Fouilloy, *De rota* (fols. 165–69v). *Aviary group*: Heiligenkreuz. *Codicology*: 242 x 172 (202 x 133), 169 fols., 2 cols., 40 text lines, *littera textualis* set above top line, single horizontal and 3 double vertical bounding lines. *Production place*: probably Zwettl, by scribal style. *Provenance*: Zwettl Abbey. *Condition*: good.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (30) line drawnings in brown and red with occasional washes; various frame shapes. *Style*: awkward, probably monastic painter. *Minor initials*: 4 and 7-line colored initials with modest decoration for prologues; 2 to 4-line colored capitals for chapters.

Iconography: AVIARY: typical program almost identical with no. 20, but probably not a copy (texts missing in Dove Diag. of no. 20 are present here; Hawk upside-down in no. 20 set aright here, and brick-like ground for Nycticorax as in several other Aviaries but not no. 20).

Comment: Omits *qui inter haec duo* in Dove diagram; cf. nos. 20 and 40.

Bibliography: P. Buberl, *Die Kunstdenkmäler ... Zwettl*; Walliser, *Cisterziezer Buchkunst*, 24; de la Mare, *Catalogue ... Lyell*, 212; Häring, "Notes," 83; *Die Kueringer*, no. 248; Bibolet, "Portraits."

55. PRIVATE COLLECTION (Christie's, London, sale 2 December, 1987, Blessing-3731, Lot 15) Fig. 53
ca. 1175–1200 N. France/Flanders (Christie's Aviary)

Contents: two manuscripts: (A) AVIARY fragment (fols. 1–27, retains chaps. 3, 29, 31, 38–42, 45–48, 52, 53, 56, 57, 60, most chaps.

imperf., partly misbound); sermons (fols. 27–44v). (B) William of Conches, *Moralium dogma philosophorum*, imperf. (fols. 45–68v); Commentary on Song of Songs, imperf. (fols. 69–84v). *Aviary group*: Ter Duinen. *Codicology*: 110 x 76 (84 x 57), all outer edges cropped, 25 text lines, *littera textualis* set above top line, single column in several hands (AVIARY hand fols. 1–40), double vertical and horizontal bounding lines. *Production place*: probably north France or Flanders. *Provenance*: early provenance unknown. *Condition*: misbound and with losses, loose in binding.

Decoration: *Illustrations*: AVIARY (12) probably originally line drawings, now fully colored in blue, red, green, dark grey-blue, minium, rose, with evidence that paint was added a decade or so later; inked underdrawings visible on fols. 18, 20, 21, 21v; obviously later, crude drawing of Palm (fol. 7v); round frames. *Style*: earlier draughtsman more skilled than later painter; probably monastic; painting includes small dot-patterns on colored grounds; uncertain relationships. *Minor initials*: 2 and 3-line initials in red and blue, some with modest flourishing.

Iconography: AVIARY: (12 remain) Palm design added, identical with Palm of no. 8; devil with billhook at center of Hawk diagram (illustrating moralization); Cock, Raven, Nycticorax, Kite, Swallow, Stork, Blackbird, Caladrius, Hoopoe, Swan.

Bibliography: Christie's, London, *Early Printed Books, Medieval and Illuminated Manuscripts* (2 December 1987, "Blessing" 3731), Lot 15.

Aviary Manuscripts with Places for Illustrations Left Blank

56. Cambridge, Pembroke College MS. 258, fols. 44–51v. 13th cent. Ends imperf. in chap. 36. Diagrams partially drawn.
57. Cambridge, Peterhouse MS. 259. 13th cent. Ends imperf. in chap. 29. Diagrams partially drawn, spaces for all illustr. of Part 1.
58. Chicago, Newberry Library MS. 31.1*, fols. 27–44. 14th cent. (Ben. Admont Abbey Cod. 483); also contains a DC bestiary.
59. Dresden, Sächis. Landesbibliothek MS. A 198*, fols. 47–80. 13th cent.
60. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Rawl. G. 69. 13th cent. Fragment.
61. Paris Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 2494, fols. 1–43. Early 13th cent. (Cist.,

St. Mary of Cerreto). A collection of works by Hugh of Fouilloy; Italian production.

62. Paris Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 12321, fols. 215v-35v). 13th cent. (Paris, St.-Germain-des-Près)
63. Rome, Vatican Lib. MS. Reg. lat. 221*, fols. 18-33. 13th cent.
64. Rome, Vatican Lib. MS. Reg. lat. 290*, fols. 1-34v. 14th cent.

Unillustrated Aviary Manuscripts

Many of these are imperfect or composed of excerpts; variants are usually numerous.

65. Basel, University Lib. MS. B.VIII.29*, fols. 85-96, ca. 1300 (Basel Dominicans).
66. Bruges, Grootseminarie MS. 506/131*, ca, 1260-70 (Ben., Oudenburg, St. Peter's Abbey).
67. Bruges, Stedel. Openb. Bibliotheek MS. 561*, fols. 40-71, 15th cent. (Ben., Oudenburg, St. Peter's Abbey).
68. Brussels, Bibl. Royale MS. 2139-43, fols. 215-22. 13th cent. (Aug., St. Martin, Louvain).
69. Brussels, Bibl. Royale MS. 3241.
70. Brussels, Bibl. Royale MS. II,952., fols. 109-37, 14th cent. (Cist., Cambron).
71. Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll. MS. 164*, fols. 1v-8v, 13th cent.
72. Erlangen, University Lib. MS. 589*, fols. 285v-271, dated 1450.
73. Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibl. MS. 218*, fols. 109-126v, 14th cent. (Ben.).
74. Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibl. MS. 225*, fols. 237v-252v, 15th cent. (Ben.).
75. London, British Lib. MS. Add. 22041, fols. 298-302, 14th cent. (York Minster).
76. London, British Lib. MS. Add. 24097, fols. 25-47, late 13th cent. (?Italian made; ?from Norwich, see fol. 24v).
77. Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei MS. Theol. 4°20*, fols. 51v-74v, 14th cent. (with H Bestiary).
78. Oxford, Bodleian Lib. MS. Laud. Misc. 205, fols. 15-38, 13th cent.
79. Paris, Arsenal Lib. MS. 550, fols. 114-28, 13th cent. (Aug., Paris, Grands-Augustins).
80. Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 712, fols. 71-81, 16th cent.
81. Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 2896*, fols. 1-14, 13th cent.

82. Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 14512, fols. 67v-90v, ca. 1230 (Aug., Paris, St. Victor, by purchase 1639).
83. Paris, Mazarine Lib. MS. 740 (1040)*, fols. 145-53, 13th cent.
84. Prague, Univ. Lib. MS. 1163 (VI.F.24)*, fols. 55-92v, 14th cent. (Cist., Zlata Koruna).
85. Reims, Bibl. Mun. MS. 880, fols. 29-37v, 15th cent. (Cathedral)
86. Salzburg, St. Peter, Stiftsbibl. MS. a.VIII.9*, fols. 150-64, 13th cent.(Ben.).
87. San Marino, CA., Huntington Lib. MS. H.M. 627*, fols. 69-83v, late 12th cent. (Cist., Aulne Abbey)
88. Trebon (Czech.), State Archive MS. A 18*, fols. 161-70, 15th cent. (Augustinians of Trebon).
89. Troyes, Bibl. mun. 1761, fols. 107-12, frag., 13th cent.
90. Troyes, Bibl. mun. 1875, fols. 81-86v, frag., 12th cent.
91. Vatican Lib. MS. lat. 1047*, fols. 1-19v, 13th cent.
92. Vatican Lib. MS. palat. 1064*, 14-15th cent. (Cist., Schönau Abbey).
93. Vorau Stiftsbibl. MS. 168(62)*, fols. 182v-208v, 13th cent. (Cist.).
94. Washington DC, Georgetown Univ. Lib. de Ricci no. 12*, fols. 196v-98v.
95. Wolffenbüttel, Herzog August Lib. MS. 129c*, fols. 59-67, 13th cent.
96. Worcester Cathedral Lib. MS. Q 56*, fols. 49-58, 15th cent.

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Evreux, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 106 (Decretum), 80 n.1

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——, MS. 77 (Augustine), 65 n.3
——, MS. 78 (Augustine), 65 n.3
——, MS. 100 (glossed Exodus), 66 n.2;
——, MS. 193 (Papias, *Elementarium, Grammatica*), 66 n.2; *50*
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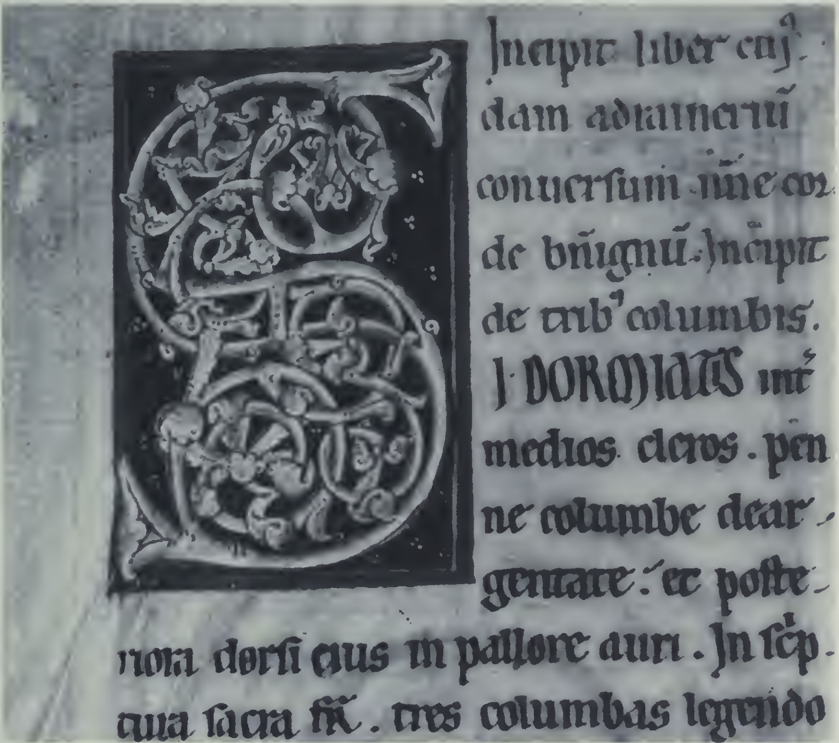
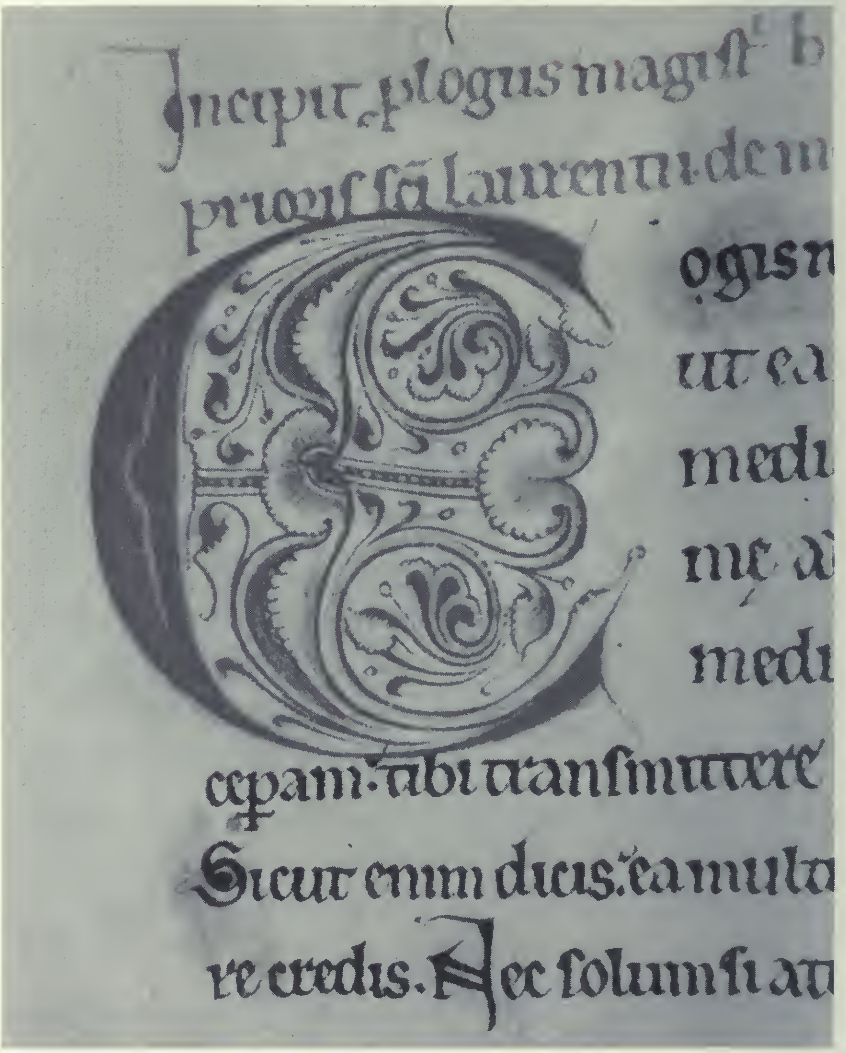


Incipit liber cuius-
dam adiamentũ
conuersum nunc con-
de brignũ. Incipit
de tribus columbis.
S I DORMIATIS inter
medios cleros. pen-
ne columbe dear-
gentate. et poste-
riora dorsi eius in pallore auri. In scrip-
tura sacra frs. tres columbas legendo

Fig. A. Lorvão Aviary, "S" for Ch. 1
(Lisbon, Arq. Nac. Torre do Tombo 90, fol. 3v)



Incipit plogus magiſt h

prioriſ ſcī laurentii·de m

ogisn

ut ea

medi

me a

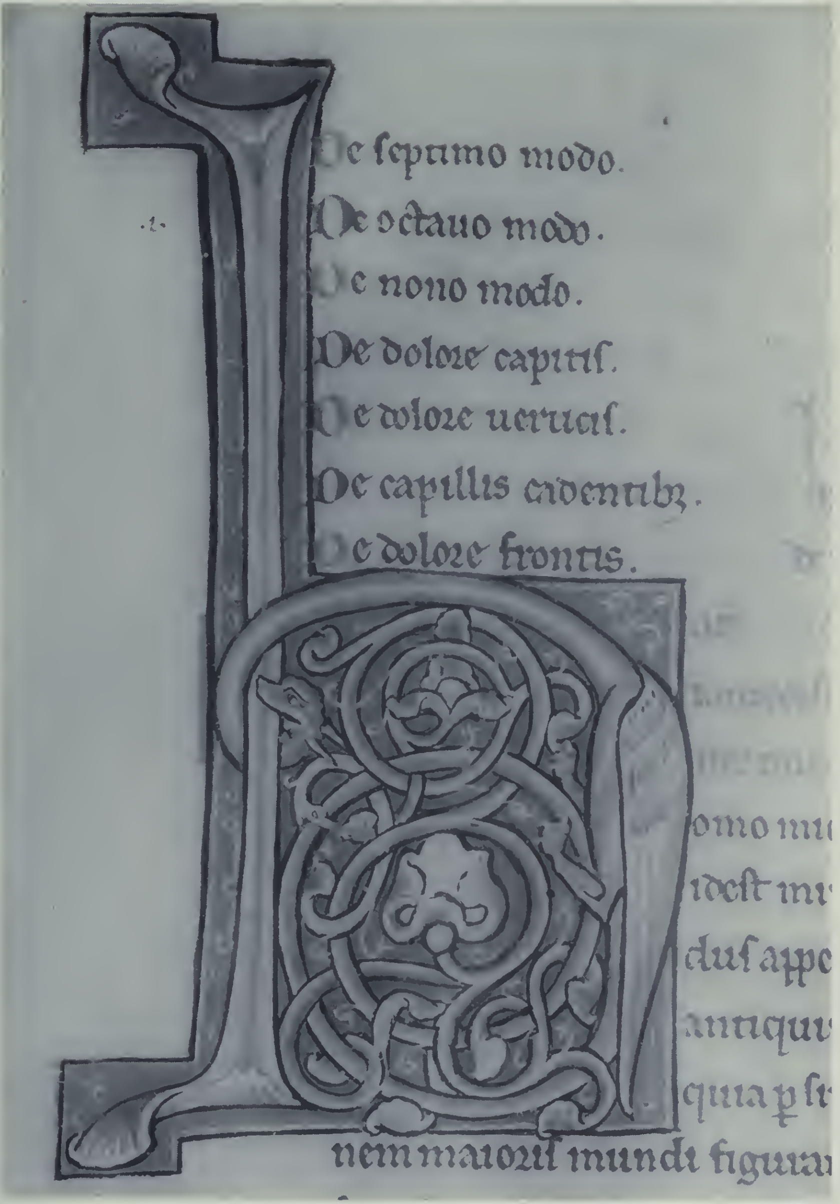
medi

cepam· tibi tranſmittere

Sicut enim dicis. ea multa

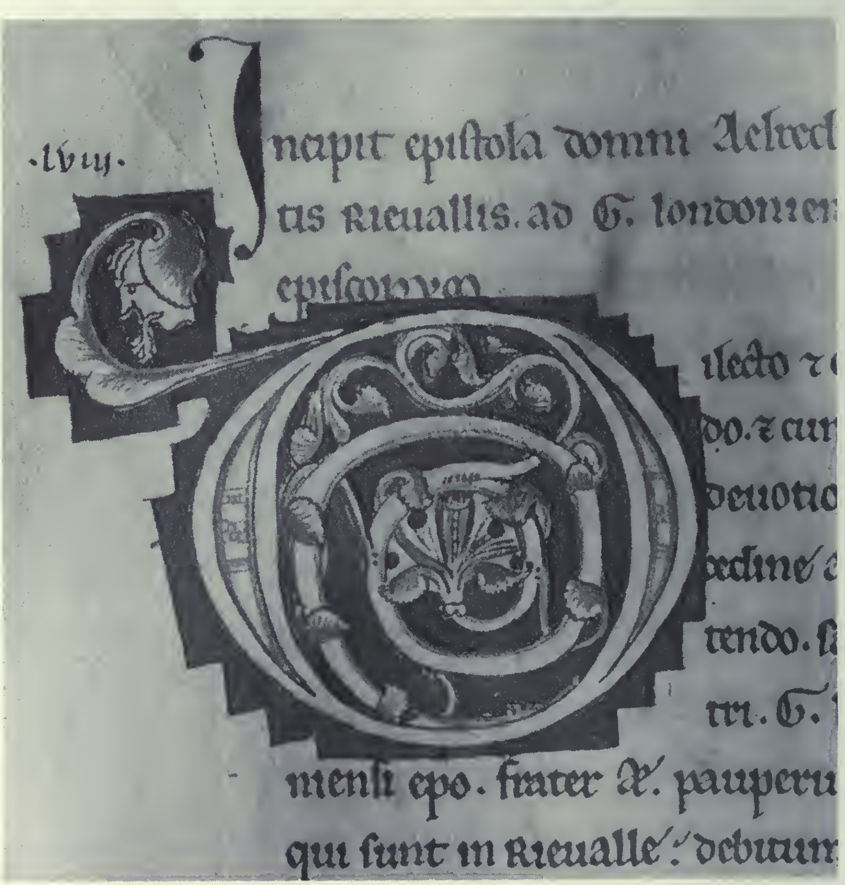
re credis. Nec ſolum ſi au

Fig. B. Ter Duinen Aviary, "C" for Prologue of *The Medicine of the Soul* (Bruges, Episc. Sem. 89/54, p. 1)



De ſeptimo modo.
De octauo modo.
De nono modo.
De dolore capitiſ.
De dolore uerticiſ.
De capillis cadentibꝫ.
De dolore frontis.
omo mu
idest mi
duſ appe
antiqui
quia p fr
nem maioriſ mundi figura

Fig. C. Clairmarais Aviary, "H" for Ch. 1 of *The Medicine of the Soul* (St. Omer, Bibl. Mun. 94, fol. 1v)



.lviij.

Incipit epiſtola domini Aelred

tus Rieuallis. ad G. londonien

epiſcopum

ilecto r

do. z cu

deuotio

edine

tendo. ſ

tri. G.

nienſi epo. frater A. pauperu

qui ſunt in Rieualle: debitum

Fig. D. Clairmarais Aviary, "D" for beginning of Aelred epistle
(St. Omer, Bibl. Mun. 94, fol. 59v)

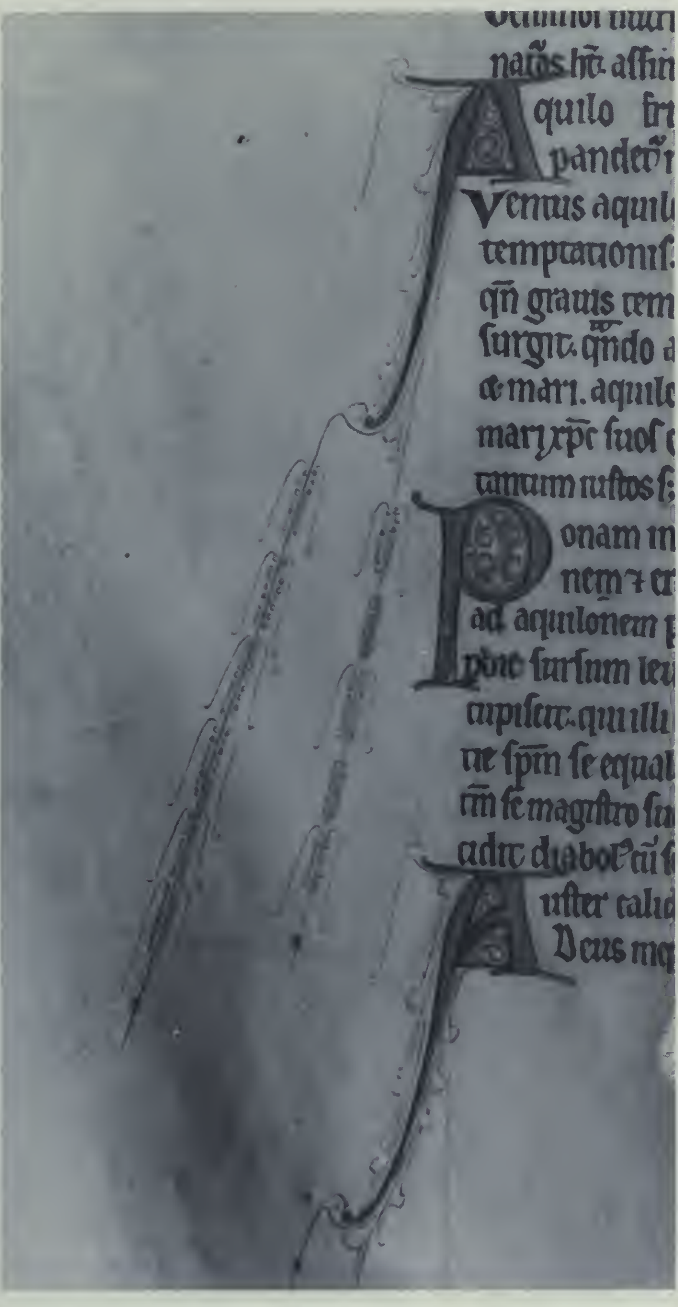
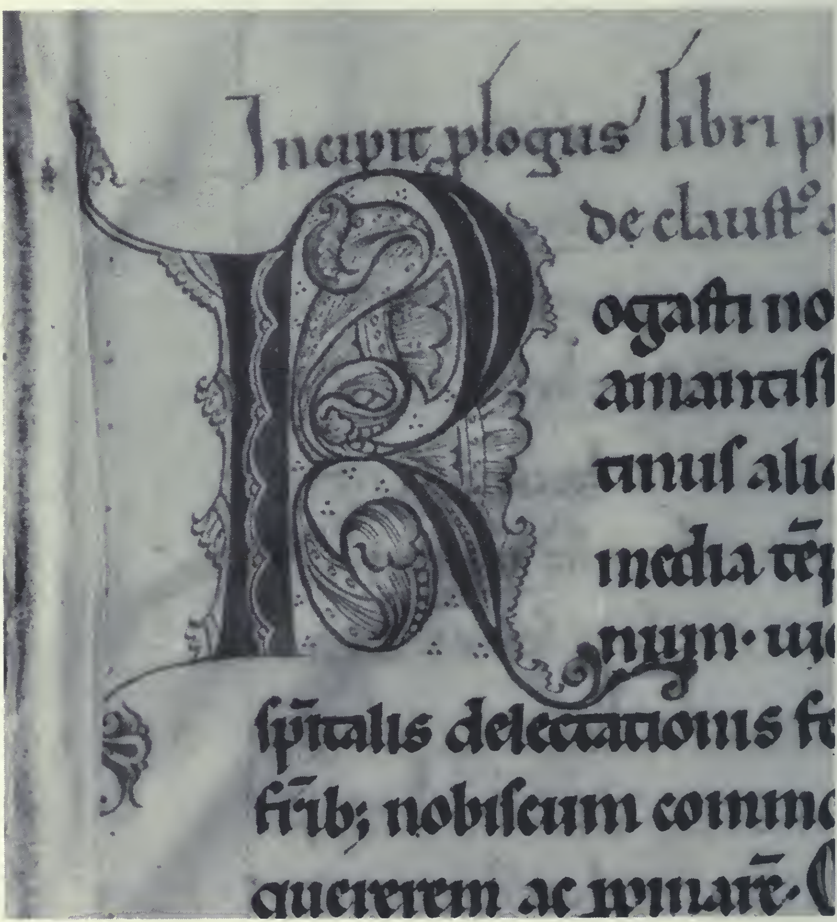


Fig. E. Aberdeen Bestiary (Aviary), Minor initials with spray (Aberdeen, Univ. Lib. 24, fol. 29v)



Incipit plogus libri p

de claustͦ

Rogasti no

amantiſ

tanuſ ali

in media tẽp

nium· ui

ſpītalis delectationis fe

fr̄ib; nobiſcum comme

quererem ac ruminarẽ·

Fig. F. Clairvaux Aviary, "R" for chap. 1 of *De claustro animae* (Troyes, Bibl. Mun. 177, fol. 1)

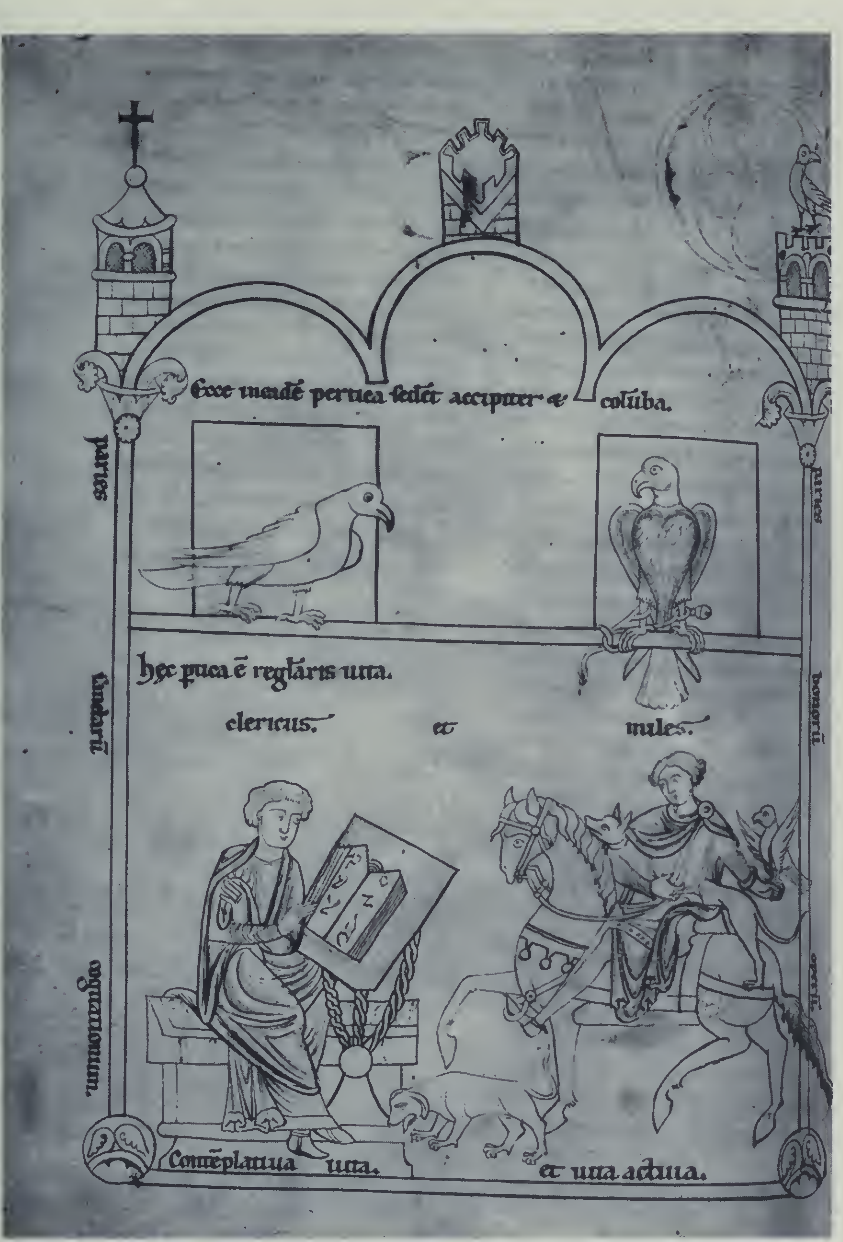

Ecce in eadē pertica sedēt accipiter et columba.
paries
sanctarū
cogitationum.
paries
bonorū
operū.
hec pertica ē regularis uita.
clericus. et miles.
Contēplatiua uita.
et uita actiua.

Fig. 1a. Heiligenkreuz Aviary, Prologue miniature
(Heiligenkreuz Abbey 226, fol. 129v)

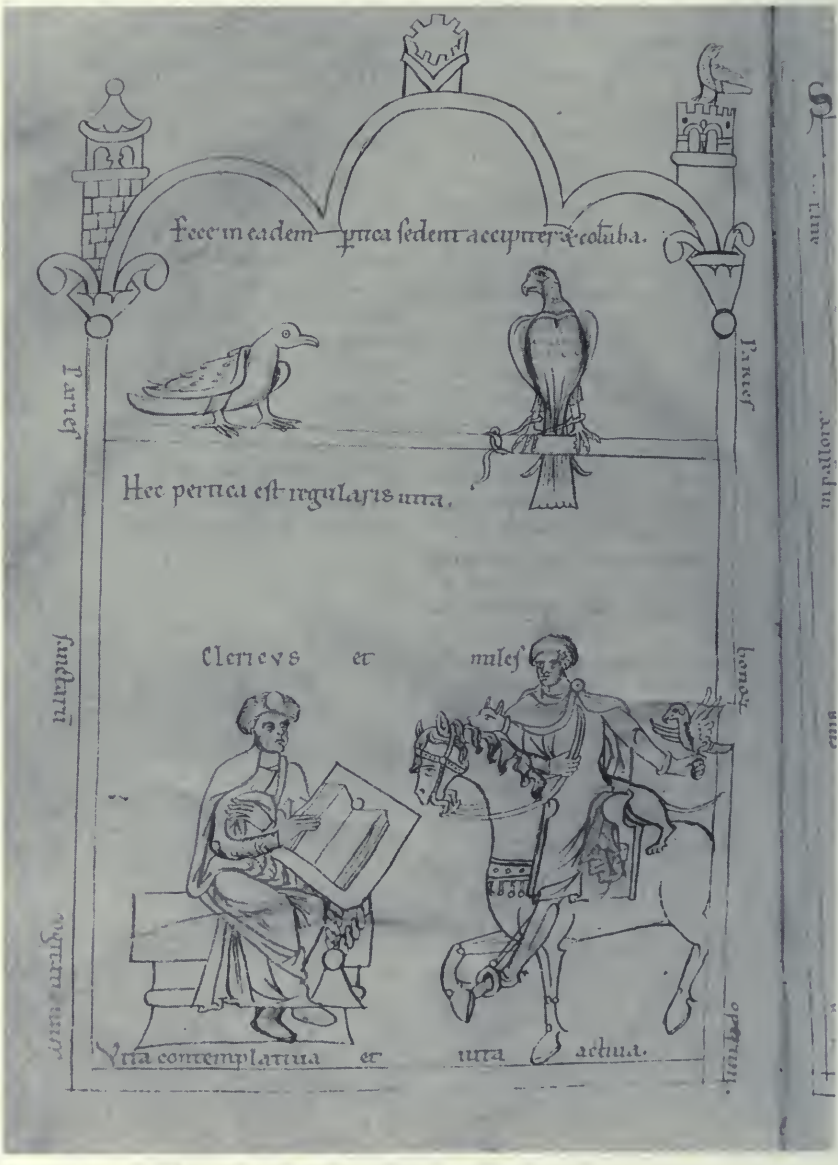
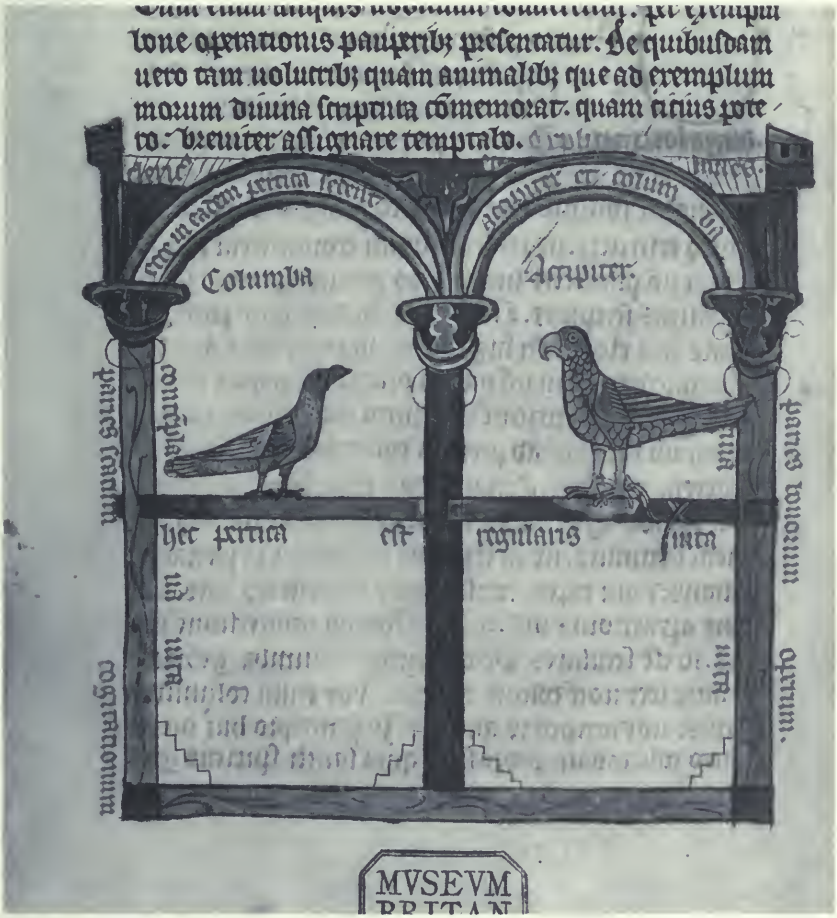

Ecce in eadem pertica sedent accipiter et columba.
Paries
Paries
Hec pertica est regularis vita.
Clericus et miles
Vita contemplativa et vita activa.

Fig. 1b. Zwettl Aviary, Prologue miniature (Zwettl Abbey 253, fol. 145v)



lone operationis pauperibȝ presentatur. De quibusdam
uero tam uolucribȝ quam animalibȝ que ad exemplum
morum diuina scriptura cōmemorat. quam citius pote
ro. breuiter assignare temptabo.

Columba
Accipiter
hec pertica est regularis uita

Fig. 1c. Sloane Aviary, Prologue miniature
(London, BL Sloane 278, fol. 1v)

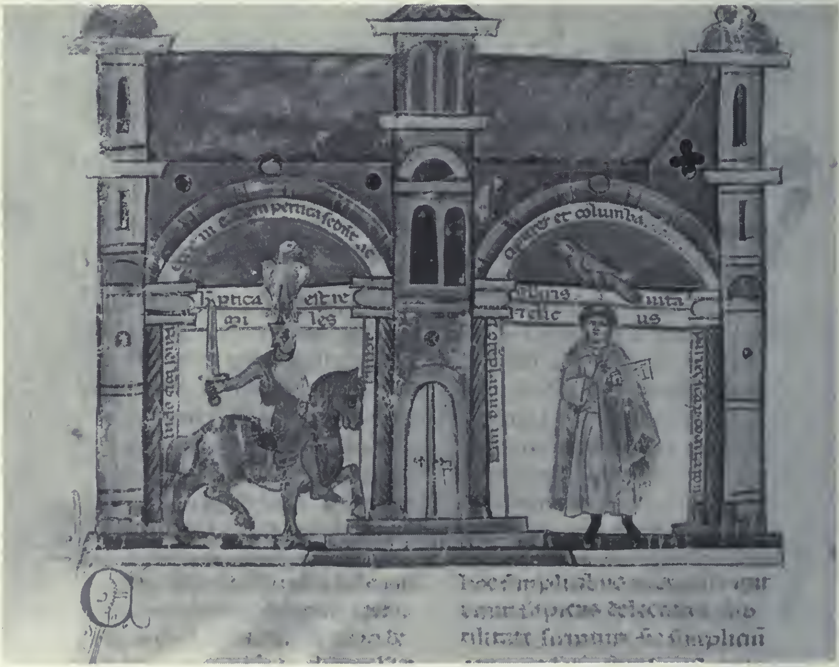

et columba
ptica
est re
mi
les
uita
us

Fig. 1d. Lyell Aviary, Prologue miniature
(Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Lyell 71, fol. 3v)

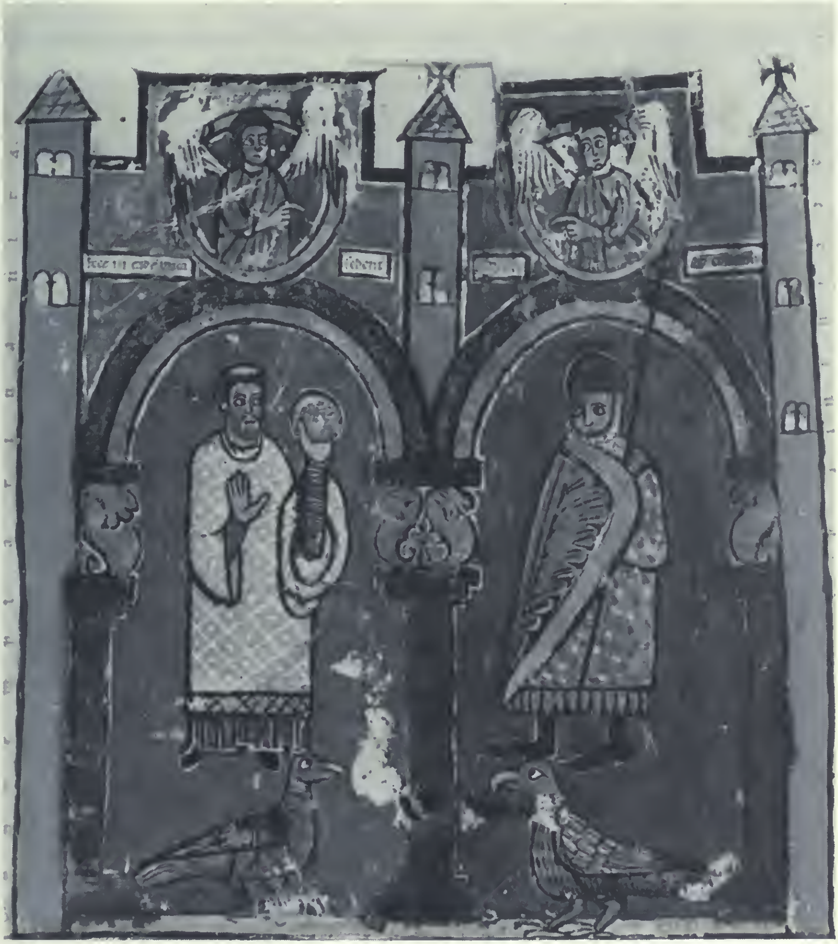
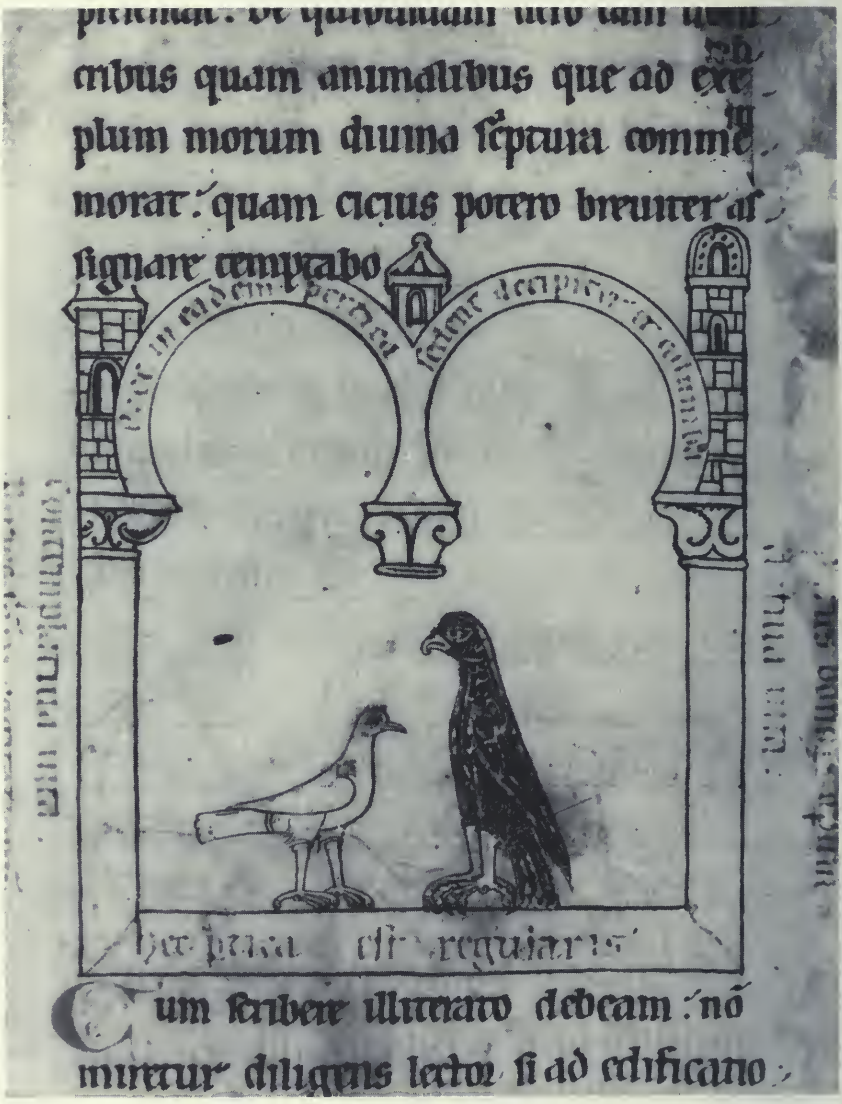


Fig. 1e. Cremona Aviary, Prologue miniature
(Cremona, Bibl. Stat. Gov. 199, fol. 1v)



uibus quam animalibus que ad exe-
plum morum diuina ſcriptura comme-
morat: quam cicius potero breuiter aſ-
ſignare temptabo

Hec in eadem pertica sedent accipiter et columba
hec pertica est regularis

Cum ſcribere illiterato debeam: non
miretur diligens lector ſi ad edificatio-

Fig. 1f. Lorvão Aviary, Prologue miniature
(Lisbon, Arq. Nac. Torre do Tombo 90, fol. 2)

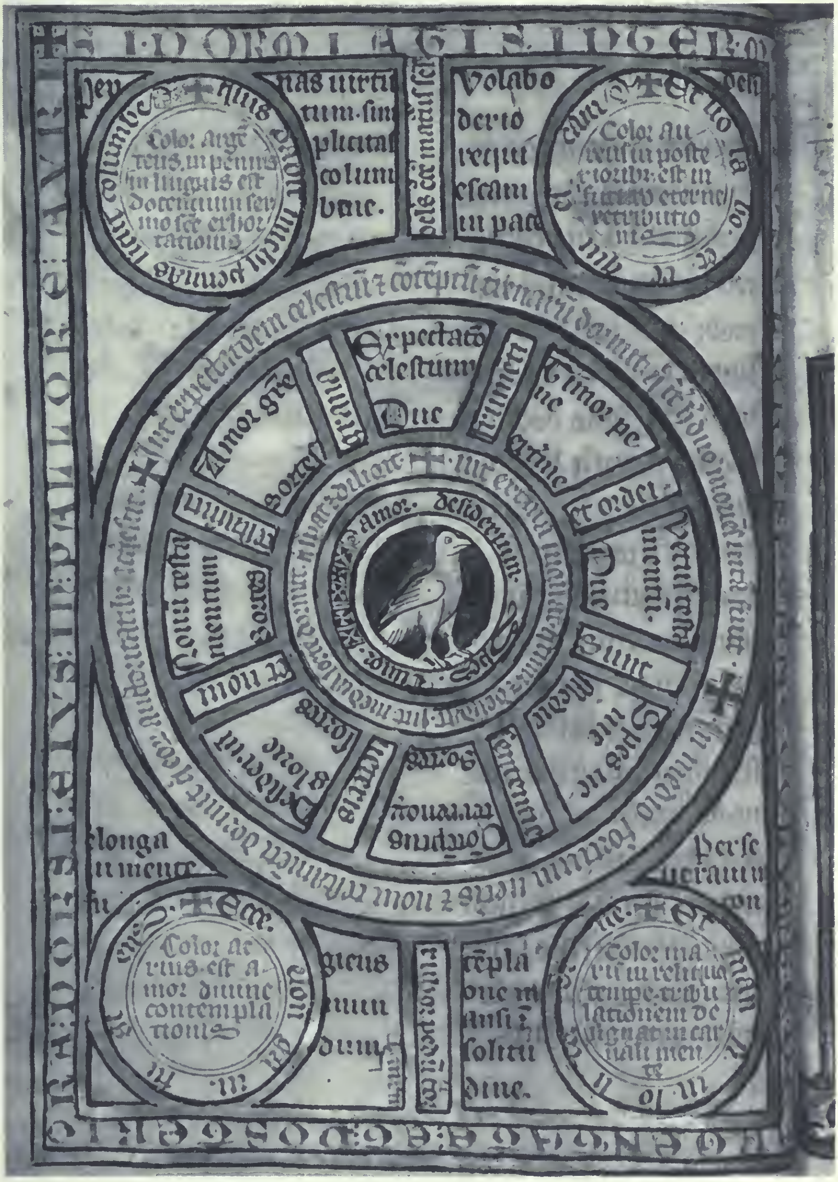

Volabo
Expectacio celestium
Timor pene
Amor gre
Color aureus in poste
Color aerius est amor divine contemplationis
Perse veranti

Fig. 2. Gloucester Aviary, Dove diagram
(Getty Museum XV,4, fol. 2v)

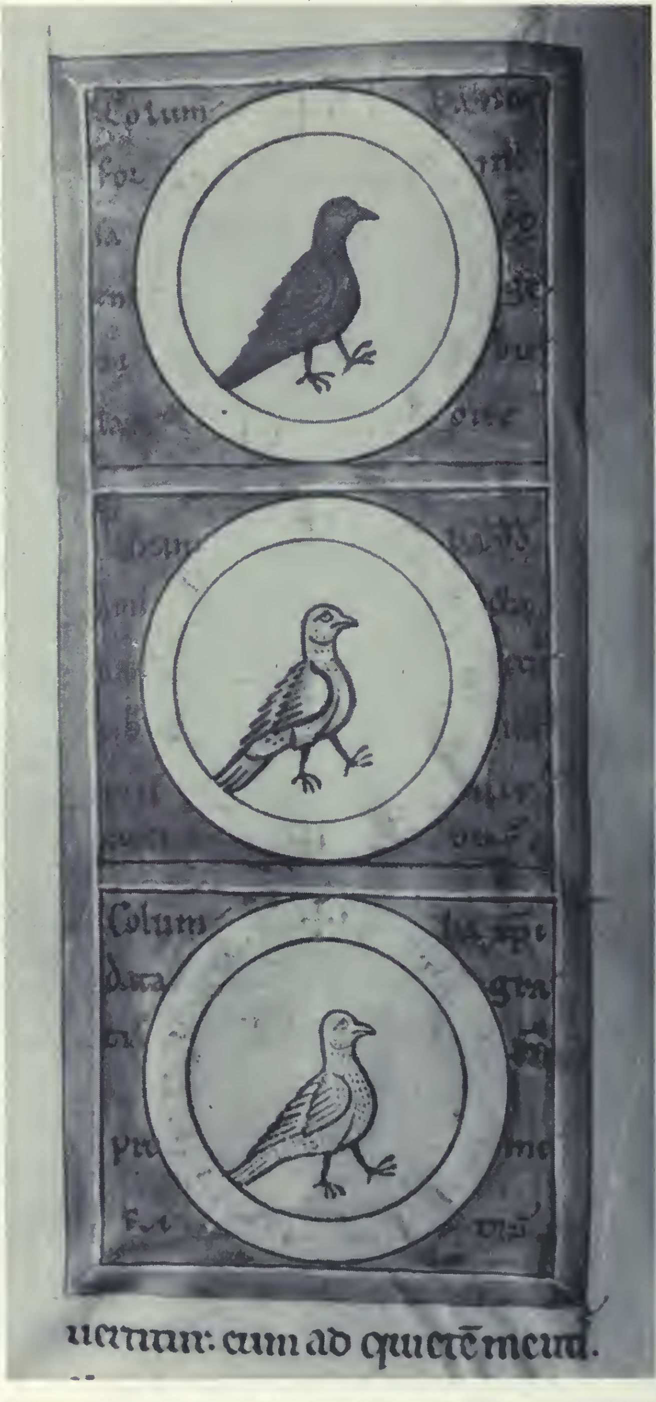
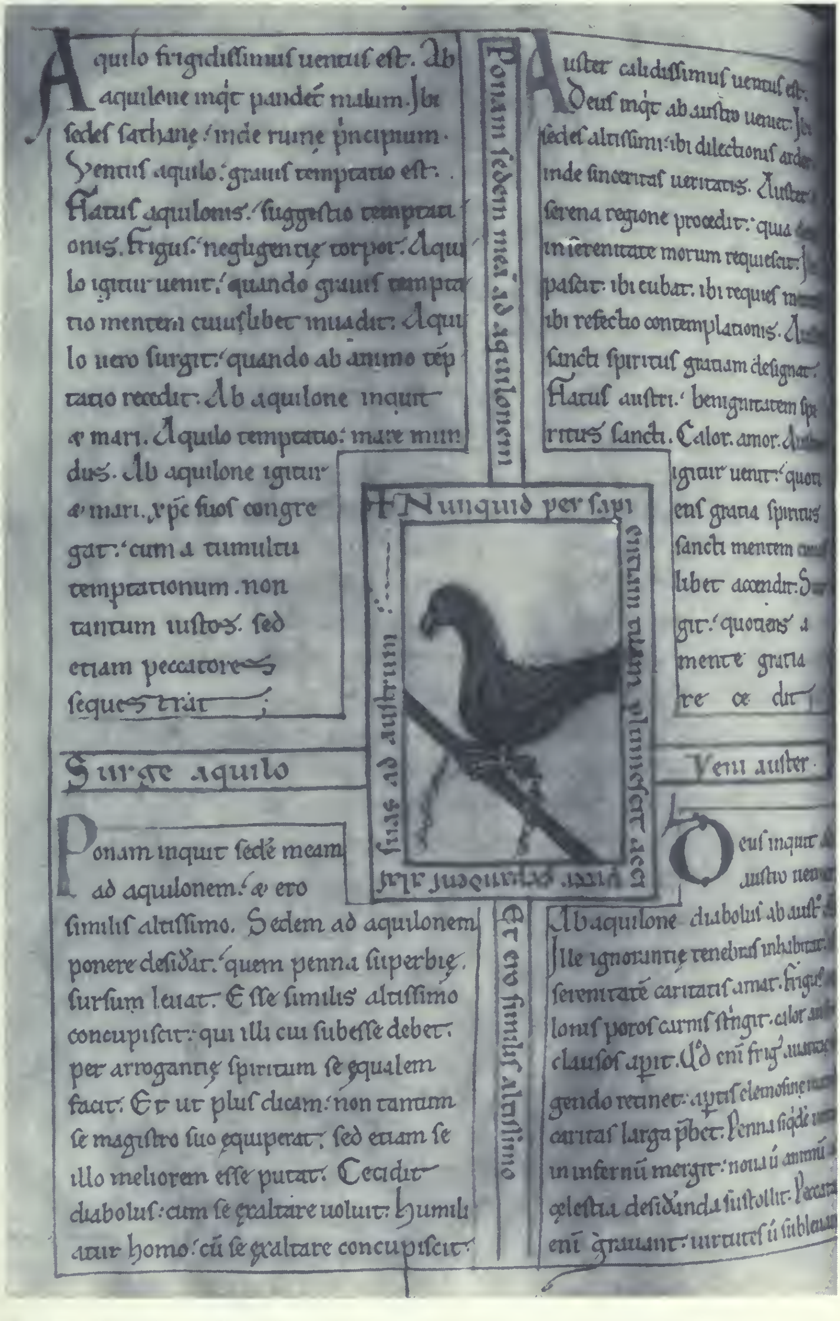

Colum
Colum
ueniam: cum ad quietē meam.

Fig. 3. Ter Duinen Aviary, Three Doves (Bruges, Episc. Sem. 89/54, p. 30)



Aquilo frigidiſſimuſ uentuſ eſt. Ab aquilone inq̇t pandet malum. Ibi ſedeſ ſathane; inde ruine principium. Ventuſ aquilo; grauiſ temptatio eſt. Flatuſ aquilonis; ſuggeſtio temptationis. Frigus; negligentie torpor. Aquilo igitur uenit; quando grauiſ temptatio mentem cuiuſlibet inuadit. Aquilo uero ſurgit; quando ab animo temptatio recedit. Ab aquilone inquit et mari. Aquilo temptatio; mare mundus. Ab aquilone igitur et mari, xp̄c ſuoſ congregat; cum a tumultu temptationum. non tantum iuſtos. ſed etiam peccatores ſequeſtrat;

Ponam ſedem meã ad aquilonem

Auſter calidiſſimuſ uentuſ eſt. Deuſ inq̇t ab auſtro ueniet. Ibi ſedeſ altiſſimi; ibi dilectioniſ ardo

inde ſinceritaſ ueritatis. Auſter

ſerena regione procedit; quia

in ſerenitate morum requieſcit.

paſcit. ibi cubat. ibi requieſ

ibi refectio contemplationis.

ſancti ſpirituſ gratiam deſignat.

Flatuſ auſtri; benignitatem ſpiritus ſancti. Calor. amor.

igitur uenit; quoti

euſ gratia ſpiritus ſancti mentem

libet accendit.

git; quotienſ a mente gratia re ce dit;

Nunquid per ſapientiam tuam plumeſcit accipiter expandenſ alaſ ſuaſ ad auſtrum ;

Surge aquilo

Veni auſter.

Ponam inquit ſedẽ meam ad aquilonem; et ero ſimiliſ altiſſimo. Sedem ad aquilonem ponere deſiderat; quem penna ſuperbie ſurſum leuat. Eſſe ſimilis altiſſimo concupiſcit; qui illi cui ſubeſſe debet. per arrogantie ſpiritum ſe equalem facit. Et ut pluſ dicam; non tantum ſe magiſtro ſuo equiperat; ſed etiam ſe illo meliorem eſſe putat. Cecidit diabolus; cum ſe exaltare uoluit. Humiliatur homo; cũ ſe exaltare concupiſcit.

Et ero ſimiliſ altiſſimo

Deuſ inquit

auſtro ueni

Ab aquilone diabolus ab auſt

Ille ignorantie tenebraſ inhabitat.

ſerenitatẽ caritatiſ amat. Frigus

loniſ poroſ carniſ ſtringit. calor au

clauſoſ aperit. Quod eni frigus auariti

gendo retinet; aptiſ elemoſine

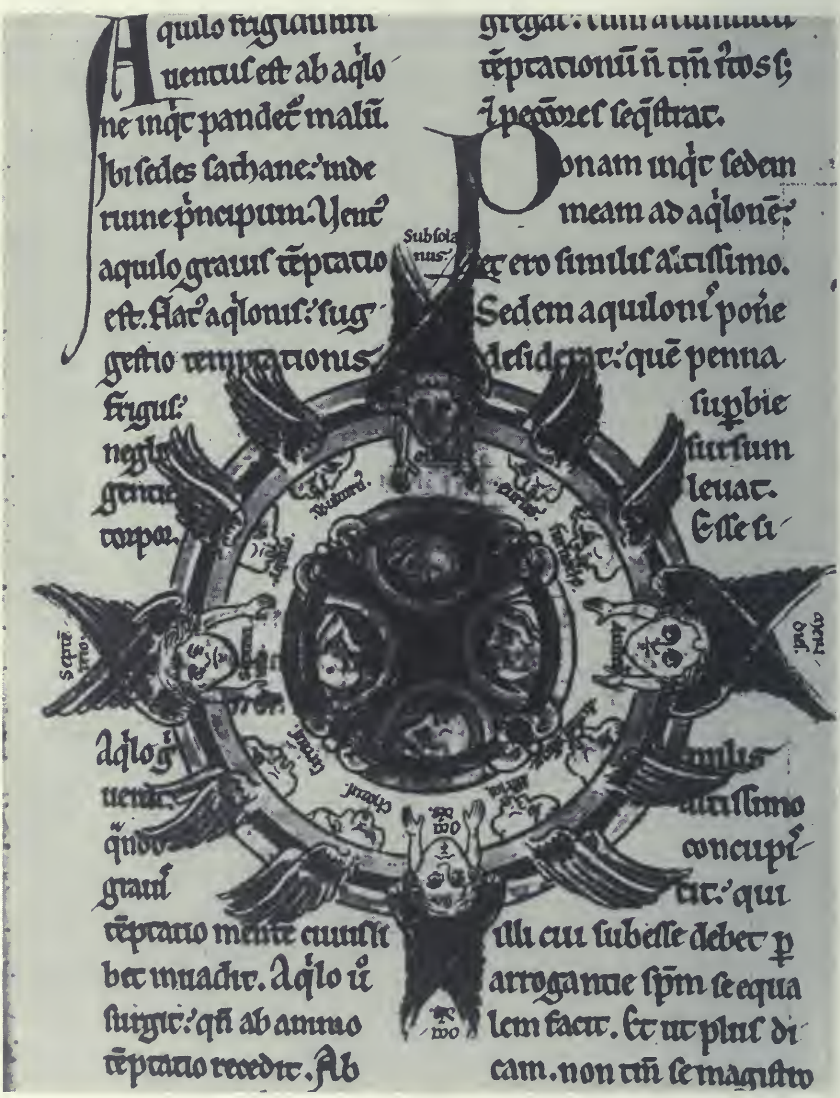
caritaſ larga prebet. Penna ſiquide

in infernũ mergit; noua animũ

celeſtia deſideranda ſuſtollit. Peccata

eni grauant; uirtuteſ uero ſubleuan

Fig. 4a. Anchin Aviary, Hawk diagram (Douai, Bibl. Mun. 370, fol. 105Av)



Aquilo frigidus
uentus est ab aqlo
ne inqt pandet malū.
Ibi sedes sathane: inde
uenit p̄ncipium. Uent⁹
aquilo grauis tēptatio
est. Flat⁹ aqlonis: sug-
gestio temptationis
frigus:
negl
gentie
torpor.

Aqlo g
uent
q̄n
grauis
tēptatio mentē cuiuslibet
inuadit. Aqlo u̾
surgit: qn̄ ab animo
tēptatio recedit. Ab

gregat: cum a multitudine
tēptationū n̄ tm̄ reos s;
& peccatores seqstrat.

Ponam inqt sedem
meam ad aqlonē:
& ero similis altissimo.
Sedem aquiloni ponere
desiderat: quē penna
superbie
sursum
leuat.
Esse si-

milis
altissimo
concupi-
scit: qui
illi cui subesse debet p
arrogantie spm̄ se equa
lem facit. Et ut plus di-
cam. non tm̄ se magistro

Fig. 4b. Bodley 602 Aviary, Winds diagram
(Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Bodley 602, fol. 42)

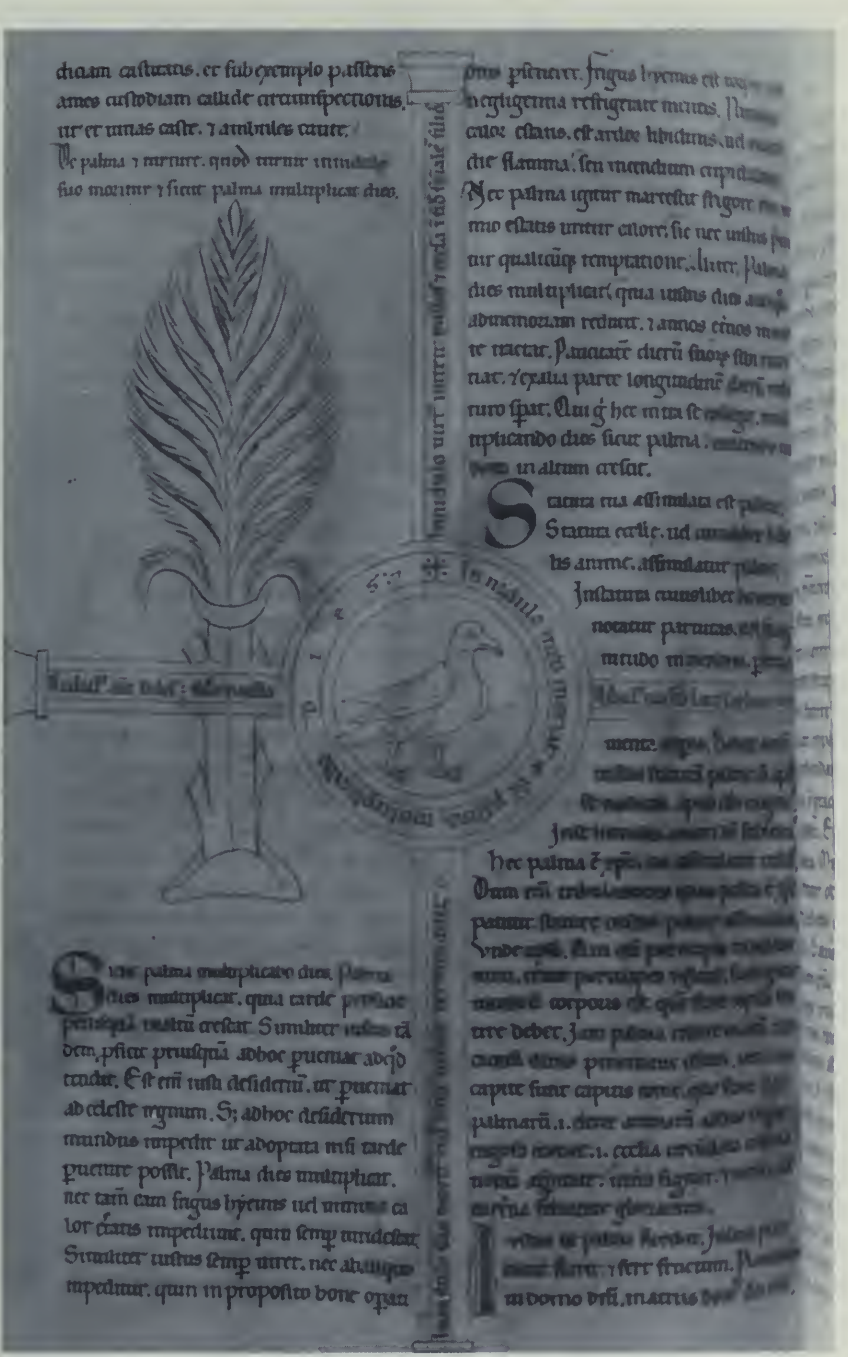


Fig. 5. Heiligenkreuz Aviary, Palm and Turtledove diagram
(Heiligenkreuz Abbey 226, fol. 133v)

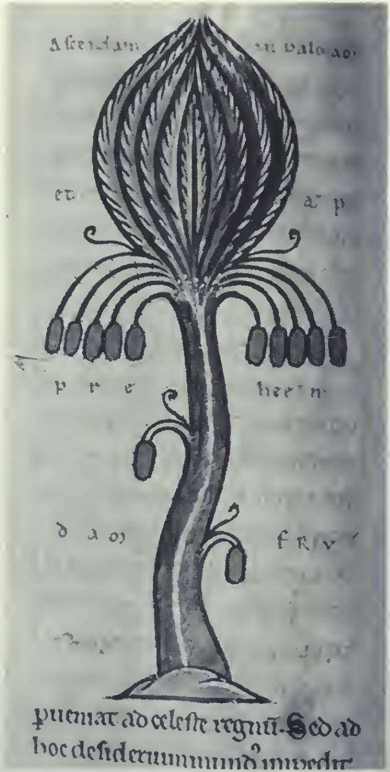

puenia ad celeste regnū. Sed ad
hoc desiderium mundi impedit

Fig. 6a. Ter Duinen Aviary, Palm
(Bruges, Episc. Sem. 89/54, p. 41)

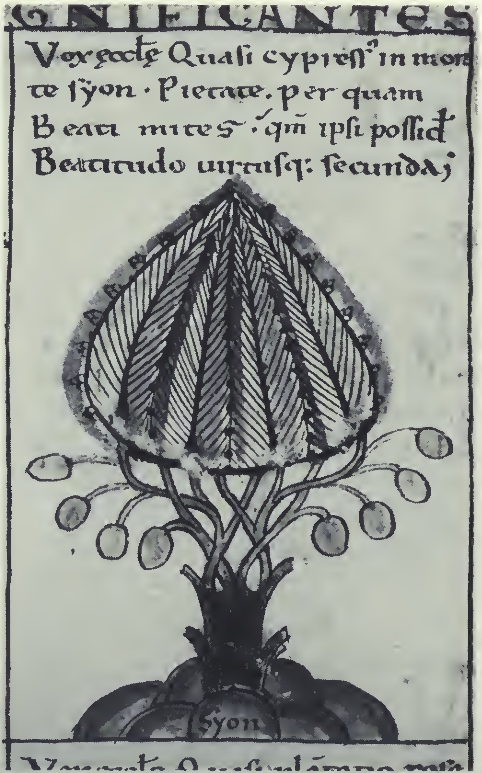

Vox ecclē Quasi cypress' in mon
te syon. Pietate. per quam
Beati mites. qm̄ ipsi possid
Beatitudo uirtusq: secunda;
syon

Fig. 6b. Lambert of St. Omer, *Liber floridus*, Cypress
(Ghent, Univ. Lib. 92, fol. 139v)

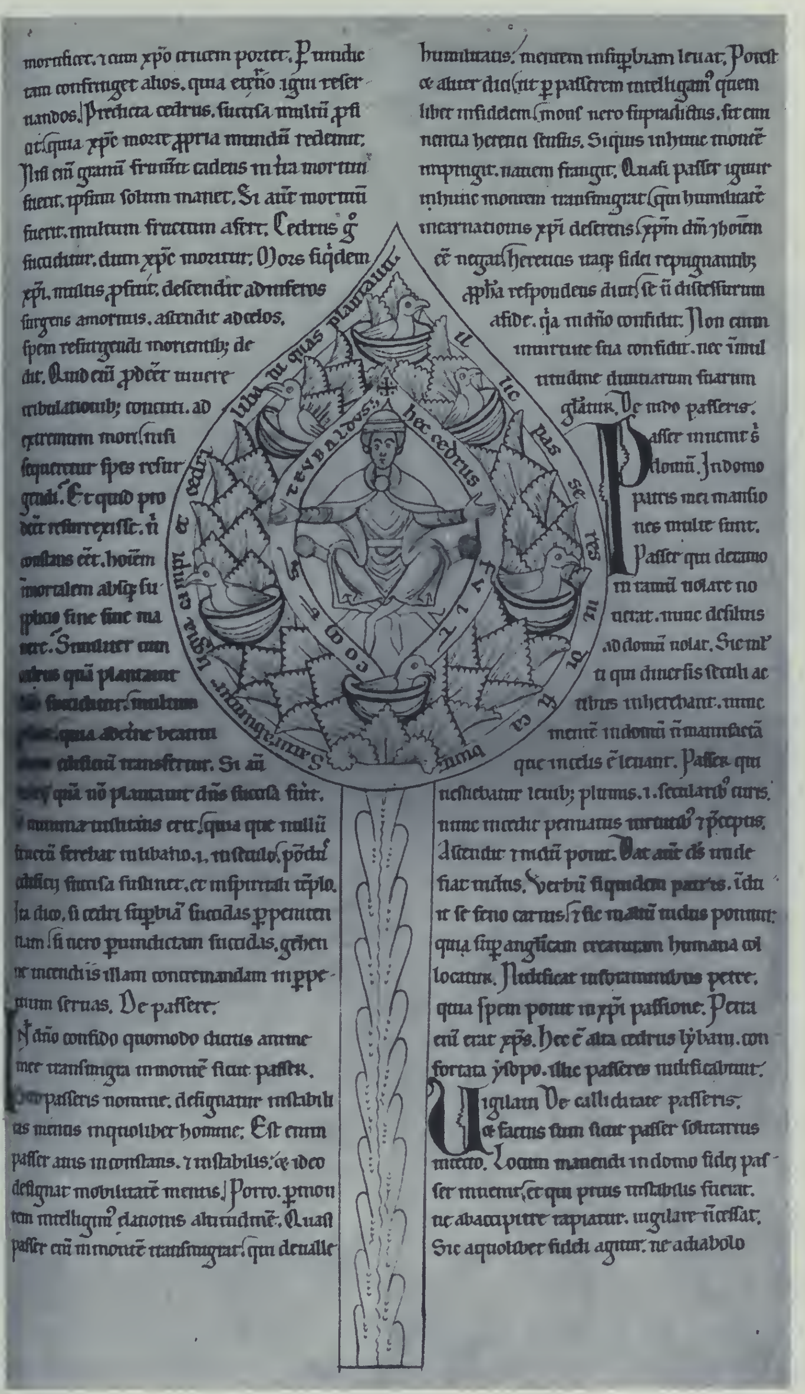
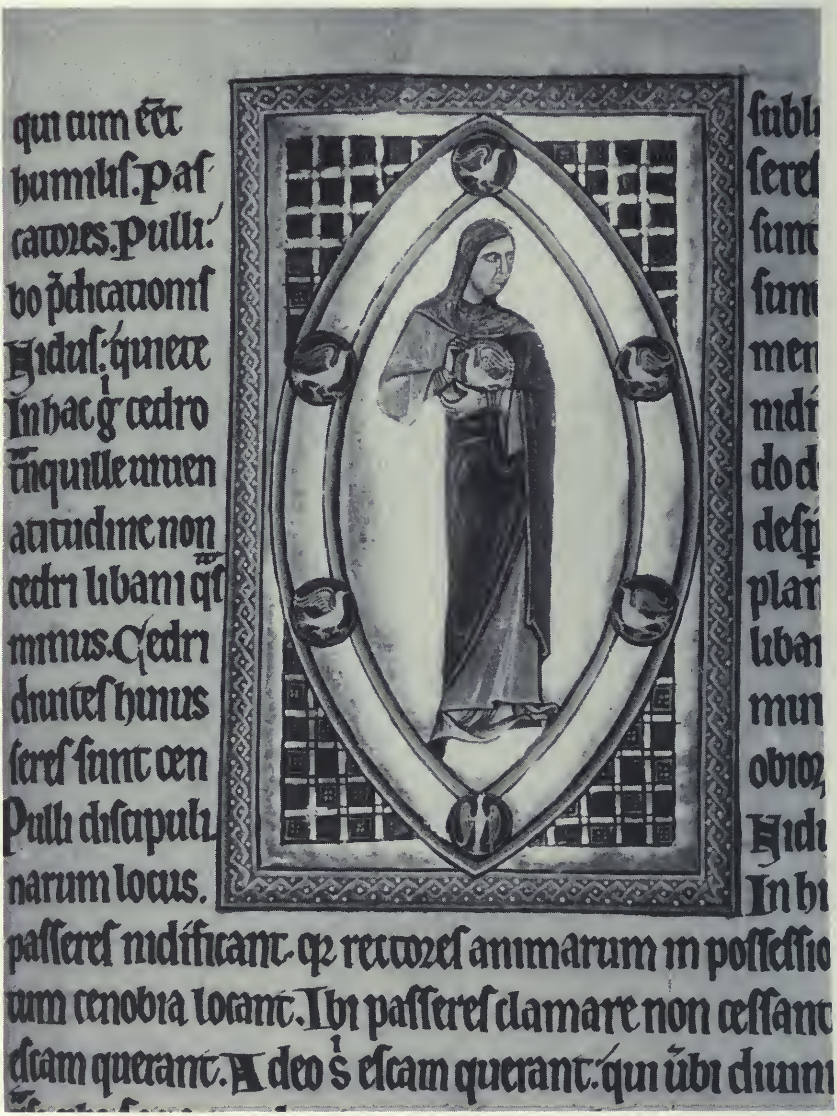


Fig. 7a. Heiligenkreuz Aviary, Cedar (Heiligenkreuz Abbey 226, fol. 135)



qui cum ēēt
humiliſ. Paſ
catores. Pulli:
vo p̄dicationiſ
Nidus: quiete
In hac gͥ cedro
t̃nquille conuen
atitudine non
cedri libani q̄
minus. Cedri
diuiteſ huius
ſereſ ſunt cen
Pulli diſcipuli
narum locus.

ſubl
ſere
ſum
ſum
men
nidi
dod
deſp
plan
liba
mun
obio
Nidu
In h

paſſereſ nidificant. qꝛ rectoreſ animarum in poſſeſſio
tum cenobia locant. Ibi paſſereſ clamare non ceſſant
eſcam querant. A deo ſͥ eſcam querant: qui ūbi diuini

Fig. 7b. Aberdeen Bestiary (Aviary), Cedar (Aberdeen, Univ. Lib. 24, fol. 34)

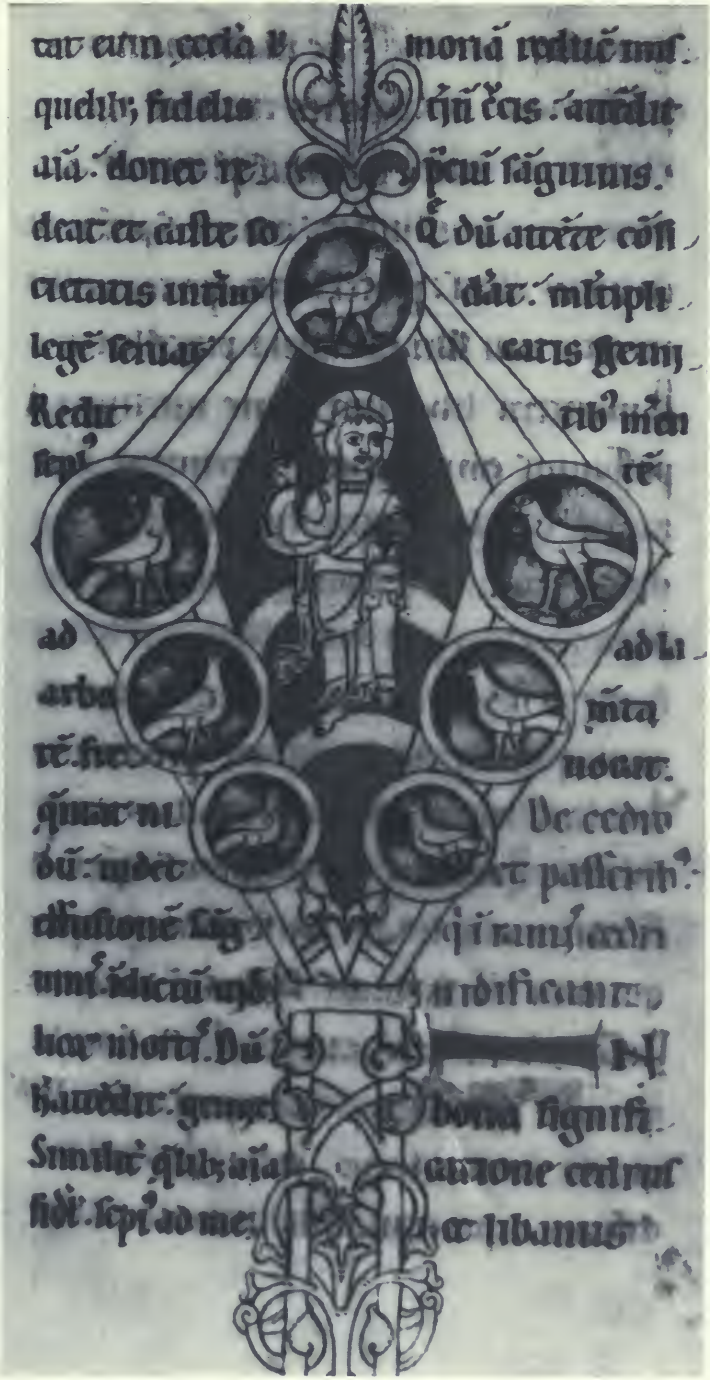


Fig. 7c. Lorvão Aviary, Cedar (Lisbon, Arq. Nac. Torre do Tombo 90, fol. 21)

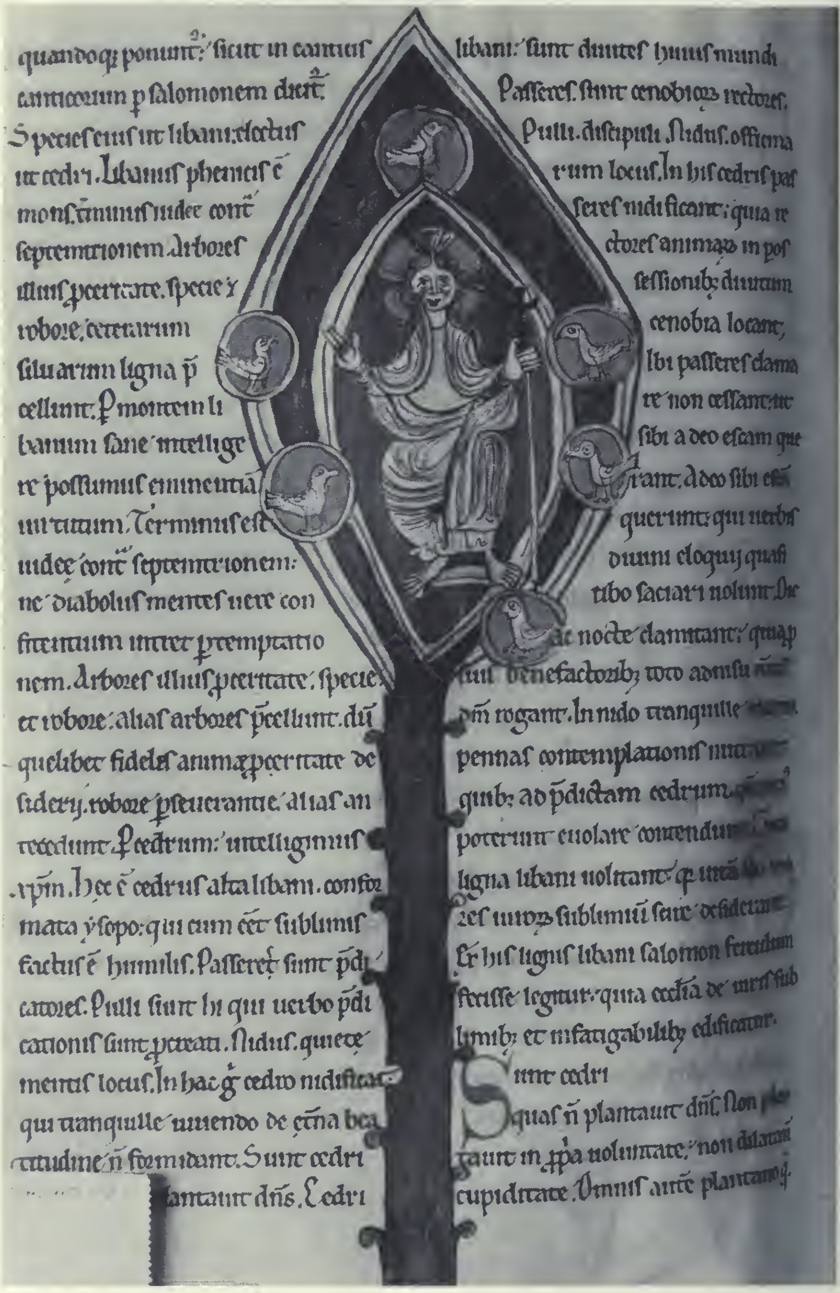


Fig. 7d. Clairvaux Aviary, Cedar (Troyes, Bibl. Mun. 177, fol. 142v)

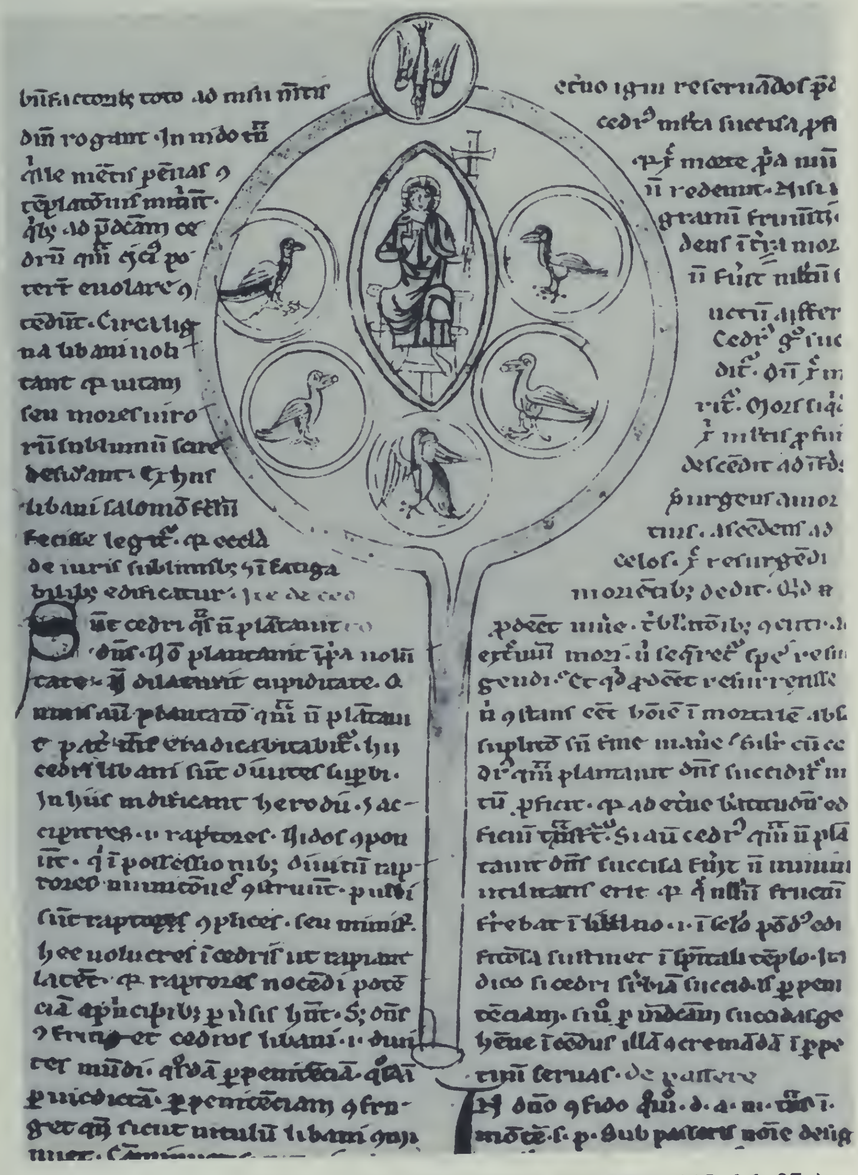
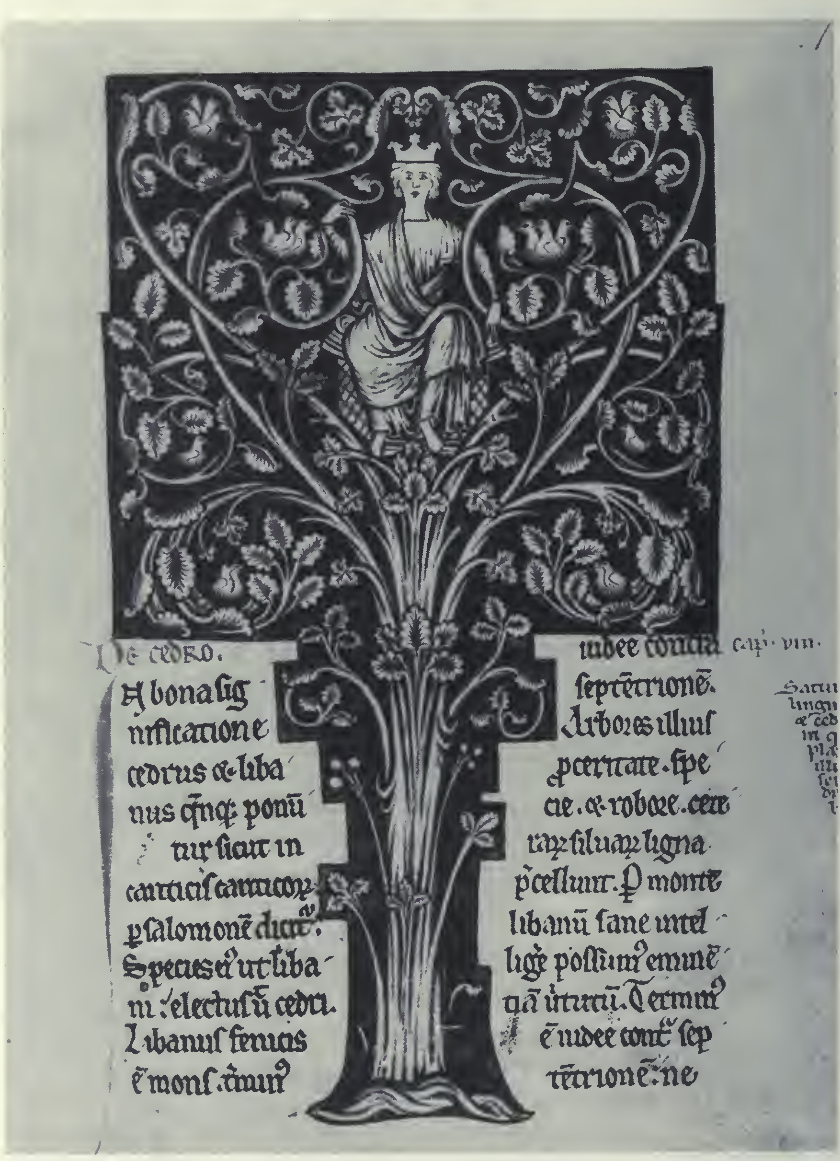


Fig. 7e. Bordeaux Aviary, Cedar (Bordeaux, Bibl. Mun. 995, fol. 67v)



De cedro.

N bona ſig
nificatione
cedrus ⁊ liba
nus q̄nq; ponū
tur ſicut in
canticis canticoꝝ
p ſalomonē dicit̄.
Species eꝰ ut liba
ni : electus ut cedri.
Libanuſ fenicis
ē monſ. dictꝰ
iudee confinia. cap. viii.
ſeptētrionē.
Arbores illiuſ
ꝓceritate. ſpe
cie. ⁊ robore. cete
raꝝ ſilvaꝝ ligna
p̄cellunt. P̄ monte
libanū ſane intel
ligere poſſumꝰ eminē
tiā virtutū. Terminꝰ
ē iudee contra ſep
tentrionē: ne

Satu
lingu
⁊ ced
in q
pla
illi
fe
dr

Fig. 7f. Dubrowsky I Aviary, Cedar
(Leningrad, Gos. Publ. Bibl. lat. Q.v.I,131, fol. 36)

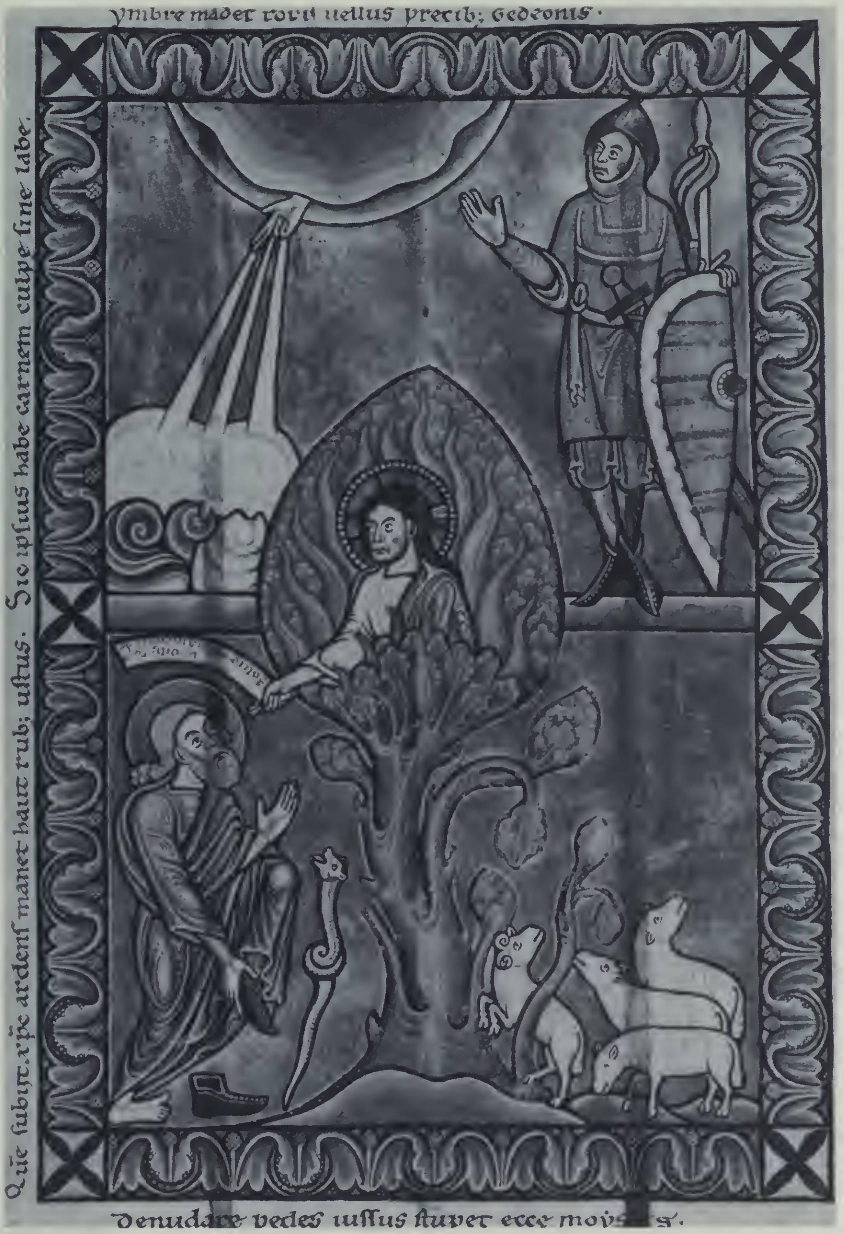

ymbre madet totu uellus precib; Gedeonis·
Que subitt. xpe ardens manet haut rub; ustus. Sic ipsius habe carnem culpe sine labe.
Denudare pedes iussus stupet ecce moys s.

Fig. 8. Averbode Gospels, God appearing in the Burning Bush
(Liège, Univ. Lib. 363, fol. 16v)

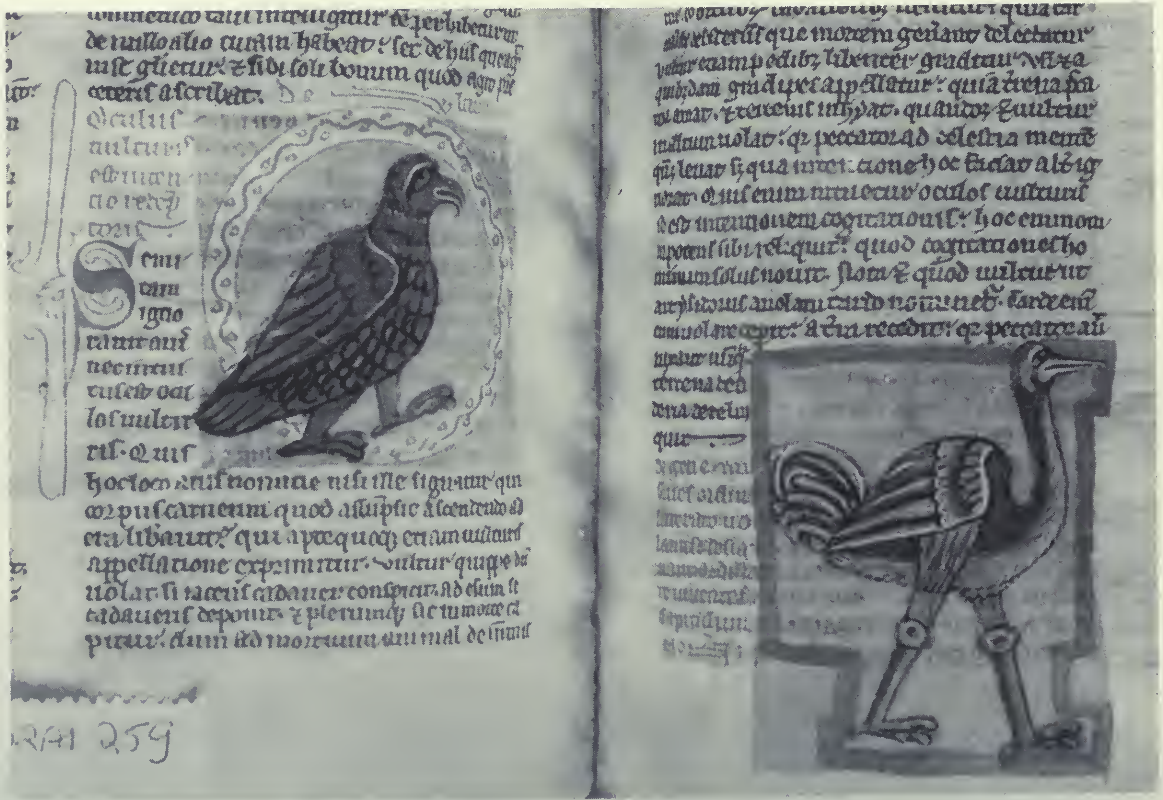


Fig. 9a. Cambrai Aviary, Vulture and Ostrich (Cambrai, Bibl. Mun. 259, fol. 198)

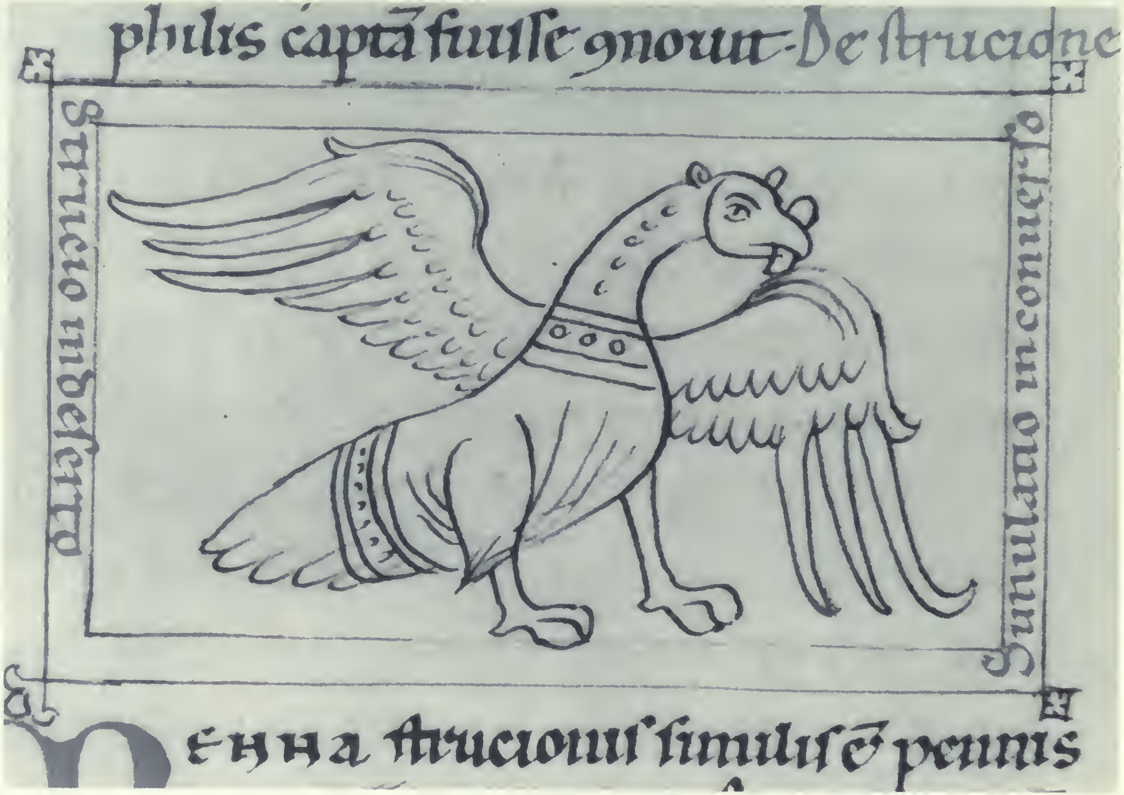
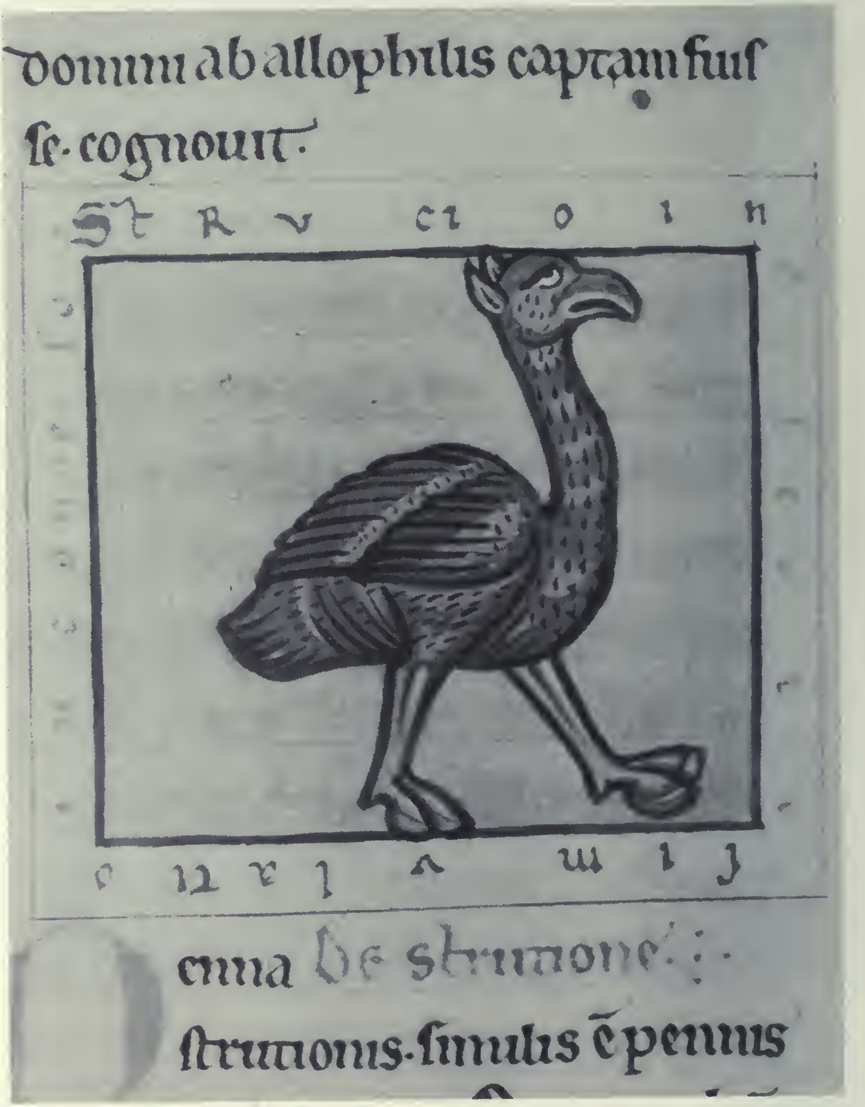

phylis captã fuisse gnouit. De strucione
Strucio in deserto
Simulatio in conuers'o
ENNA strucionis similis ē pennis

Fig. 9b. Zwettl Aviary, Ostrich (Zwettl Abbey 253, fol. 155v)

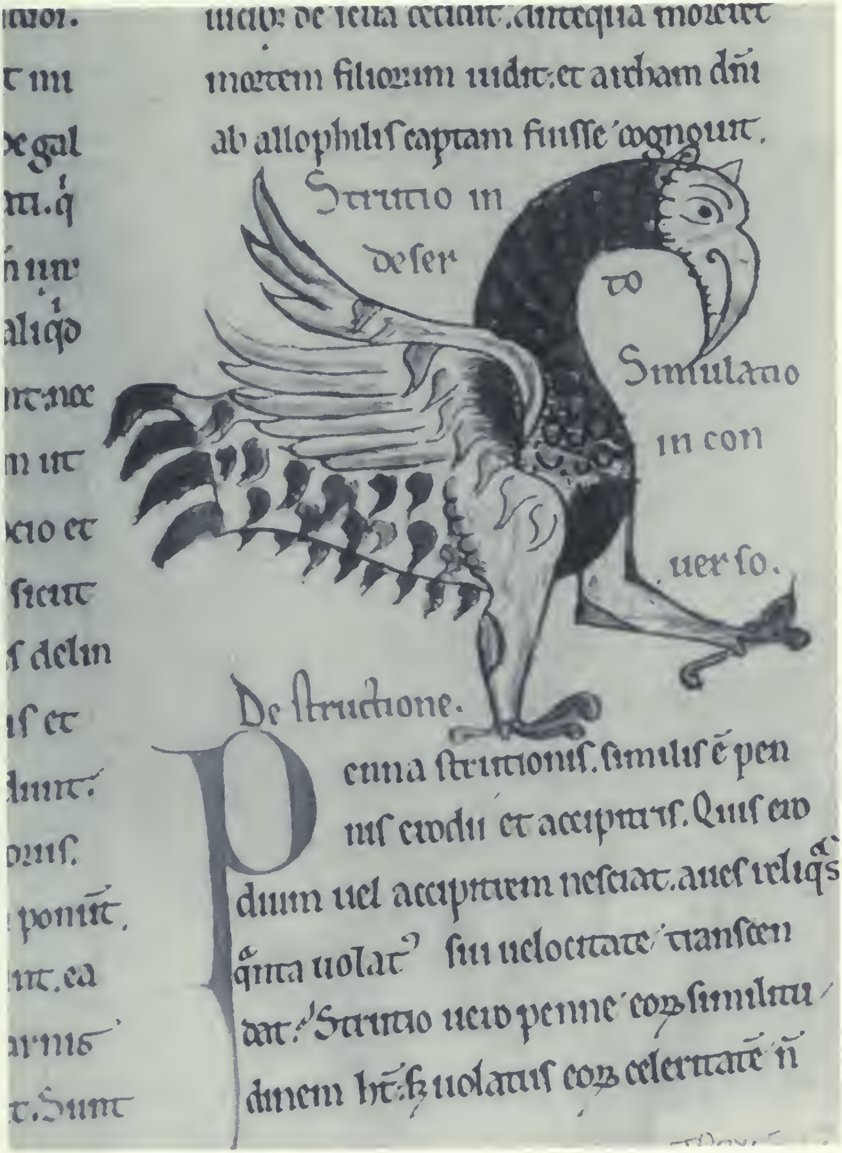


domini ab allophilis captam fuis
se· cognouit·

cina De strucione. :·

strucionis· similis ē pennis

Fig. 9c. Ter Duinen Aviary, Ostrich (Bruges, Episc. Sem. 89/54, p. 58)



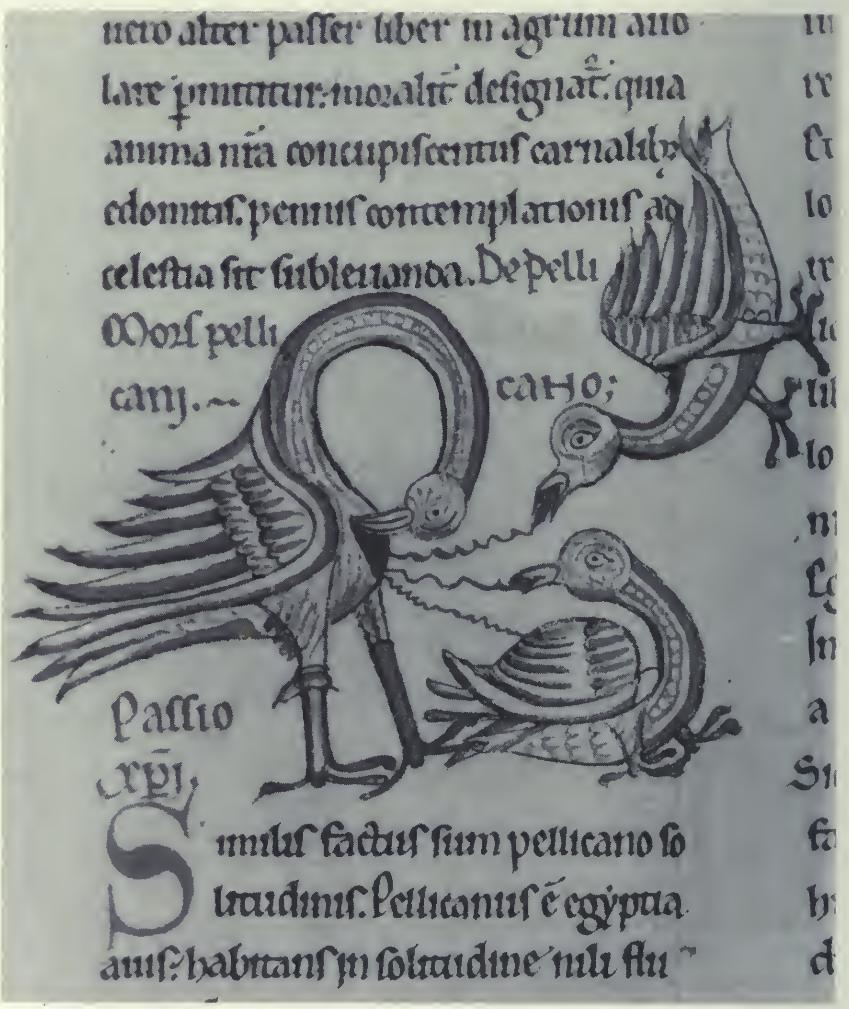
ntuoi.
t in
xe gal
ni. q
n iui
aliqd
nt: nec
m in
xio et
sicut
s delin
is et
dunt.
oius.
ponut.
nt. ea
arns
t. Sunt

uicu: de sella cecidit. antequa moreret
mortem filiorum uidit. et archam dñi
ab allophilis captam fuisse cognouit.

De strutione.

Penna strutionis. similis ẽ pennis erodii et accipitris. Quis erodium uel accipitrem nesciat. aues reliqs quanta uolat' sui uelocitate transcendat. Strutio uero penne eorum similitudinem ht. sz uolatus eorum celeritatẽ n

Fig. 9d. Clairvaux Aviary, Ostrich (Troyes, Bibl. Mun. 177, fol. 148)



uero alter paſſer liber in agrum auo
lare ꝑmittitur: moralit̃ designat̃. quia
anima nr̃a concupiſcentiiſ carnalib;
edomitiſ. pennis contemplationiſ ad
celeſtia ſit ſubleuanda. De Pelli
Mors pelli
cani. — cano;

Paſſio
xp̄i.

Similiſ factuſ ſum pellicano ſo
litudiniſ. Pellicanuſ ē egyptia
auiſ: habitanſ in ſolitudine nili flu

Fig. 10a. Clairvaux Aviary, Pelican (Troyes, Bibl. Mun. 177, fol. 144v)

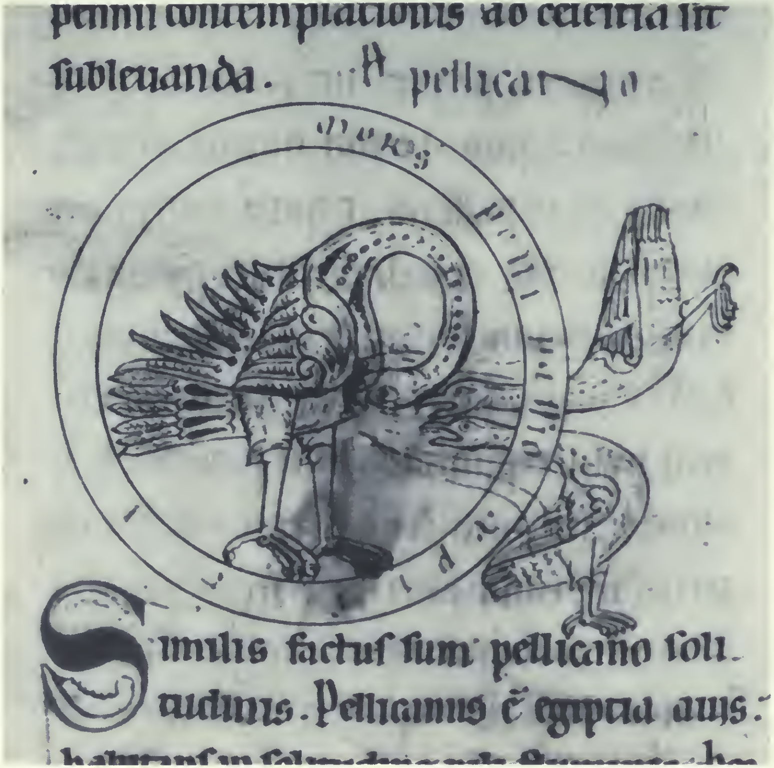


Fig. 10b. Lorvão Aviary, Pelican
(Lisbon, Arq. Nac. Torre do Tombo 90, fol. 26v)

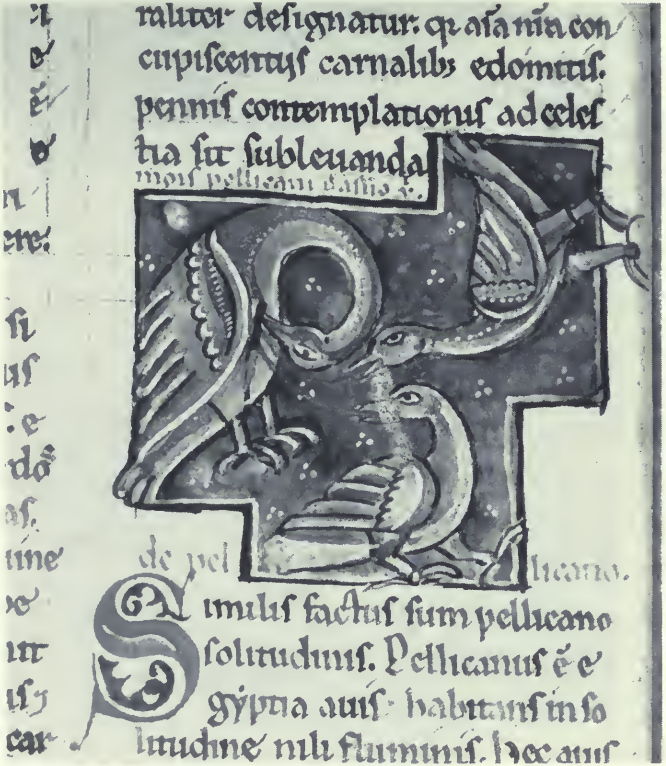
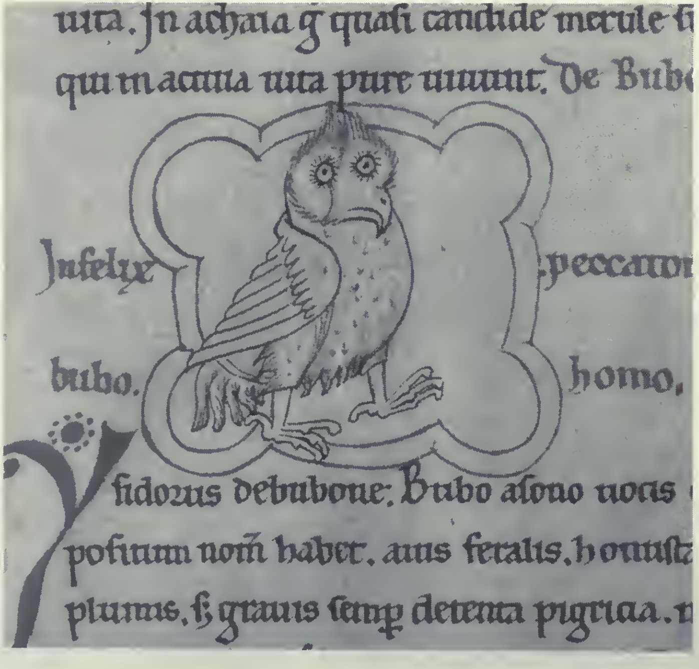
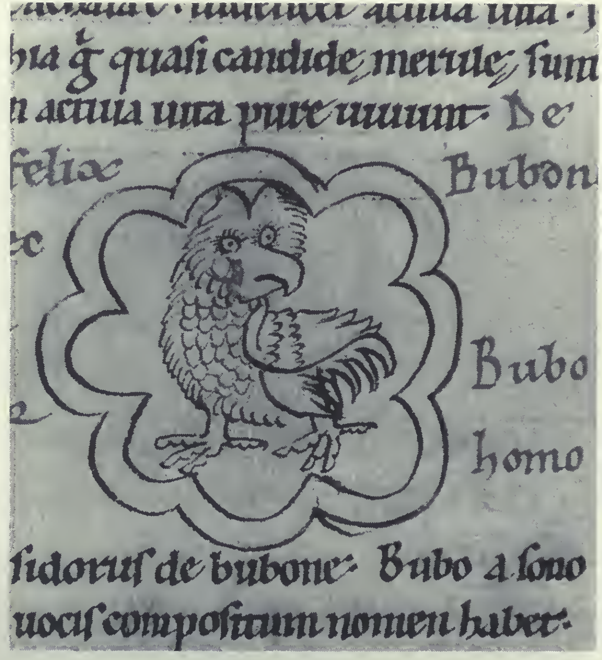


Fig. 10c. Avignon Aviary, Pelican
(Paris, BN lat. 2495, fol. 12v)



uita. In achaia ğ quaſi candide merule
qui in actiua uita pure uiuunt. De Bub
Infelix
peccato
bubo.
homo,
Yſidorus de bubone. Bubo a ſono uocis
poſitum nom̄ habet. auis feralis, honuſt
plumis, ſ; grauis ſemꝑ detenta pigricia.

Fig. 11. Heiligenkreuz Aviary, Owl
(Heiligenkreuz Abbey 226, fol. 141v)



bia ğ quaſi candide merule ſum
n actiua uita pure uiuunt. De
felix
Bubon
Bubo
homo
ſidoruſ de bubone. Bubo a ſono
uociſ compoſitum nomen habet.

Fig. 12. Zwettl Aviary, Owl
(Zwettl Abbey MS 253, fol. 159v)

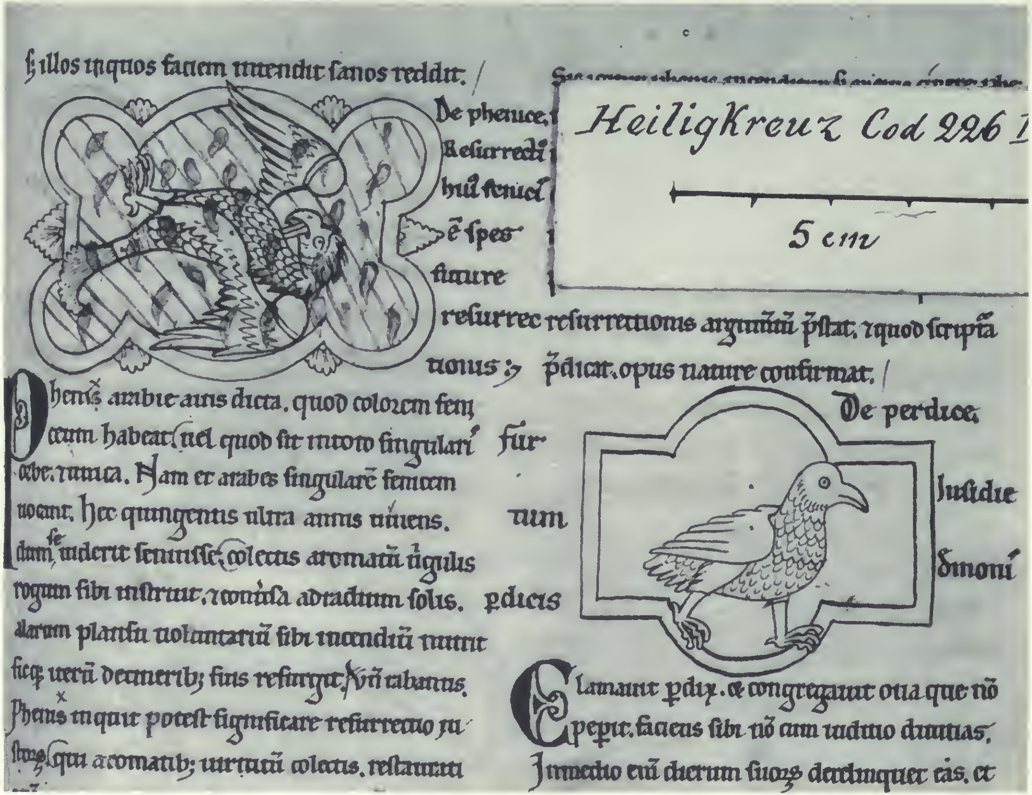

Heiligkreuz Cod 226
5 cm

Fig. 13. Heiligenkreuz Aviary, Phoenix and Partridge (Heiligenkreuz Abbey 226, fol. 143)

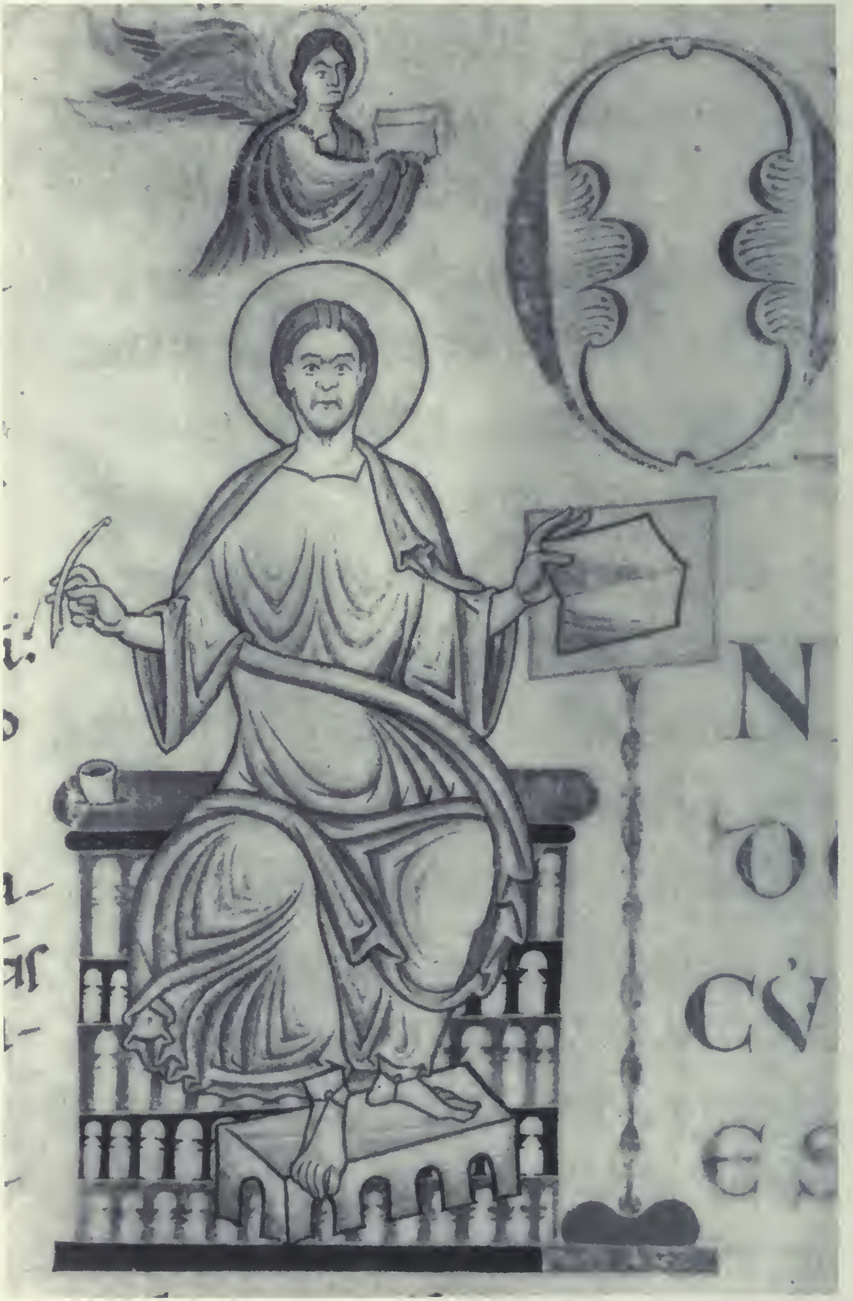


Fig. 14. Cîteaux Legendary, St. Matthew (Dijon, Bibl. Mun. 641, fol. 37)

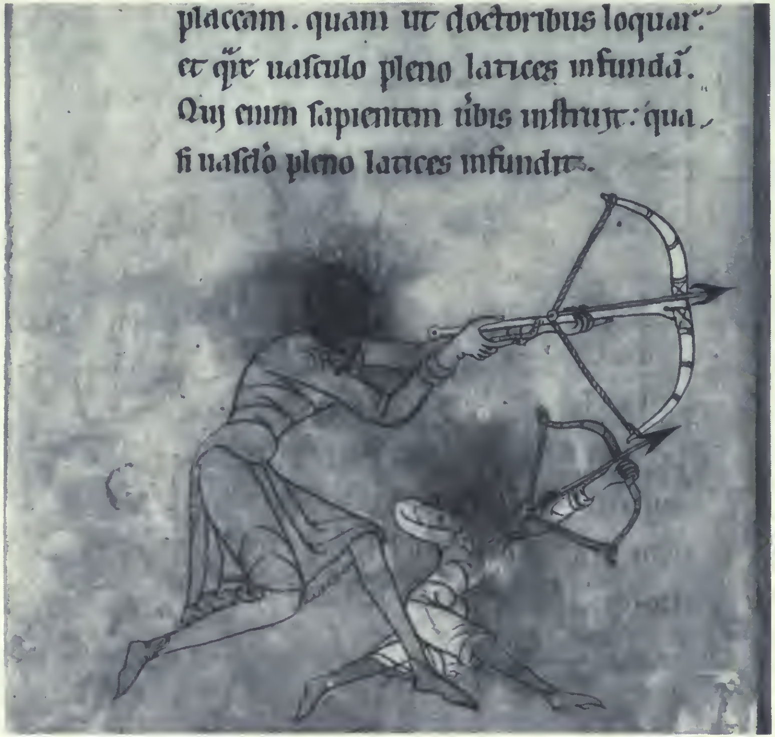

placeam. quam ut doctoribus loquar.
et qui uasculo pleno latices infundā.
Qui cum sapientem ūbis instruit: qua-
si uasclo pleno latices infundit.

Fig. 15a. Lorvão Aviary, Archers
(Lisbon, Arq. Nac. Torre do Tombo, 90, fol. 2v)

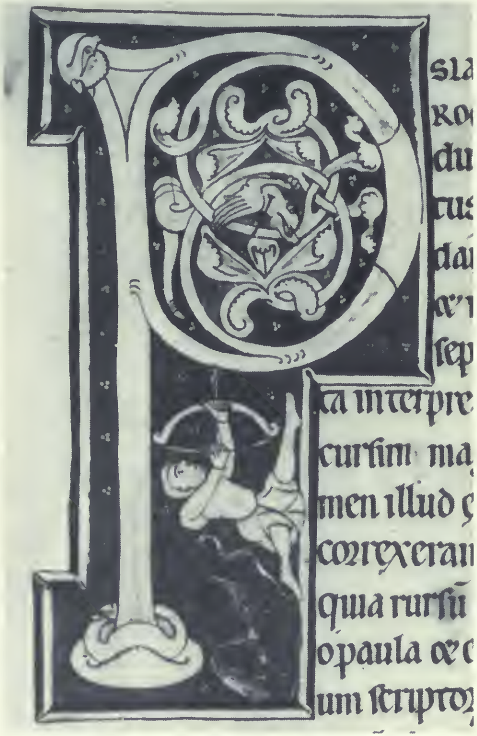

ca interpre
cursim ma
men illud
correxeran
quia rursu
o paula et
um scripto

Fig. 15b. Bible (Prophets), Archer
(Porto, Bibl. Publ. Mun. 31
[SC 2], fol. 207v)

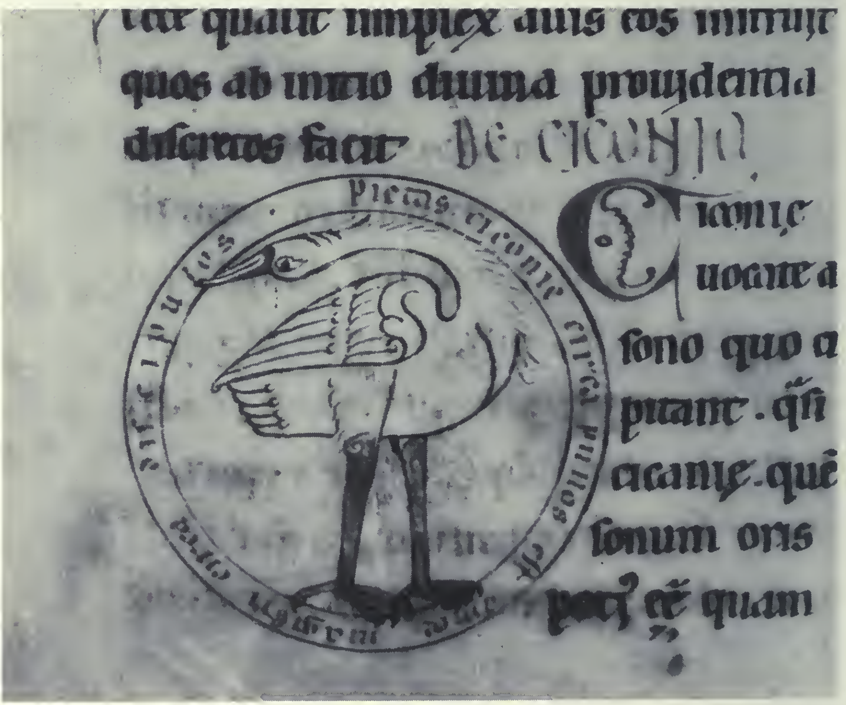


Fig. 16. Lorvão Aviary, Stork (Lisbon, Arq. Nac. Torre do Tombo 90, fol. 47v)

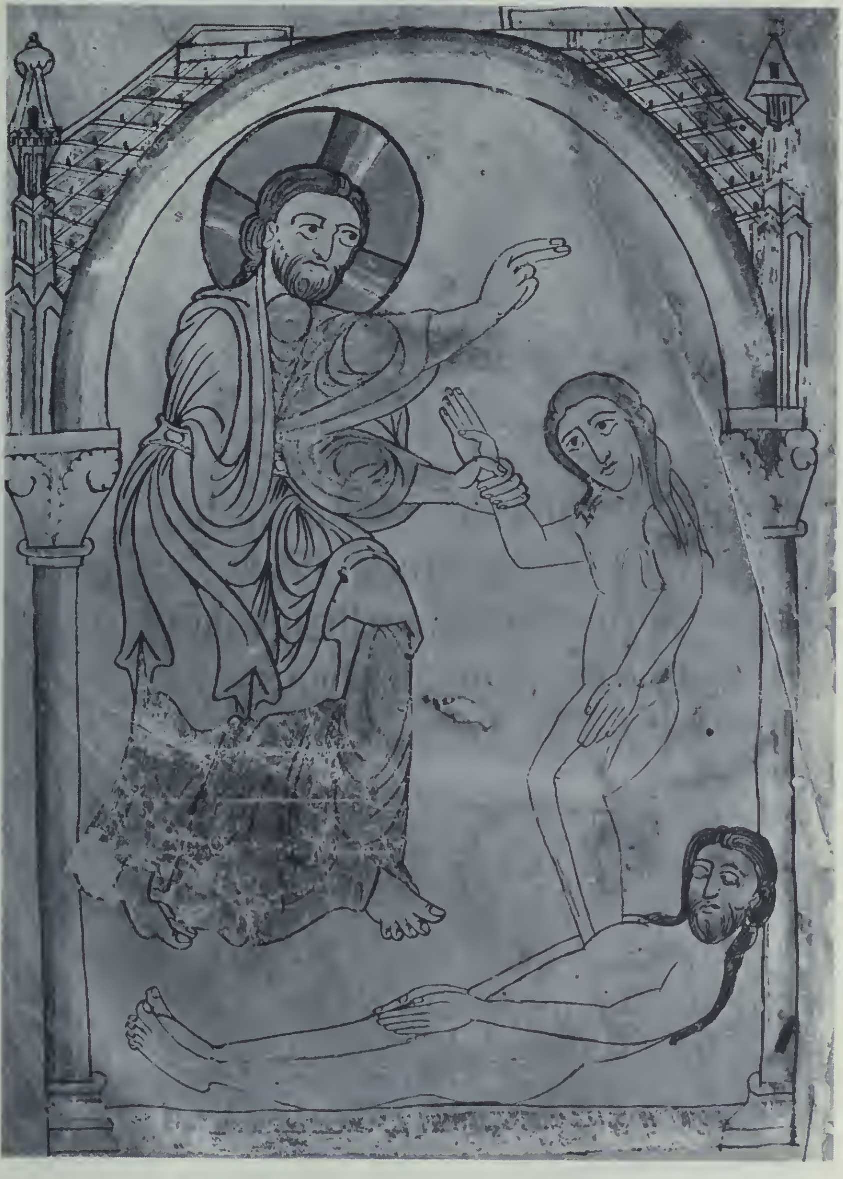


Fig. 17. Lorvão Aviary manuscript, Creation of Eve
(Lisbon, Arq. Nac. Torre do Tombo, fol. 90v)

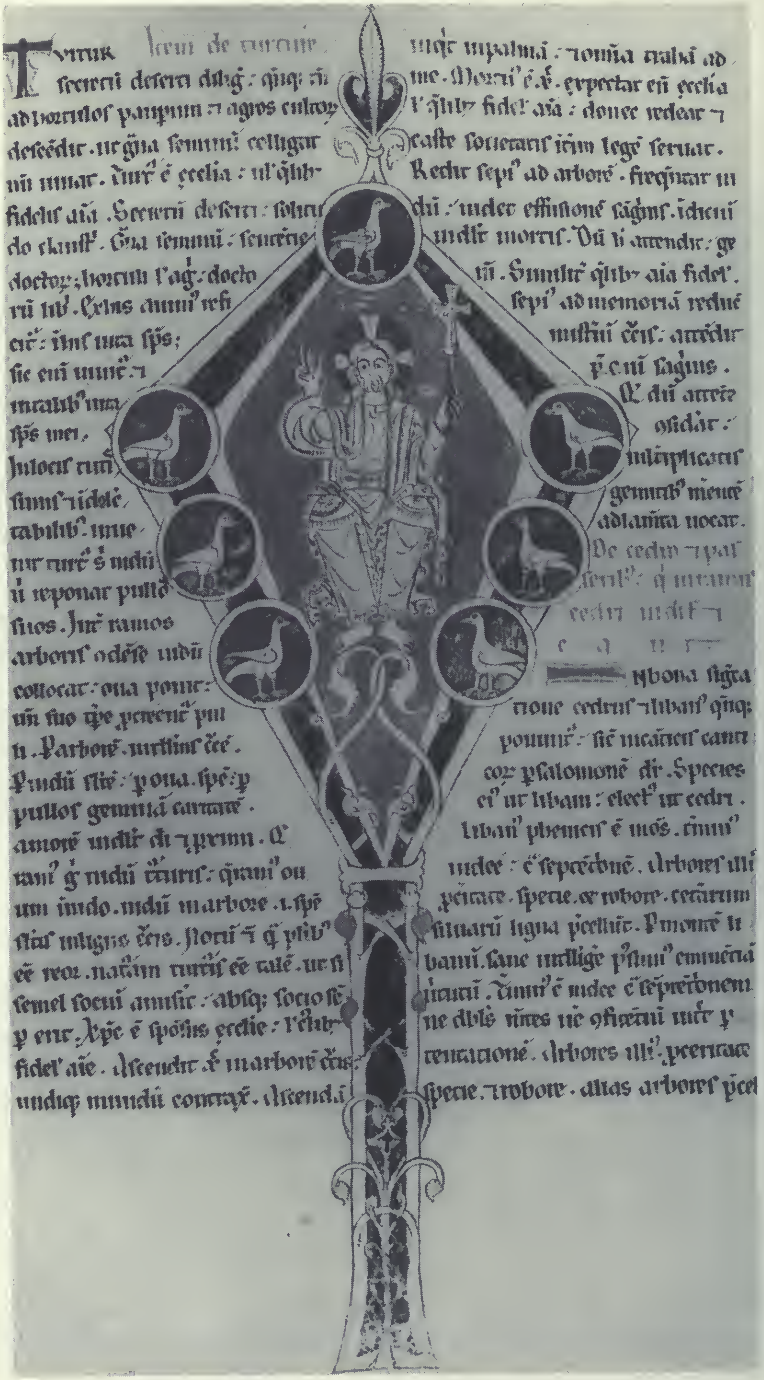
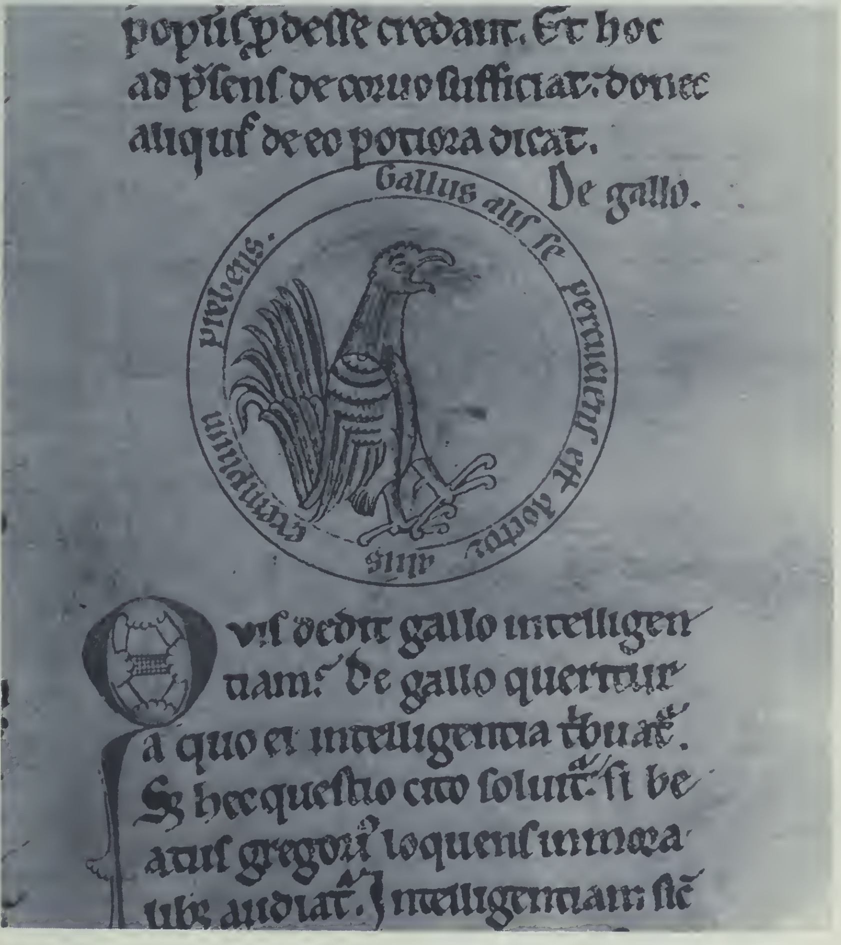


Fig. 18a. Santa Cruz Aviary, Cedar (Porto, Bibl. Púb. Mun. 43)



populisque prodesse credantur. Et hoc
ad presens de corvo sufficiat: donec
aliquis de eo potiora dicat.

De gallo.

Gallus alis se percuciens est doctor aliis exemplum prebens.

Quis dedit gallo intelligen-
tiam? De gallo queritur
a quo ei intelligentia tribuatur.
Sed hec questio cito solvitur si be-
ati gregorii loquentis in mora-
libus audiatur. Intelligentiam sic

Fig. 18b. Alcobaça Aviary, Cock (Lisbon, Bibl. Nac. ALC 238, fol. 214)

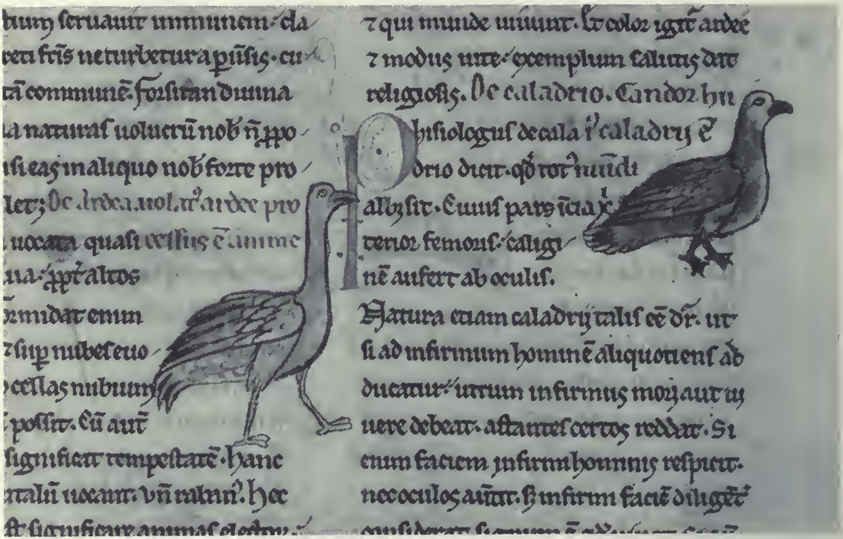


Fig. 19. Yale Aviary, Goose and Caladrius
(New Haven, Yale Univ. Beinecke Lib. 189, fol. 7)

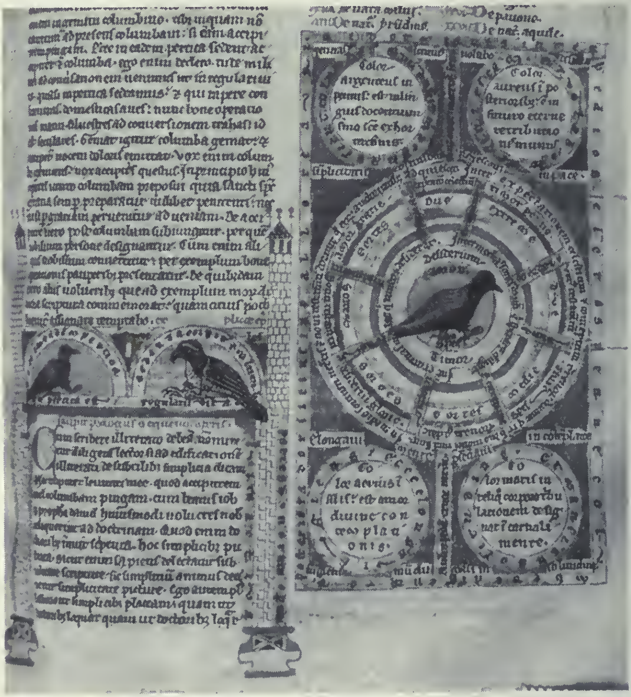


Fig. 20a. Cambrai Aviary, Prologue miniature and Dove diagram
(Cambrai, Bibl. Mun. 259, fol. 192)

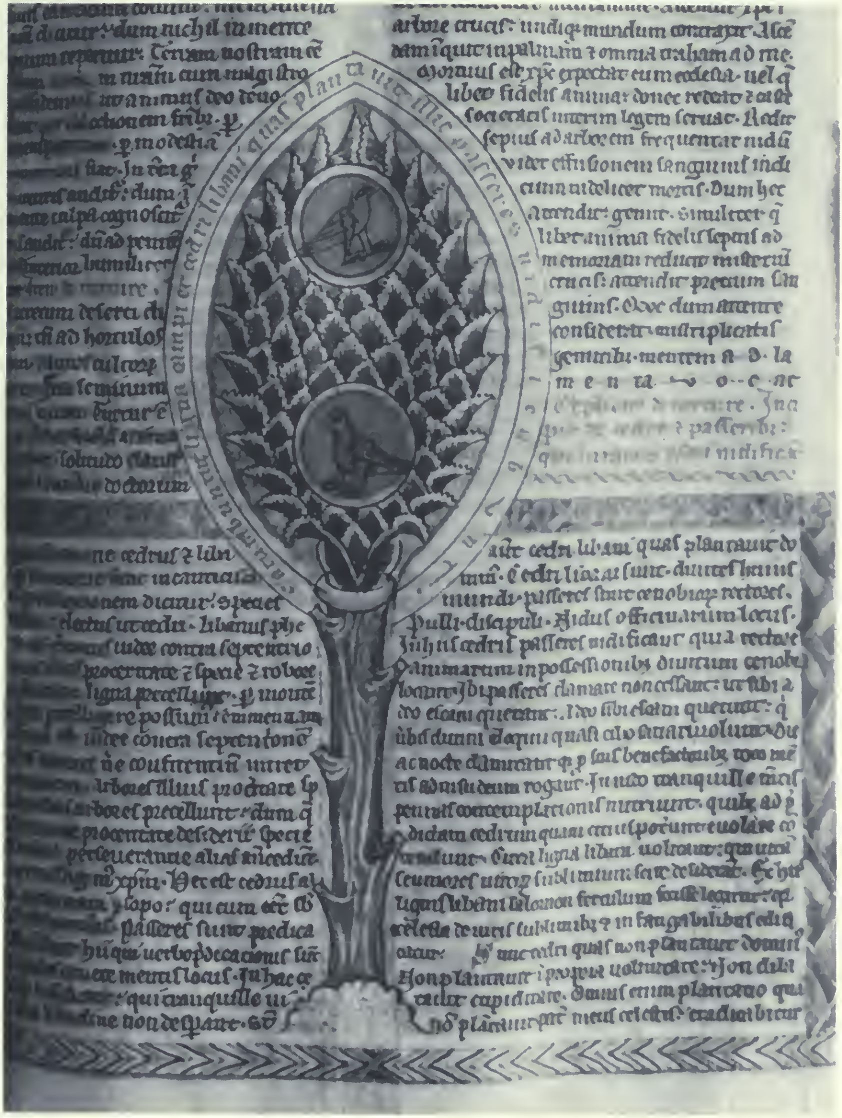
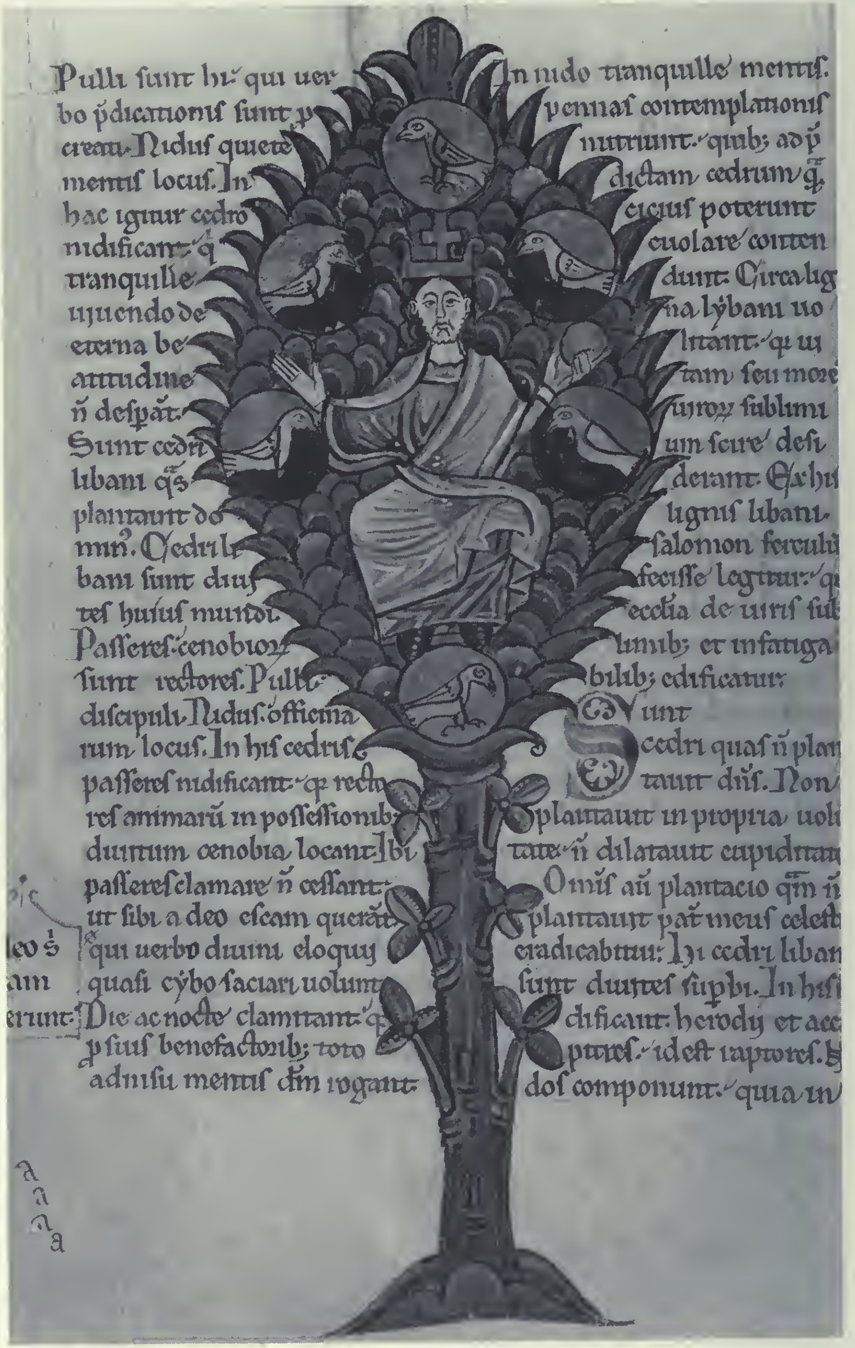


Fig. 20b. Cambrai Aviary, Cedar (Cambrai, Bibl. Mun. 259, fol. 195)



Pulli ſunt hi: qui uer
bo p̄dicationiſ ſunt p
creati. Niduſ quiete
mentiſ locuſ. In
hac igitur cedro
nidificant: q
tranquille
uiuendo de
eterna be
atitudine
n̄ deſp̄at.
Sunt cedri
libani q̄s
plantauit do
min̄. Cedri li
bani ſunt diui
teſ huiuſ mundi.
Paſſereſ: cenobiorum
ſunt rectoreſ. Pulli
diſcipuli. Niduſ: officina
rum locuſ. In hiſ cedriſ
paſſereſ nidificant: q recto
reſ animarū in poſſeſſionib;
diuitum cenobia locant. Ibi
paſſereſ clamare n̄ ceſſant:
ut ſibi a deo eſcam querāt
qui uerbo diuini eloquij
quaſi cybo ſaciari uolunt
Die ac nocte clamitant: q
p ſuiſ benefactorib; toto
adniſu mentiſ d̄m rogant.

In nido tranquille mentiſ.
pennaſ contemplationiſ
nutriunt: quib; ad p̄
dictam cedrum q̄
eiuſ poterunt
euolare conten
dunt. Circa lig
na lybani uo
litant: q ui
tam ſeu more
maiorum ſublimi
um ſcire deſi
derant. Ex hu
lignis libani
ſalomon ferculu
feciſſe legitur: q
ecclia de uiriſ ſu
limib; et infatiga
bilib; edificatur.
Sunt
cedri quaſ n̄ plan
tauit dn̄ſ. Non
plantauit in propria uol
tate: n̄ dilatauit cupiditat
Omniſ aū plantacio q̄m n̄
plantauit pat̄ meuſ celeſt
eradicabitur. Hi cedri liban
ſunt diuiteſ ſupbi. In hiſ
dificant: herodij et acc
iptreſ: id eſt raptoreſ. Ni
doſ componunt: quia in

eo ſ
am
erunt:

a
a
a
a

Fig. 21. Avignon Aviary, Cedar (Paris, BN lat. 2495, fol. 10v)

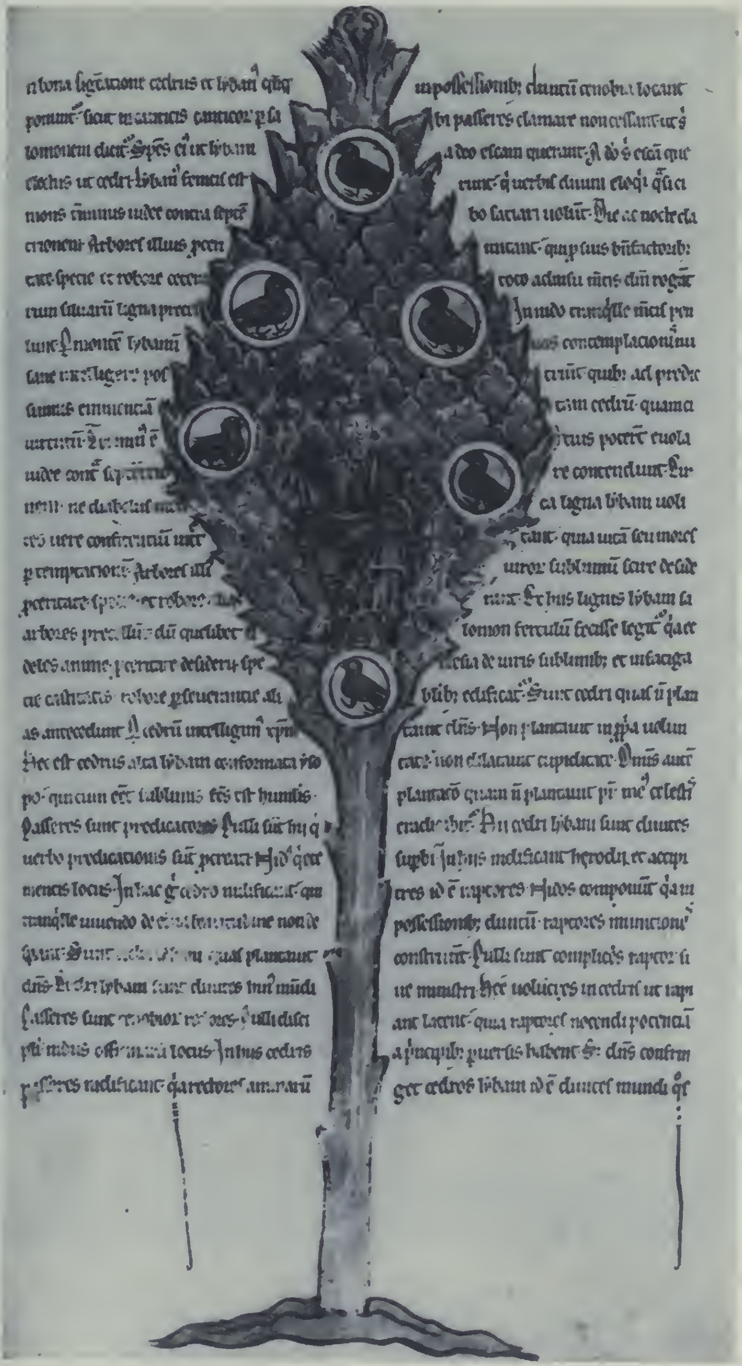
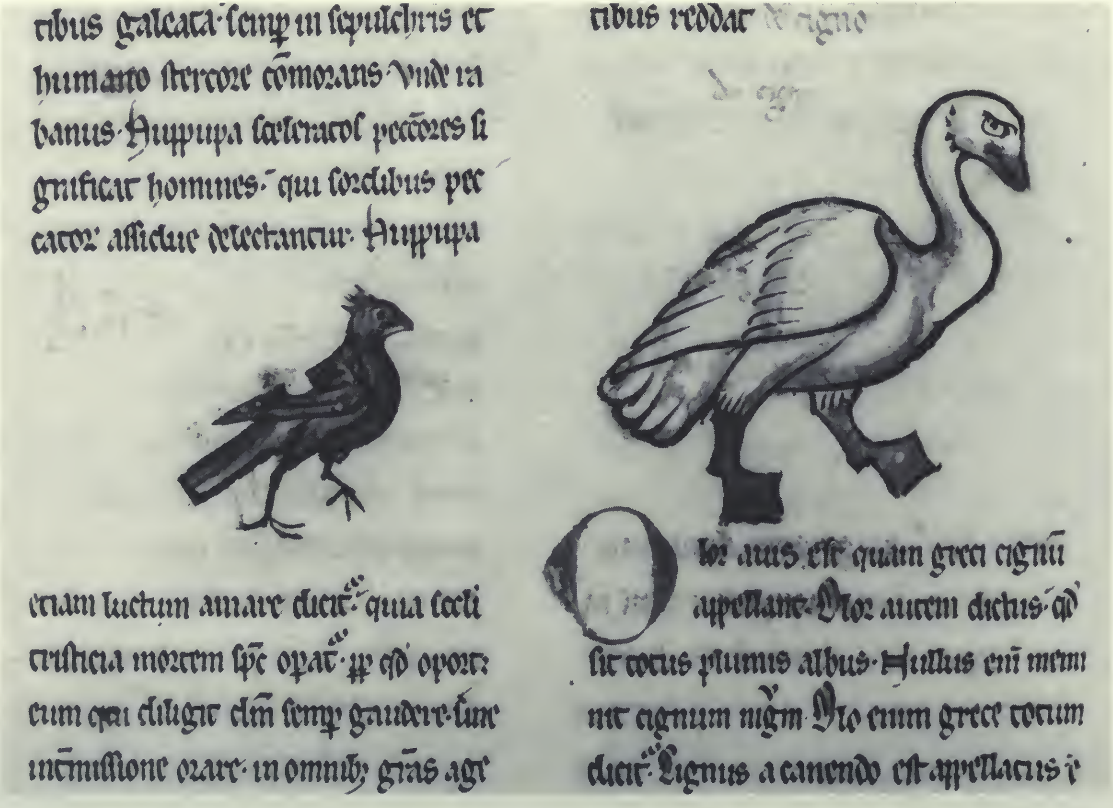


Fig. 22. Rome Aviary, Cedar (Rome, Bibl. Casanatense 444, fol. 6)



tibus galeata· semꝑ in sepulchris et
humano stercore cõmorans· Vnde ra
banus· Huppupa scleratos peccãores si
gnificat homines· qui sordibus pec
catorum assidue delectantur· Huppupa

etiam luctum amare dicit᷑· quia seculi
tristicia mortem spe optat· pp quod oport
cum qui diligit deum semꝑ gaudere· sine
intermissione orare· in omnibꝫ grãs agere

tibus reddat De cigno

Olor auis est quam greci cignũ
appellant· Olor autem dictus quod
sit totus plumis albus· Nullus enim inveni
nit cignum nigrum· Olo enim grece totum
dicit᷑· Cignus a canendo est appellatus ꝑ

Fig. 23. Rome Aviary, Hoopoe and Swan (Rome, Bibl. Casanatense 444, fol. 19v)

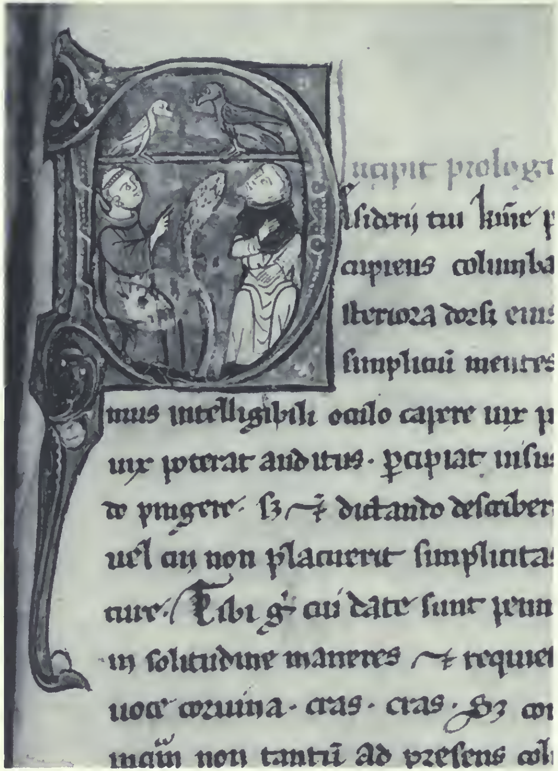


Fig. 24. Brussels 8536 Aviary, Prologue miniature
(Brussels, Bibl. Roy. 8536-43, fol. 73)

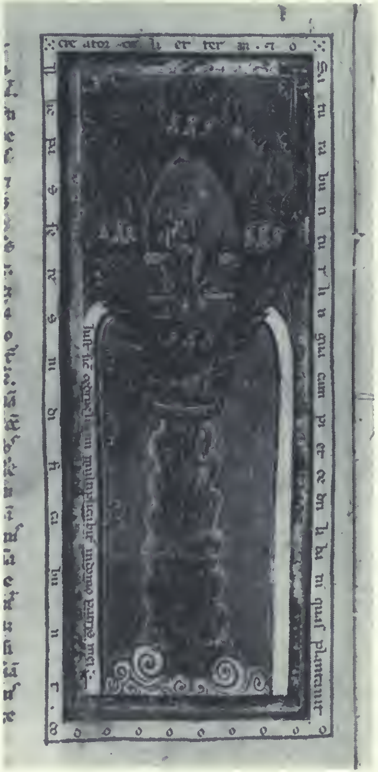


Fig. 25. Lyell Aviary, Cedar
(Oxford, Bodleian Bodley 71, fol. 10v)

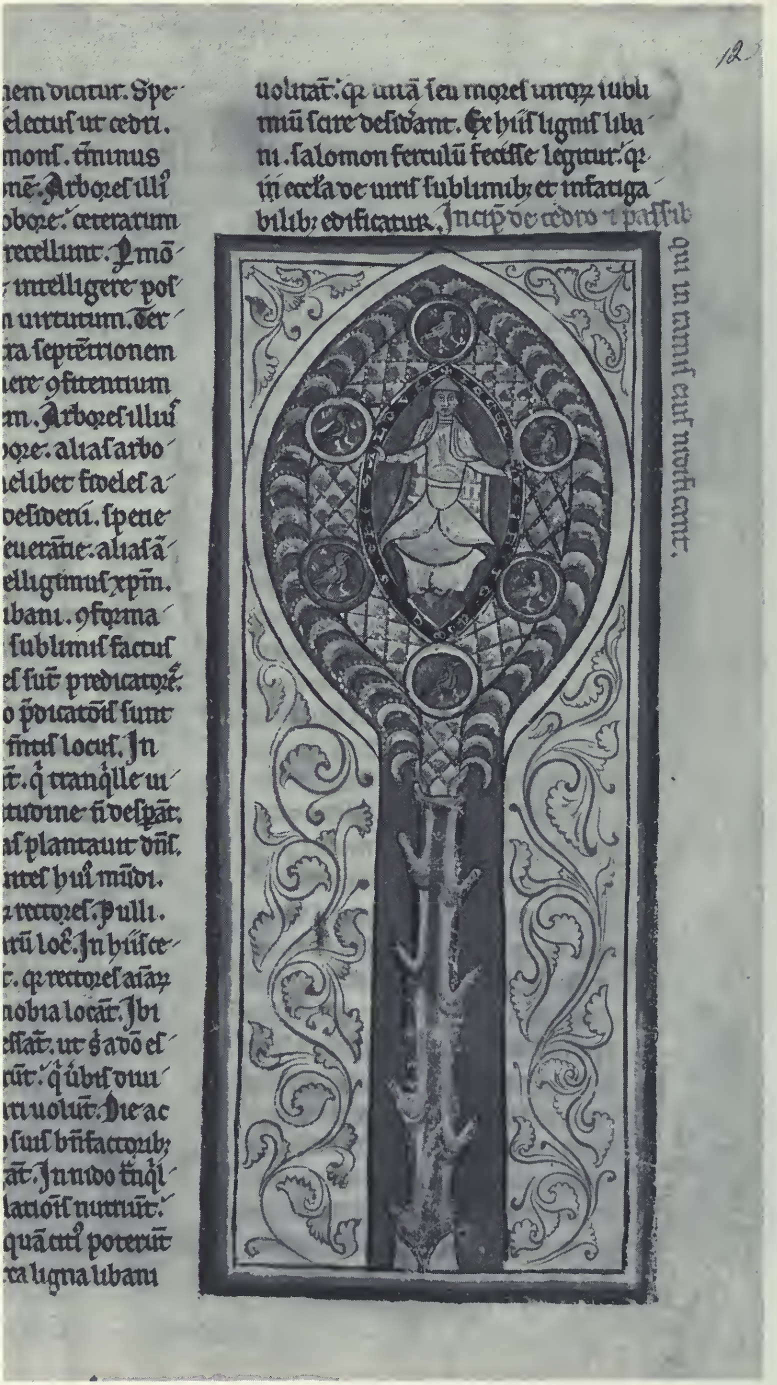
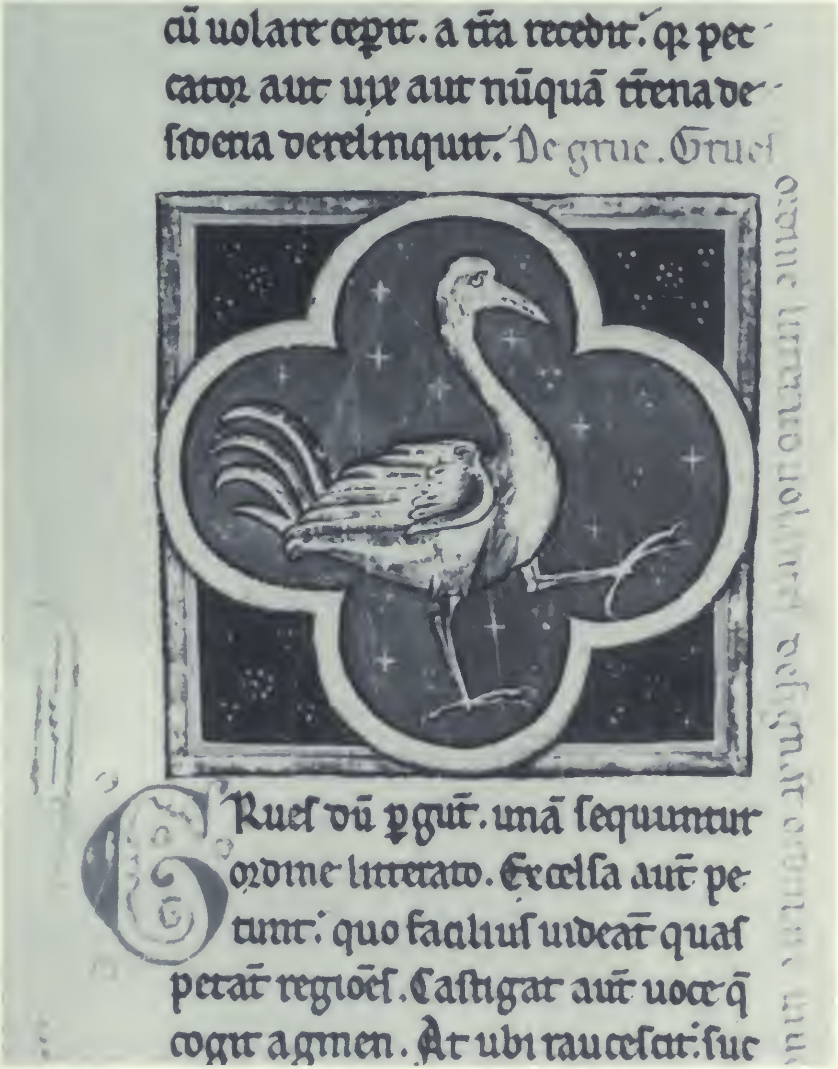


Fig. 26. Paris lat. 2495B Aviary, Cedar (Paris, BN lat. 2495B, fol. 12)



cū uolare cepit. a t̃ra recedit: q: peccator aut uix aut nūquā t̃rena desideria derelinquit. De grue. Grues

Grues dū ꝑgūt. unā sequuntur ordine litterato. Excelsa aut̃ petunt: quo facilius uideat̃ quas petat̃ regioēs. Castigat aut̃ uoce q̃ cogit agmen. At ubi raucescit: suc

Fig. 27. Paris lat. 2495B Aviary, Crane (Paris, BN lat. 2495B, fol. 19v)

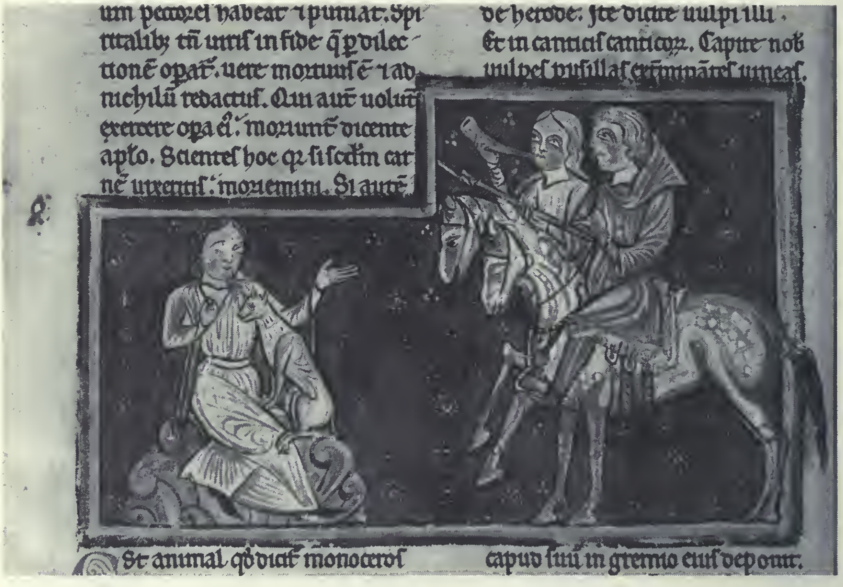


Fig. 28a. Paris lat. 2495B Bestiary fragment, Unicorn
(Paris, BN lat. 2495B, fol. 1v)

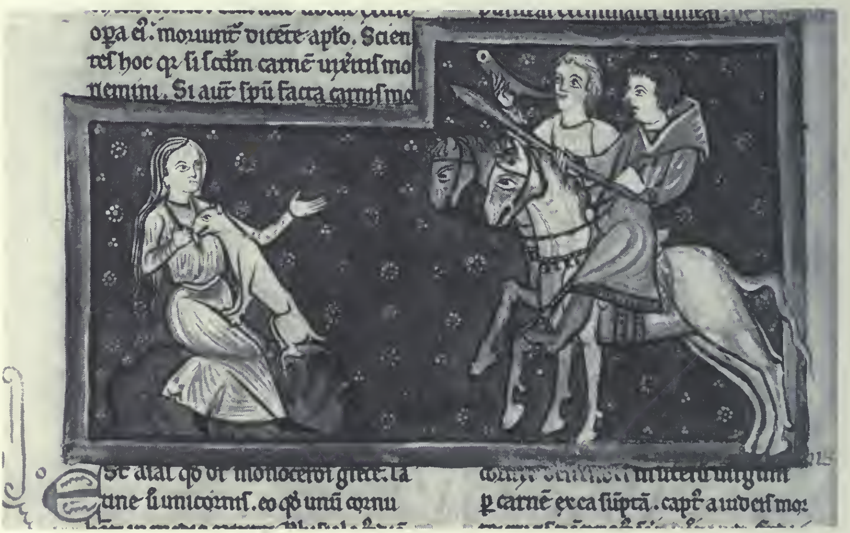


Fig. 28b. Paris lat. 2495B Bestiary, Unicorn (Paris, BN lat. 2495B, fol. 31v)

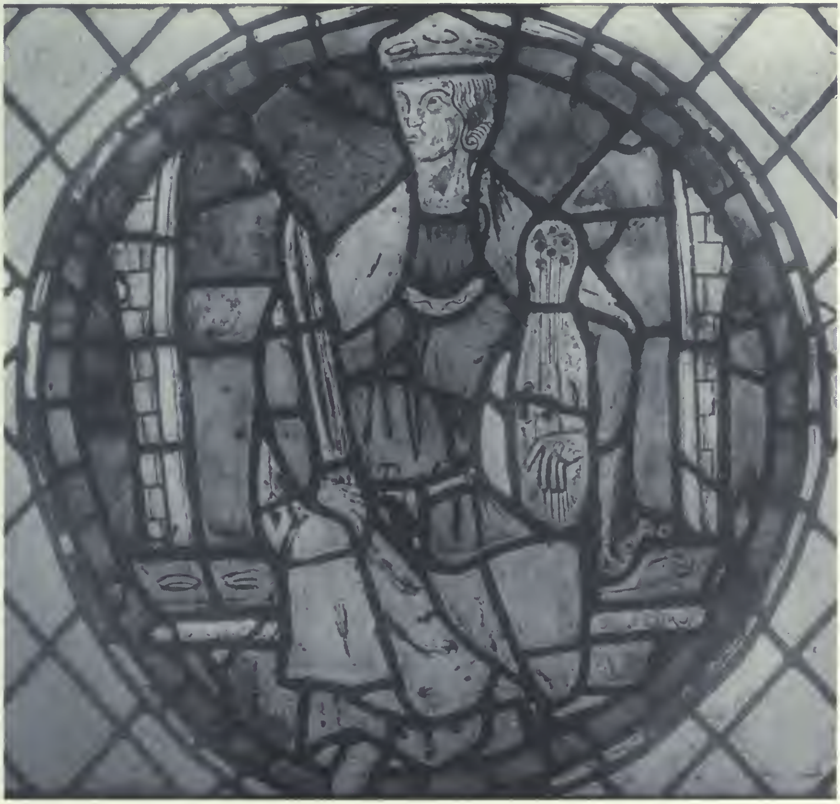
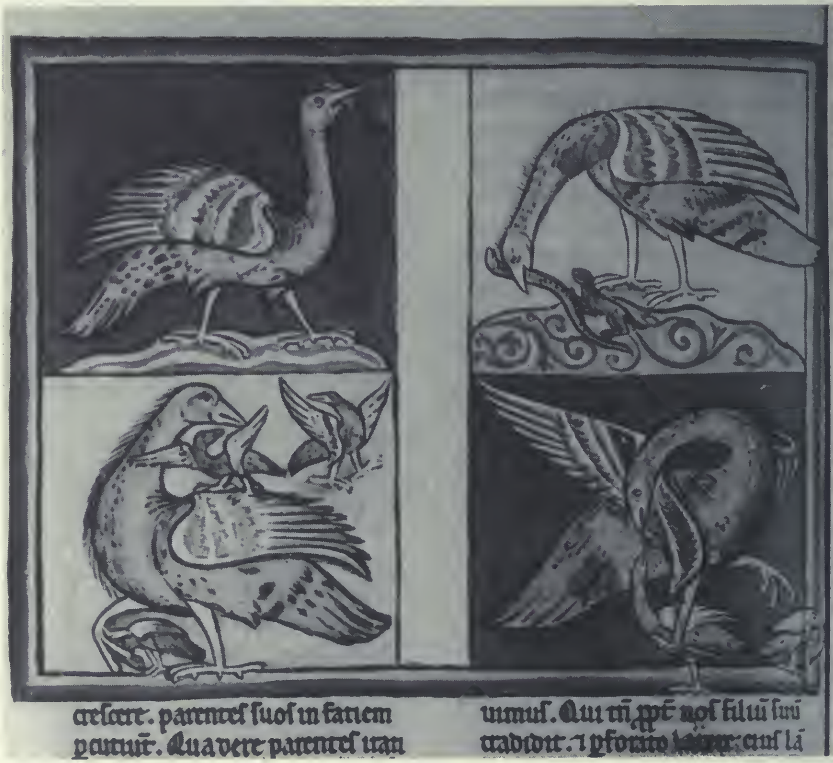


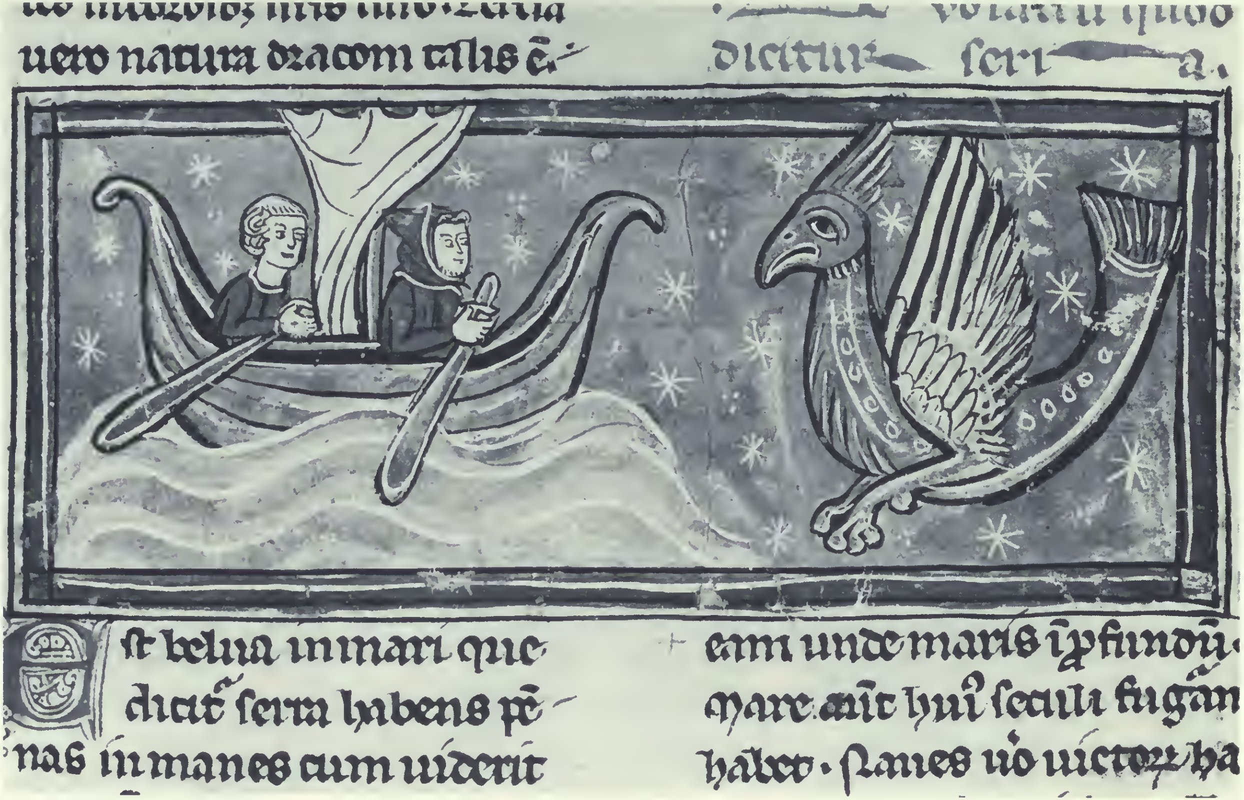
Fig. 29. Musician king, Abbey Church of St. Denis, choir bay 8



creſcere. parenteſ ſuoſ in faciem
pcutiūt. Qua vere parenteſ tran

uiuimuſ. Qui cū xpc̄ noſ filiū ſui
tradidit. ı pforato latere: cuiſ lã

Fig. 30. Paris lat. 2495B Bestiary, Pelican (Paris, BN lat. 2495B, fol. 41v)



uero natura draconi talis ē.

dicitur — seri — a.

st belua in mari que

dicit' serra habens pē-

nas in manes cum uiderit

eam unde maris i pfundū.

mare aūt hui' seculi figuram

habet. Naues uō uictores ha

Fig. 31a. La Ferté Bestiary, Sawfish (Chalon-sur-Saône, Bibl. Mun. 14, fol. 88)

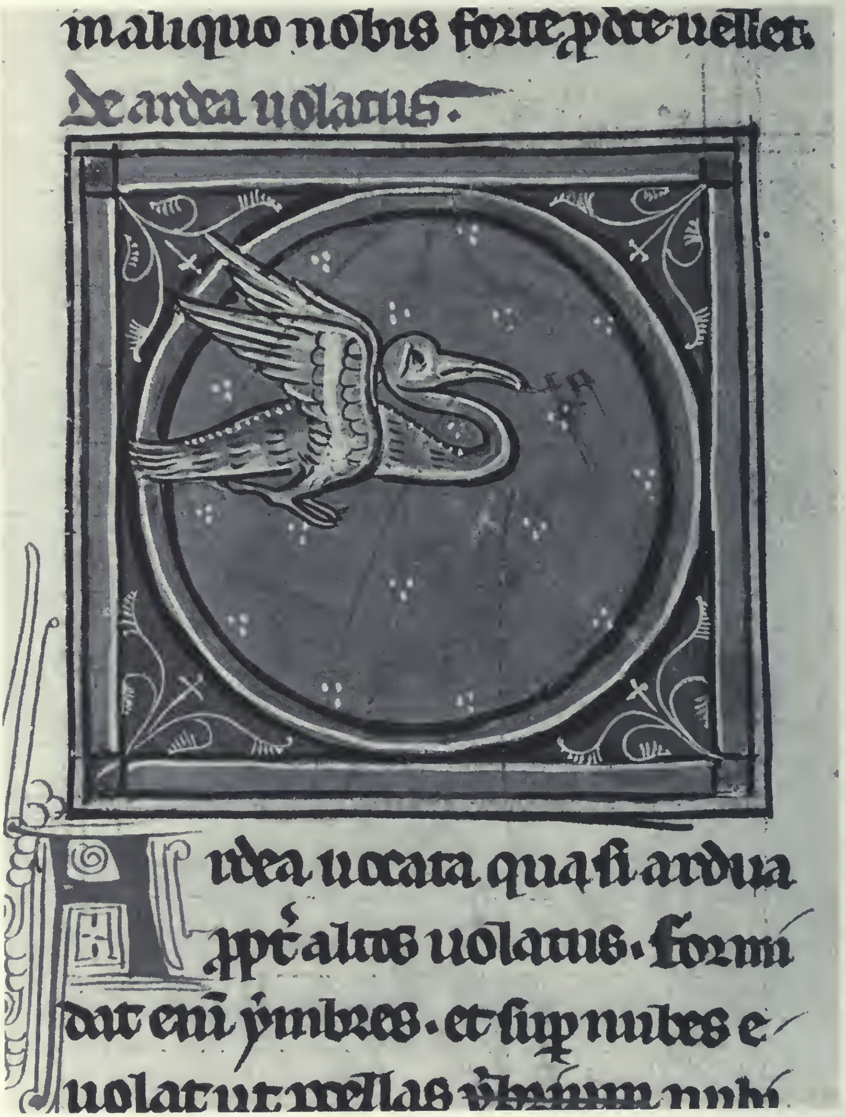

in aliquo nobis forte pdēe uellet.
De ardea uolatus.
Ardea uocata quasi ardua
ppt altos uolatus. formi
dat enī ymbres. et sup nubes e
uolat ut procellas [illegible] nubi

Fig. 31b. La Ferté Aviary, Heron (Chalon-sur-Saône, Bibl. Mun. 14, fol. 68)

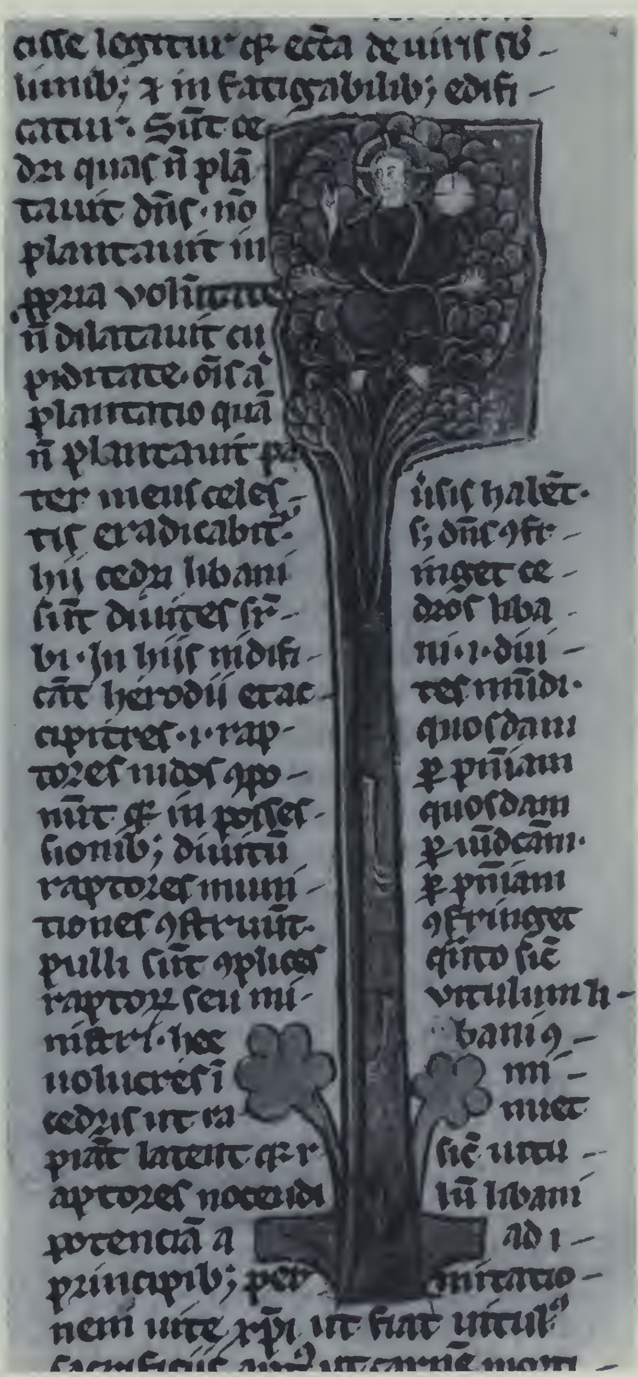


Fig. 32. St. Amand Aviary, Cedar (Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun. 101, fol. 176)

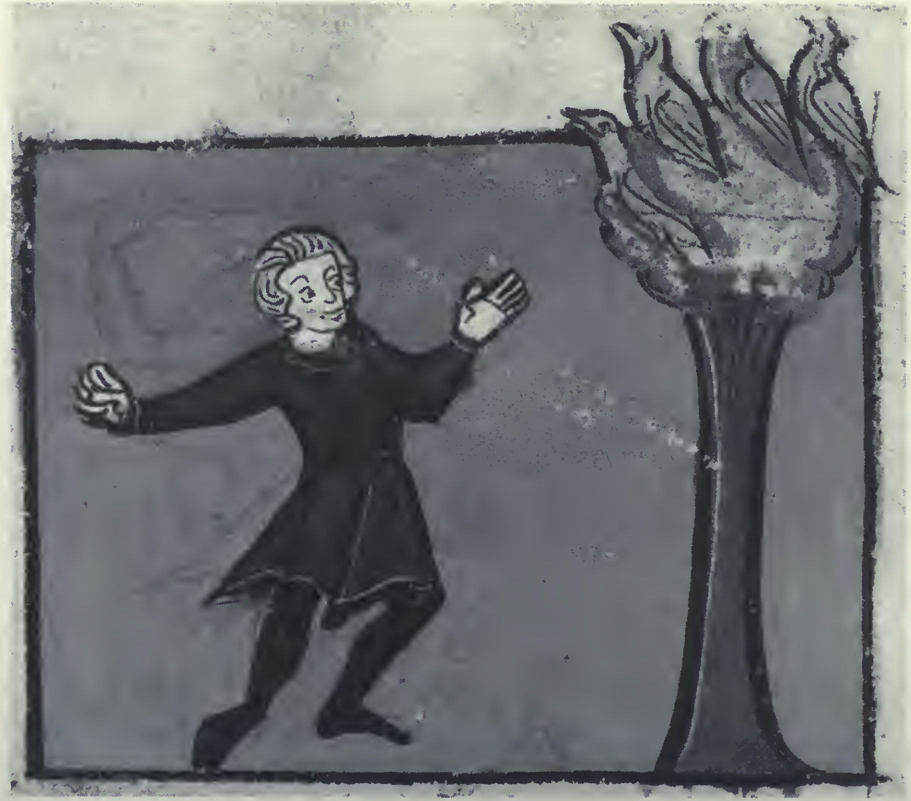


Fig. 33. Bestiary (Dominican ownership), Cinnemologus (Paris, BN lat. 11207, fol. 33v)

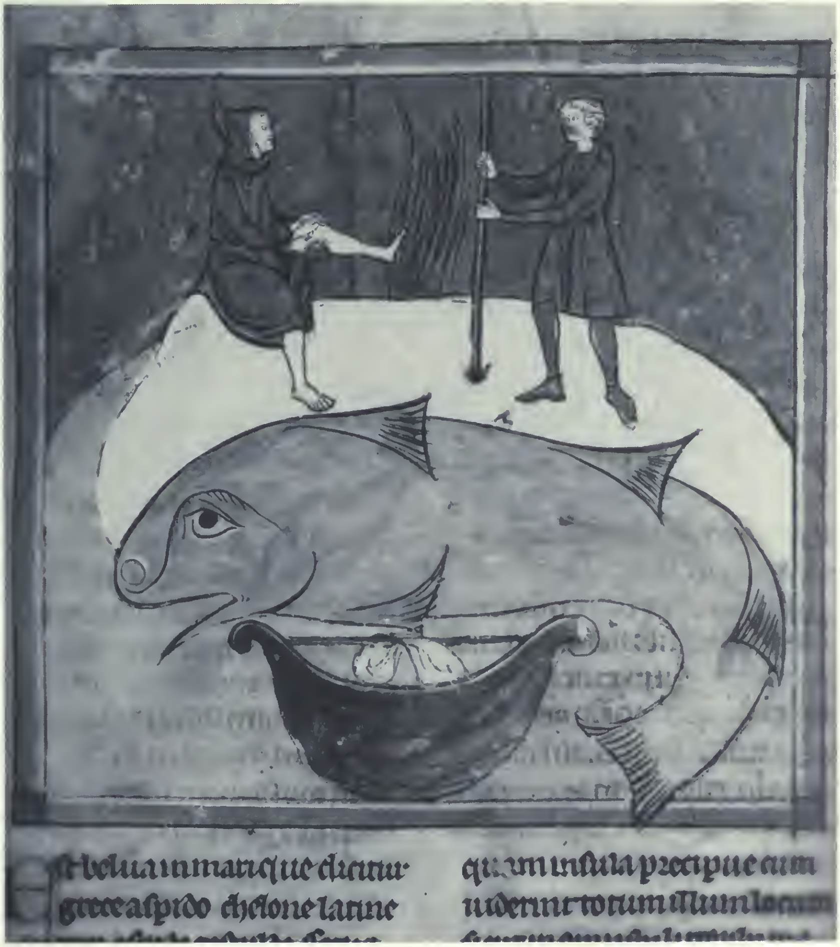

ſt belua in mari que dicitur
grece aſpido chelone latine
quam insula precipue cum
uiderint totum illum locum

Fig. 34. Sidney Sussex Bestiary, Whale
(Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College 100, fol. 42v)

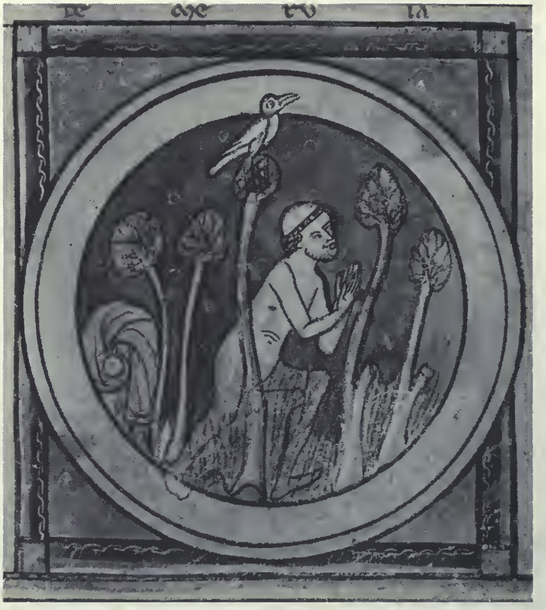


Fig. 35. Harvard Aviary, St. Benedict and the Blackbird (Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Houghton Lib. Typ. 101, fol. 6)

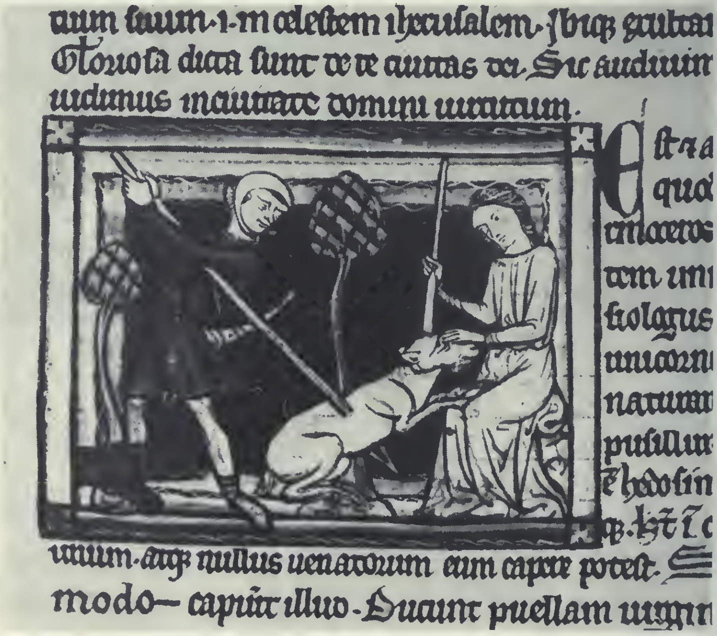


Fig. 36. Dubrowsky II Aviary, Unicorn (Leningrad, Gos. Publ. Bibl. lat Q.v.III,1, fol. 38v)

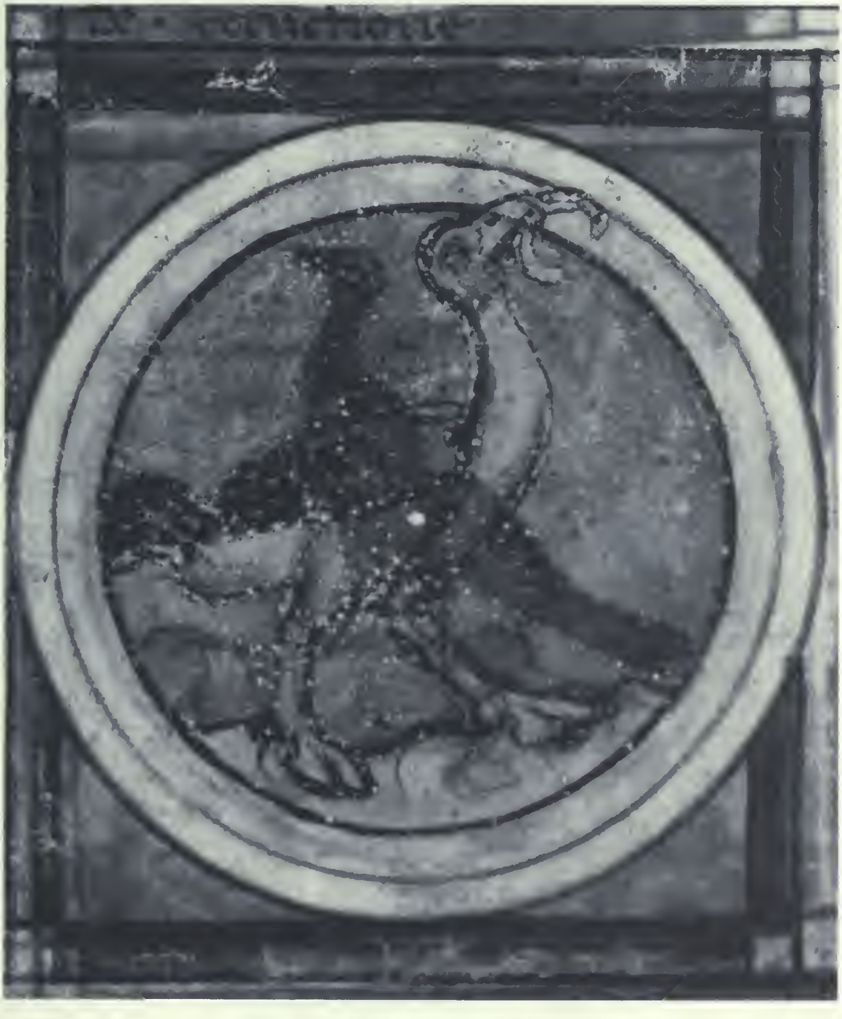


Fig. 37. Harvard Aviary, Ostrich
(Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Houghton Lib. Typ. 101, fol. 4v)

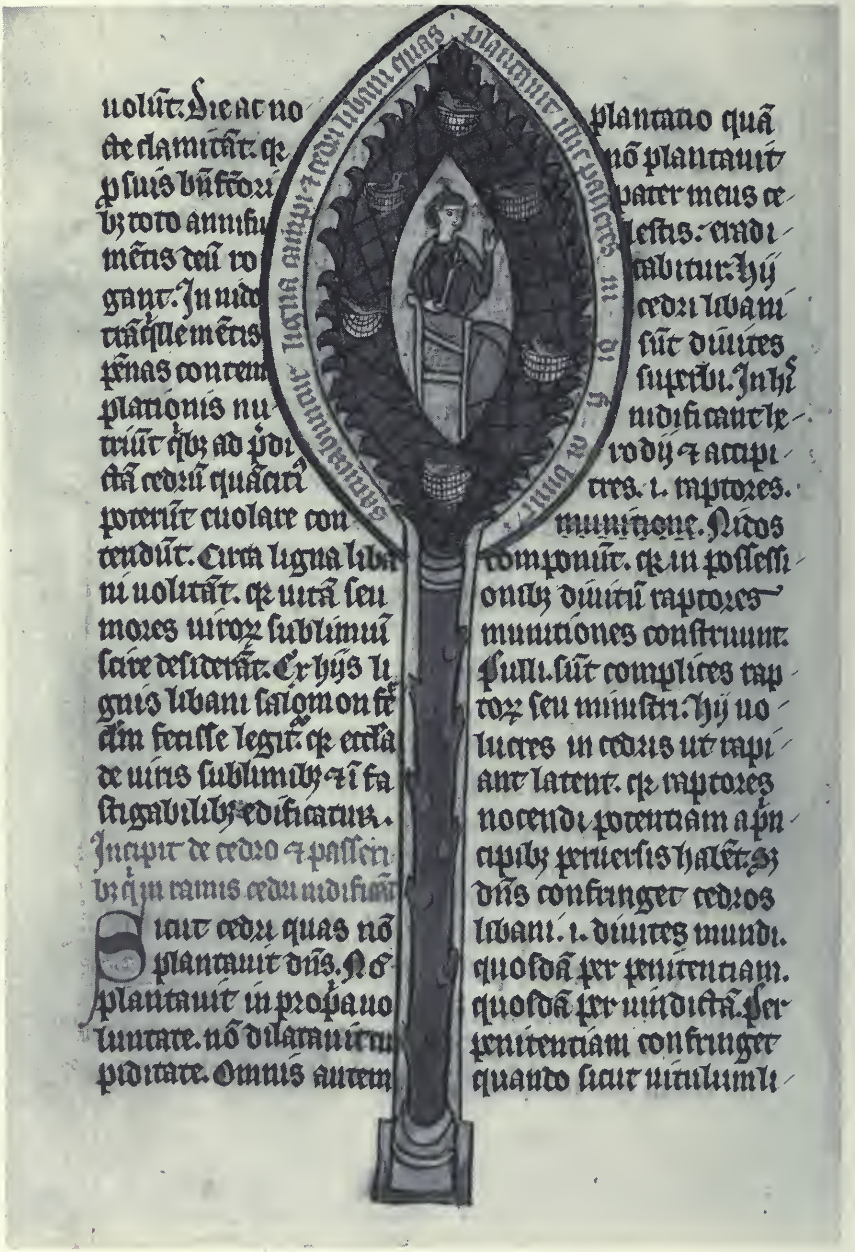
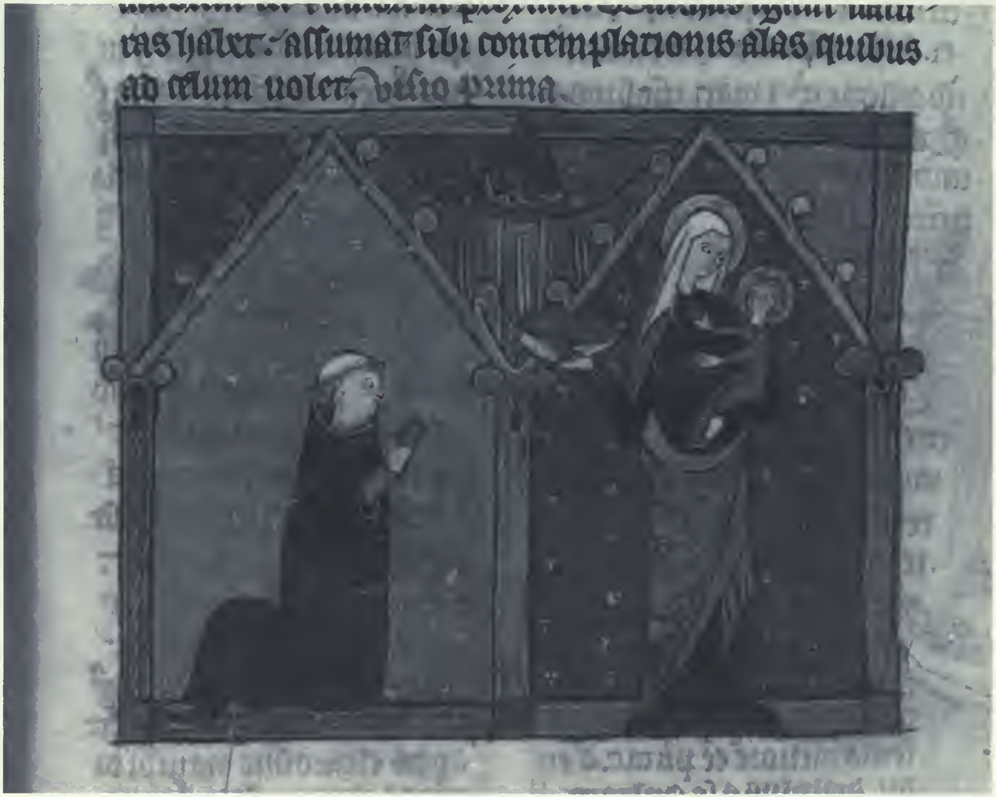
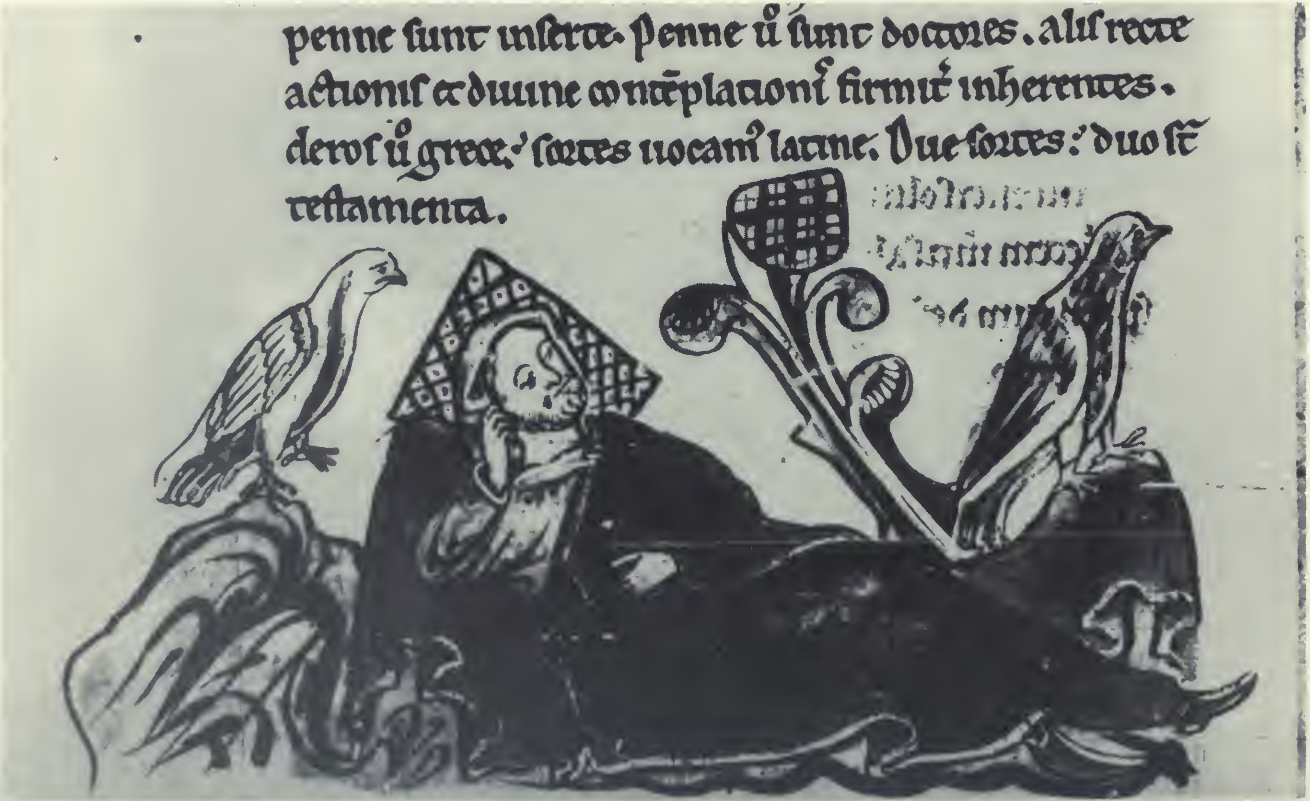


Fig. 38a. Sloane Aviary, Cedar (London, BL Sloane 278, fol. 12v)



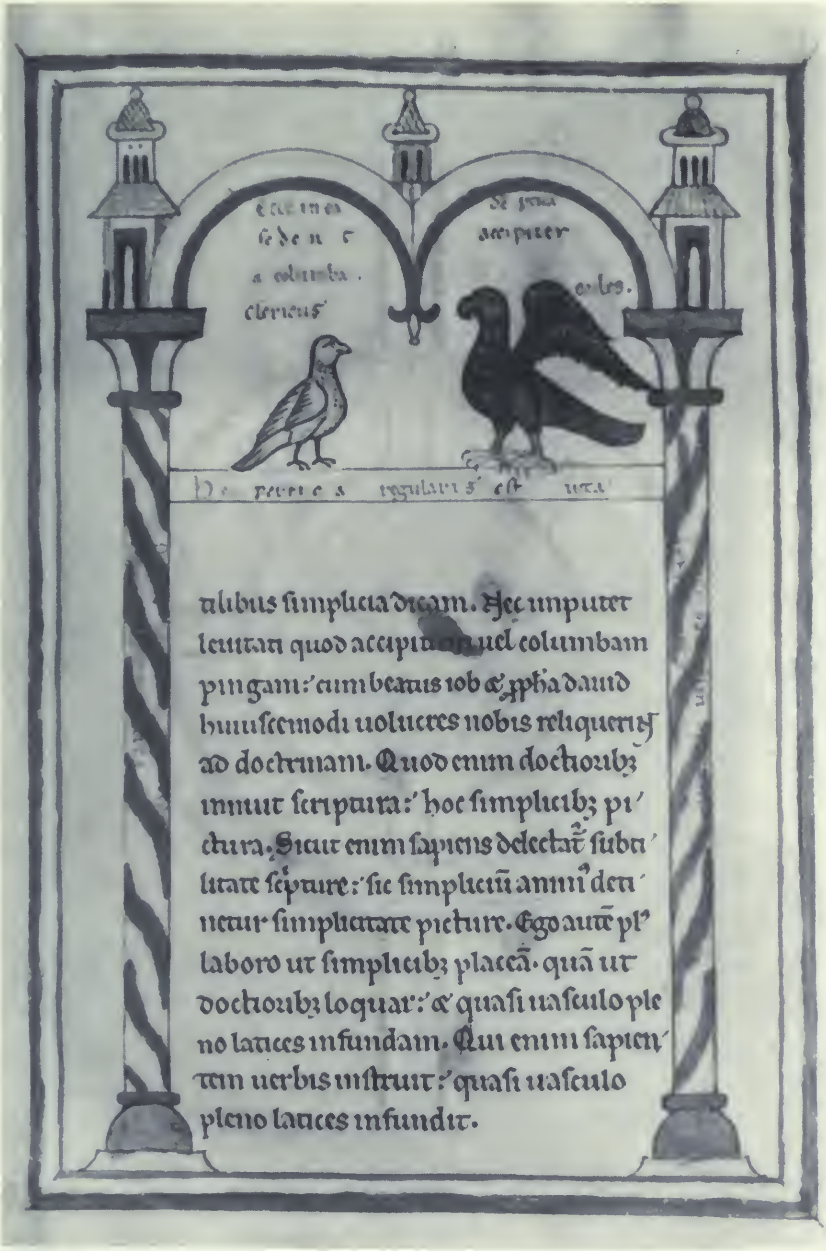
tas habet: assumat sibi contemplationis alas quibus
ad celum volet. visio prima.

Fig. 38b. Sloane Aviary, Monk adoring Virgin and Child (London, BL Sloane 278, fol. 7)



penne ſunt inſerte. Penne uͦ ſunt doctores. aliſ recte actioniſ & diuine contēplationiſ firmit' inherentes. cleroſ uͦ grece. ſortes uocam' latine. Due ſortes: duo ſt̄ teſtamenta.

Fig. 39. Bodley 602 Aviary, Man sleeping midst lots (Oxford, Bodleian Bodley 602, fol. 38v)


columba
clericus
accipiter

talibus ſimplicia dicam. Nec imputet leuitati quod accipitrem uel columbam pingam: cum beatus iob et propheta dauid huiuſcemodi uolucres nobis reliquerunt ad doctrinam. Quod enim doctoribus innuit ſcriptura: hoc ſimplicibus pictura. Sicut enim ſapiens delectatur ſubtilitate ſcripture: ſic ſimplicium animus detinetur ſimplicitate picture. Ego autem plus laboro ut ſimplicibus placeam quam ut doctoribus loquar: et quaſi uaſculo pleno latices infundam. Qui enim ſapientem uerbis inſtruit: quaſi uaſculo pleno latices infundit.

Fig. 40. Ter Duinen Aviary, Prologue miniature
(Bruges, Episc. Sem. 89/54, p. 28)

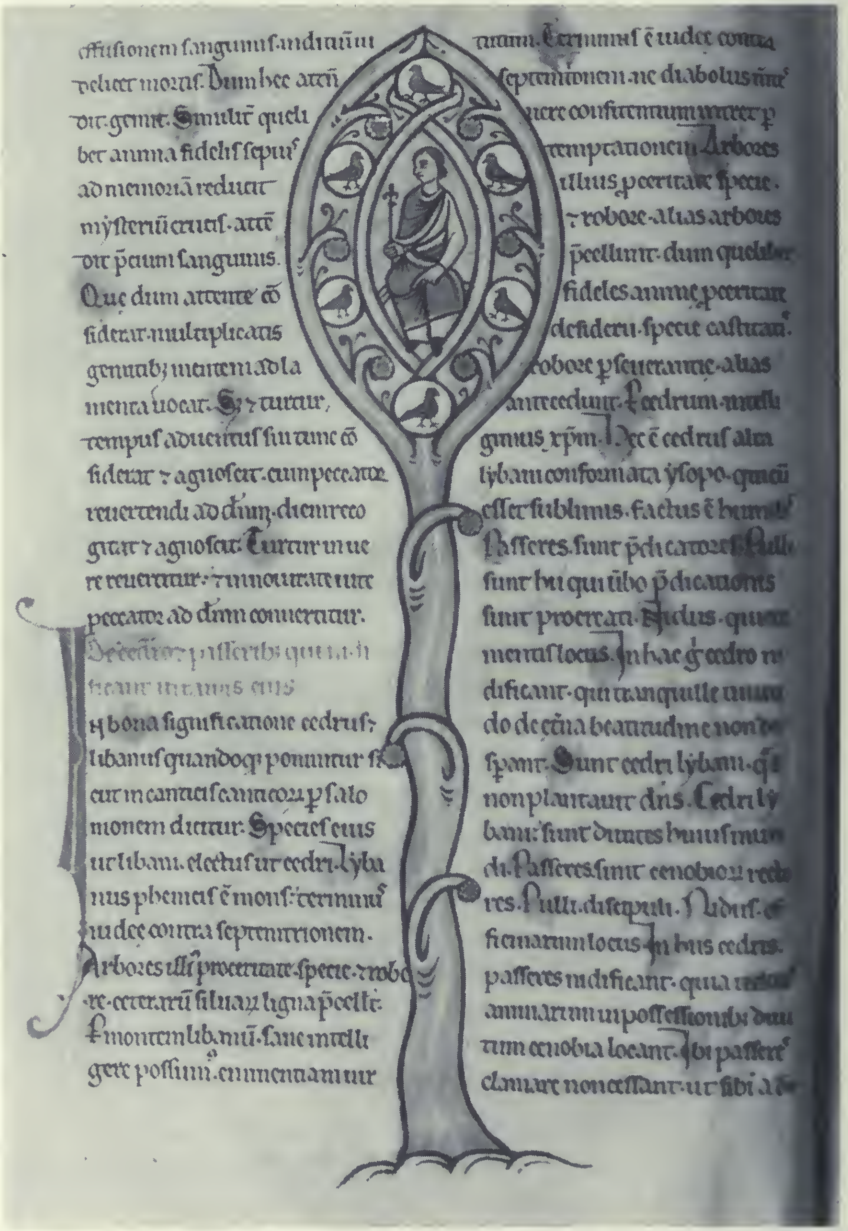
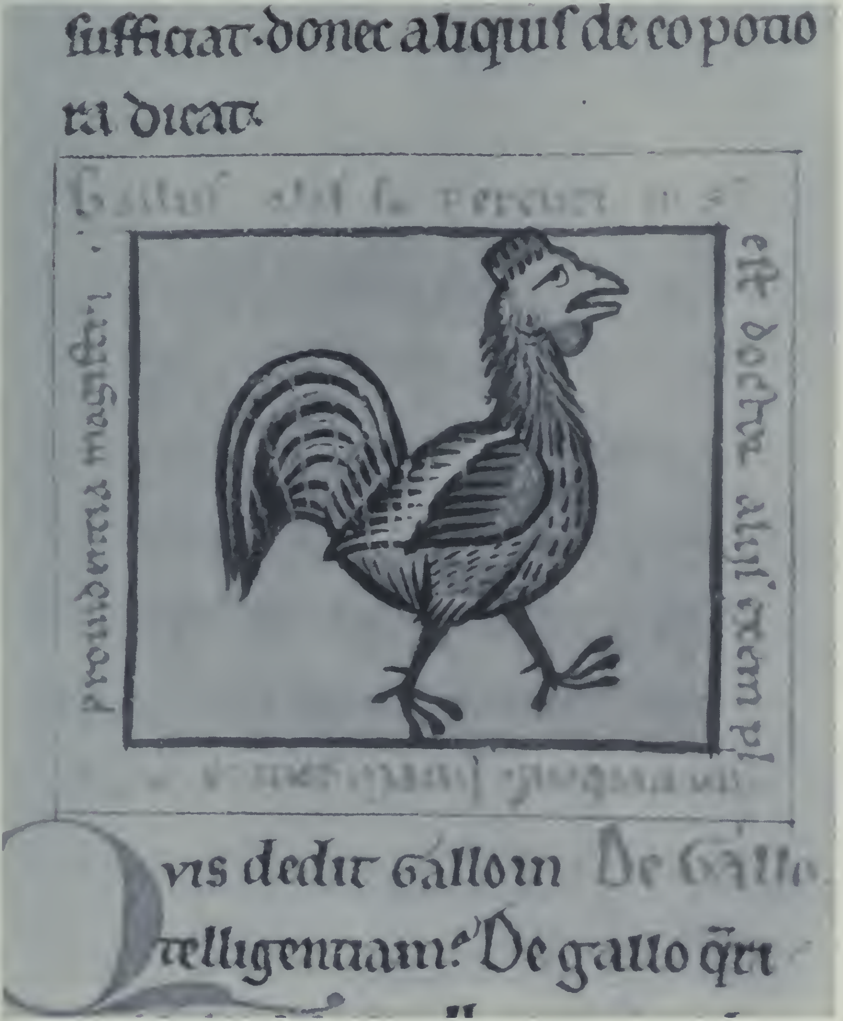


Fig. 41. Ter Duinen Aviary, Cedar (Bruges, Episc. Sem. 89/54, p. 45)



ſufficiat·donec aliquiſ de eo potio
ri dicat.

eſt doctus aliiſ exem pl
providencia magiſter

Quis dedit gallo in De Gallo.
telligentiam? De gallo qui

Fig. 42. Ter Duinen Aviary, Cock (Bruges, Episc. Sem. 89/54, p. 55)

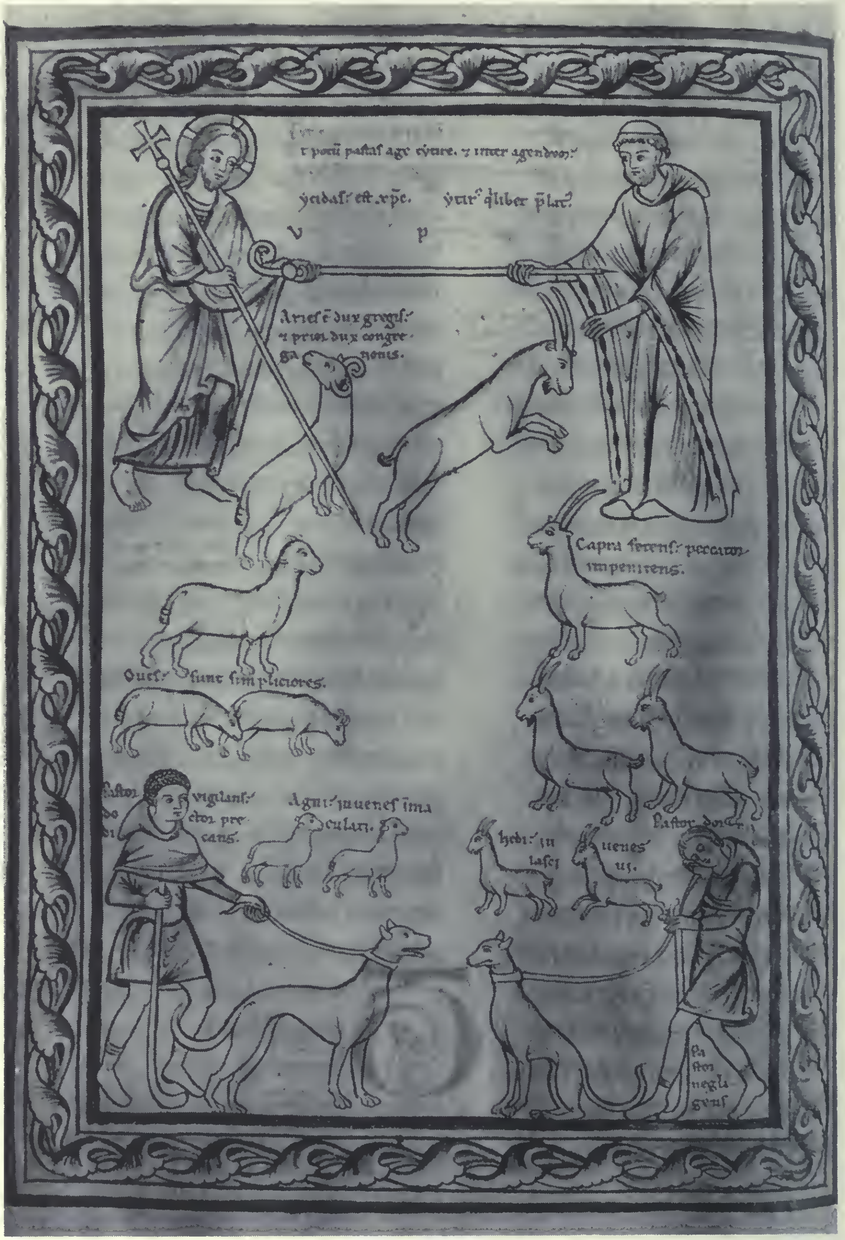

t potiū pastas age curare. ⁊ inter agendum:
ycidas: est xp̄c.
ytir: qlibet p̄lat.
v
p
Aries ē dux gregis: i. prim. dux congregationis.
Capra fetens: peccator impenitens.
Oues: sunt simpliciores.
Pastor vigilans: doctor predicans.
Agni: iuuenes imaculati.
hedi: iu lasci
uenes ui.
Pastor doc
Pastor negligens

Fig. 43. Ter Duinen *Shepherds and Sheep*, Allegory of good and bad shepherd (Bruges, Episc. Sem. 89/54, p. 115)

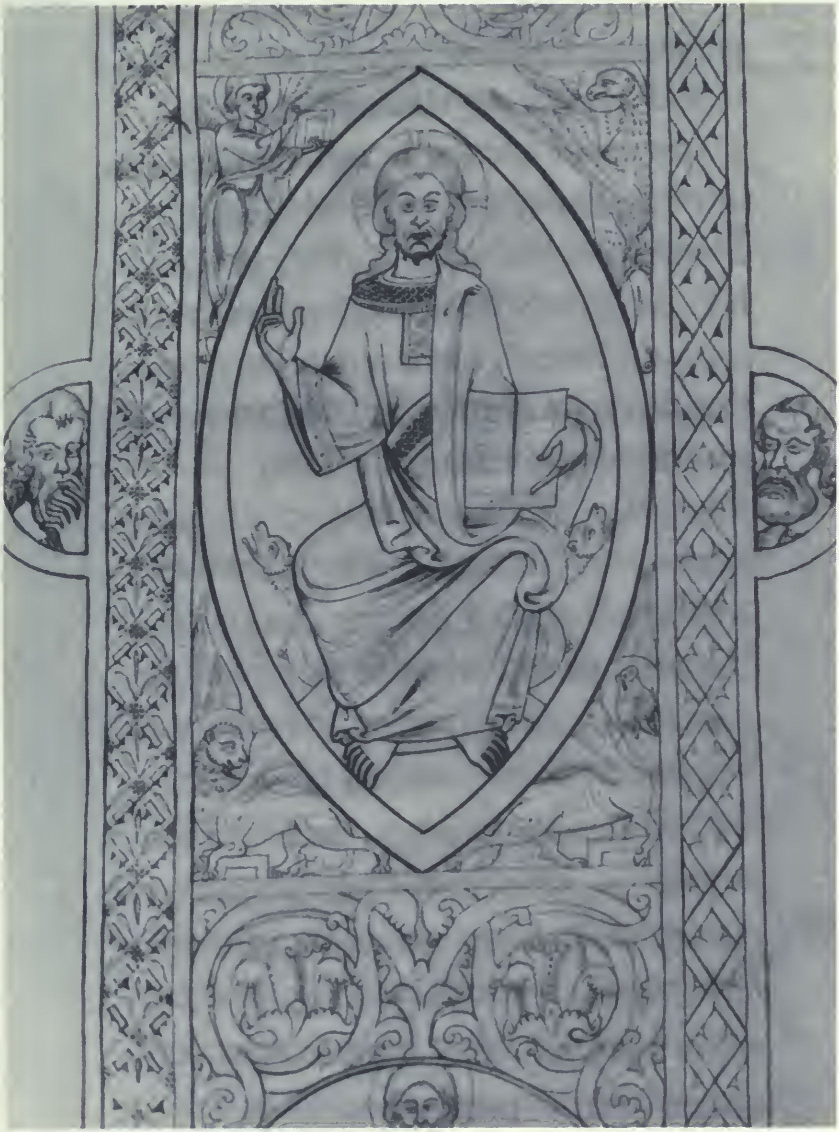


Fig. 44. Zacharias Chrysopolitanus, Commentary on the Bible Concordances, "I," detail (St. Omer, Bibl. Mun. 30, fol. 57)

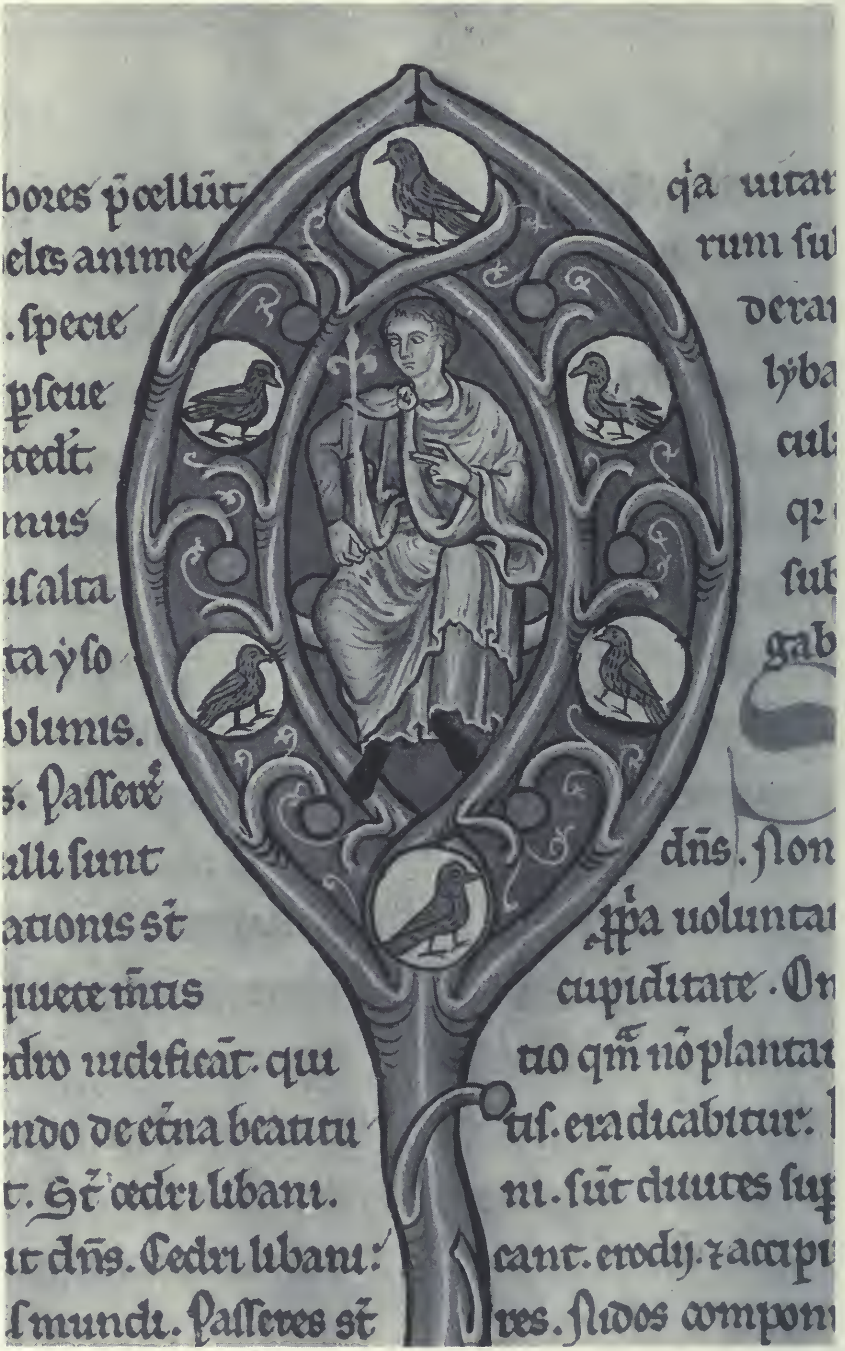
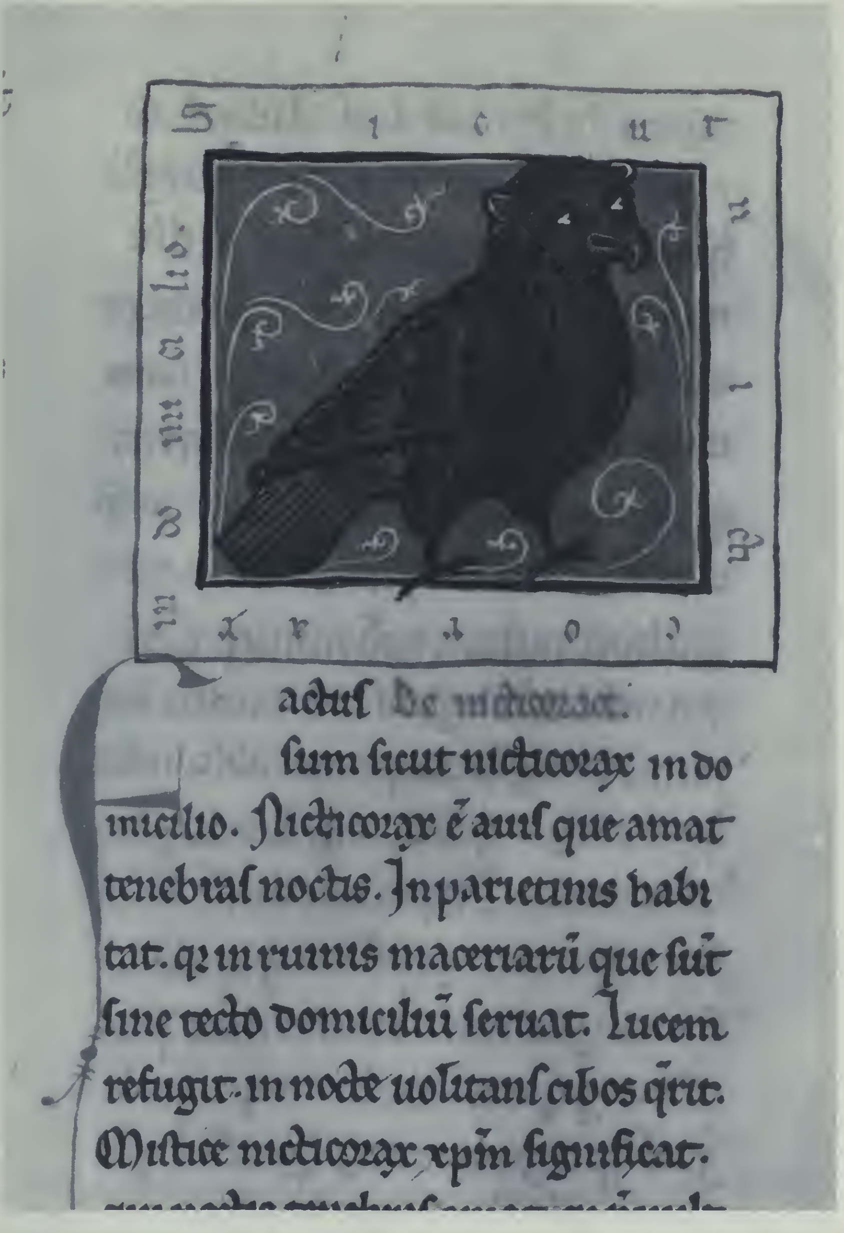


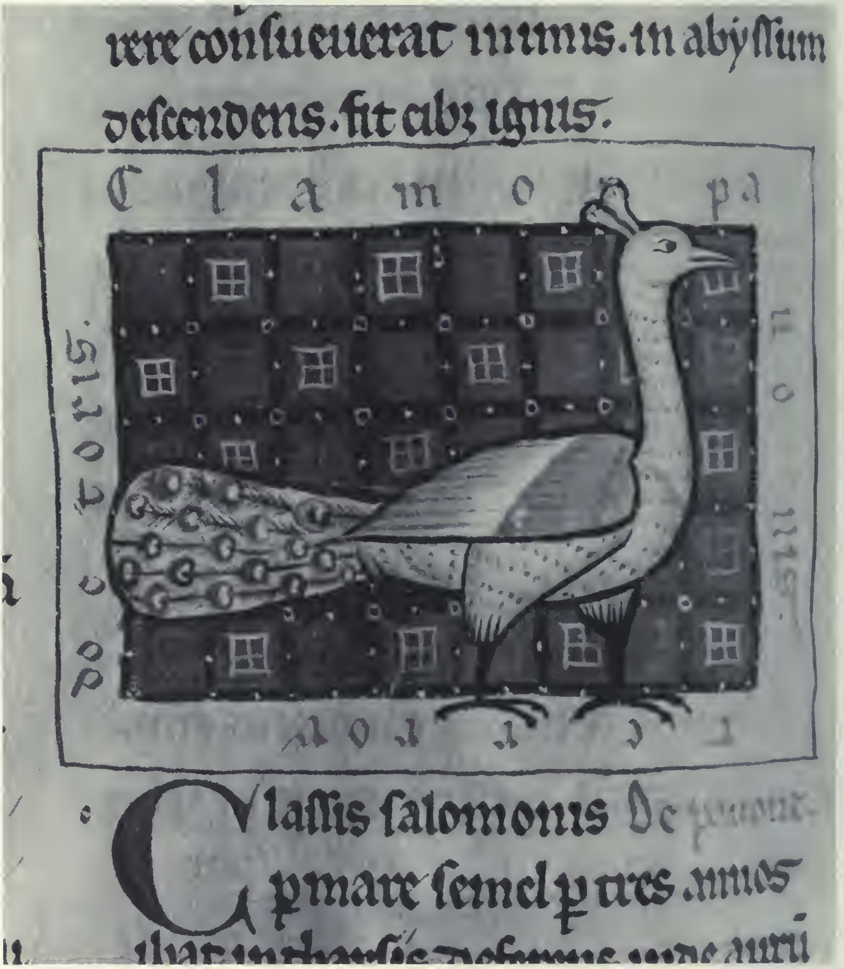
Fig. 45. Clairmarais Aviary, Cedar, detail (St. Omer, Bibl. Mun. 94, fol. 20)



actuſ De nicticorace.

ſum ſicut nicticorax in do
micilio. Nicticorax ē auiſ que amat
tenebraſ noctis. In parietinis habi
tat. q: in ruinis maceriarū que ſūt
ſine tecto domiciliū ſeruat. Lucem
refugit. in nocte uolitanſ cibos q̄rit.
Miſtice nicticorax xp̄m ſignificat.

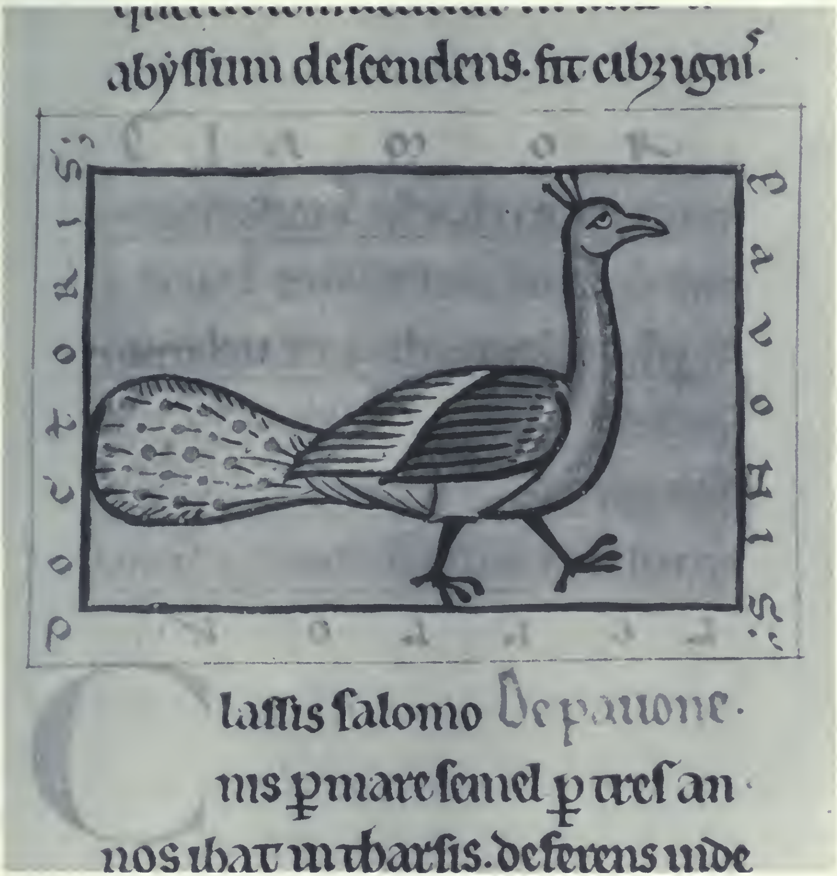
Fig. 46. Clairmarais Aviary, Nycticorax (St. Omer, Bibl. Mun. 94, fol. 22)


rere conſueuerat nimis. in abyſſum deſcendens. fit cibus ignis.

Clamor pauonis.
peccatoris.

Claſſis ſalomonis De pauone.
per mare ſemel per tres annos

Fig. 47a. Clairmarais Aviary, Peacock (St. Omer, Bibl. Mun. 94, fol. 34v)



abýſſum deſcendens. fit cibȝ ignis.

CLAMOR
PAVONIS:
POCTORIS:

Claſſis ſalomo De pauone.

nis ꝑ mare ſemel ꝑ treſ an

nos ibat in tharſis. deferens inde

Fig. 47b. Ter Duinen Aviary, Peacock (Bruges, Episc. Sem. 89/54, p. 82)

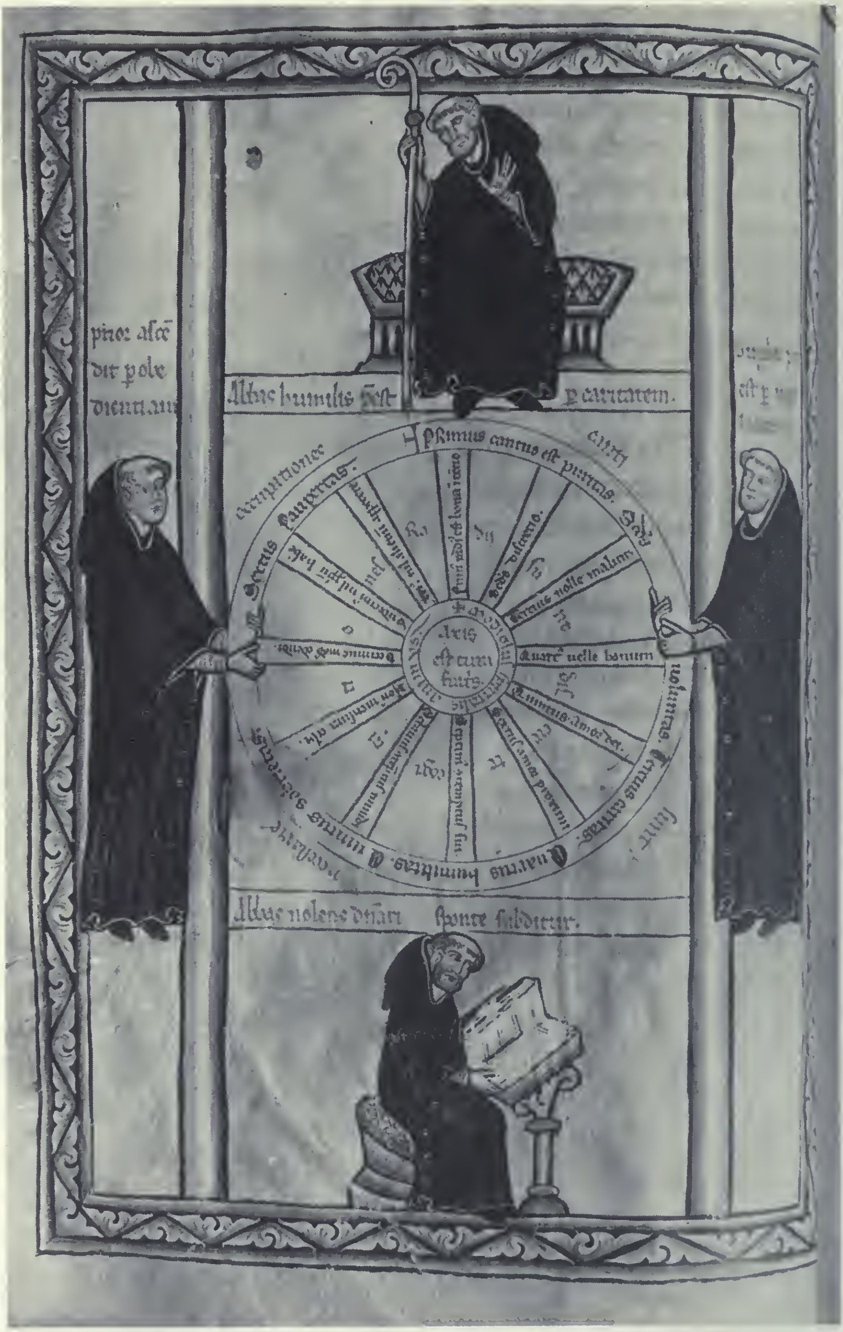

Abbas humilis fit
per caritatem.
Primus cantus est puritas.
Secundus paupertas.
Tertius caritas.
Quartus humilitas.
Axis est caritatis.
Tertius nolle malum
Quartus velle bonum
Quintus amor dei.
voluntas.
Abbas nolens ditari sponte subditur.

Fig. 48. Clairmarais *True and False Wheels of Religion*, Wheel of true religion (St. Omer, Bibl. Mun. 94, fol. 37v)

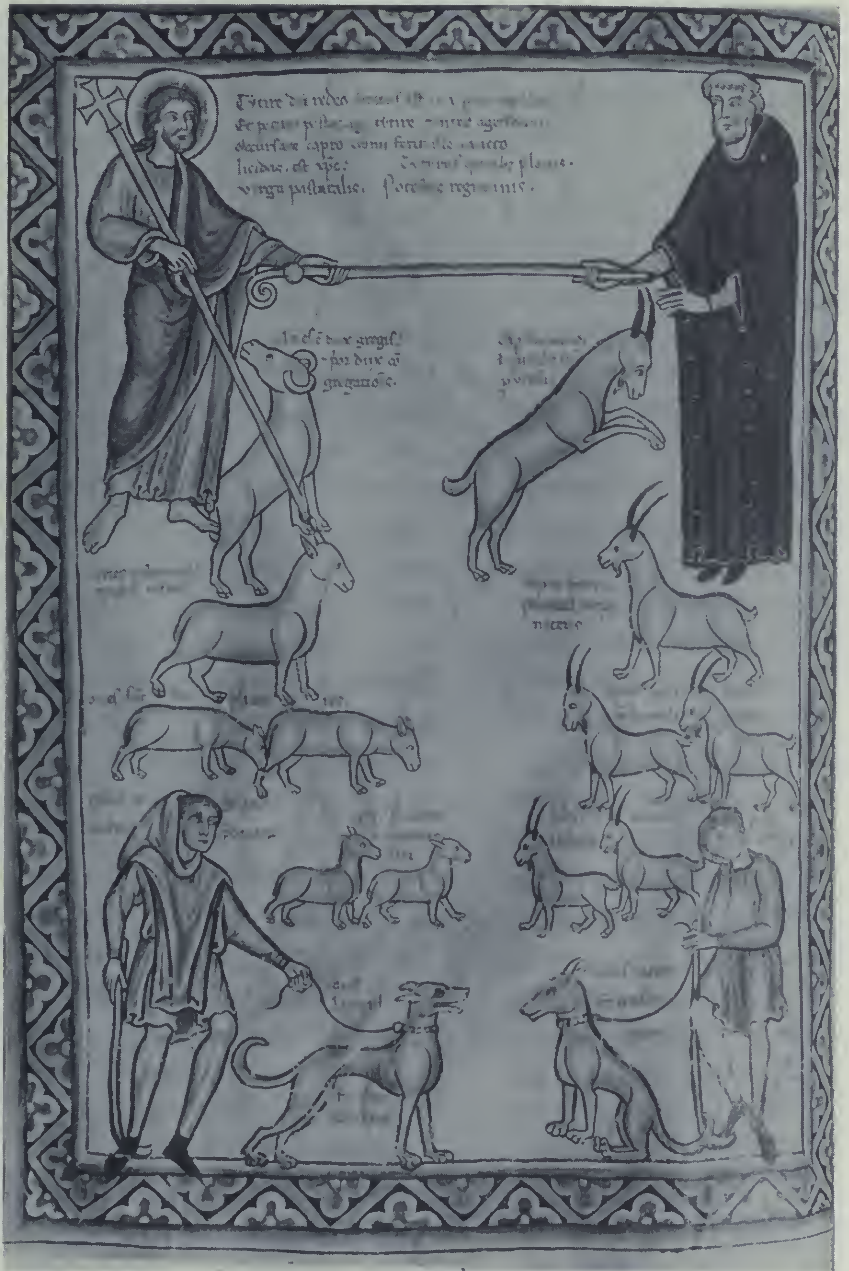


Fig. 49. Clairmarais *Shepherds and Sheep*, Allegory of good and bad shepherd (St. Omer, Bibl. Mun. 94, fol. 48v)

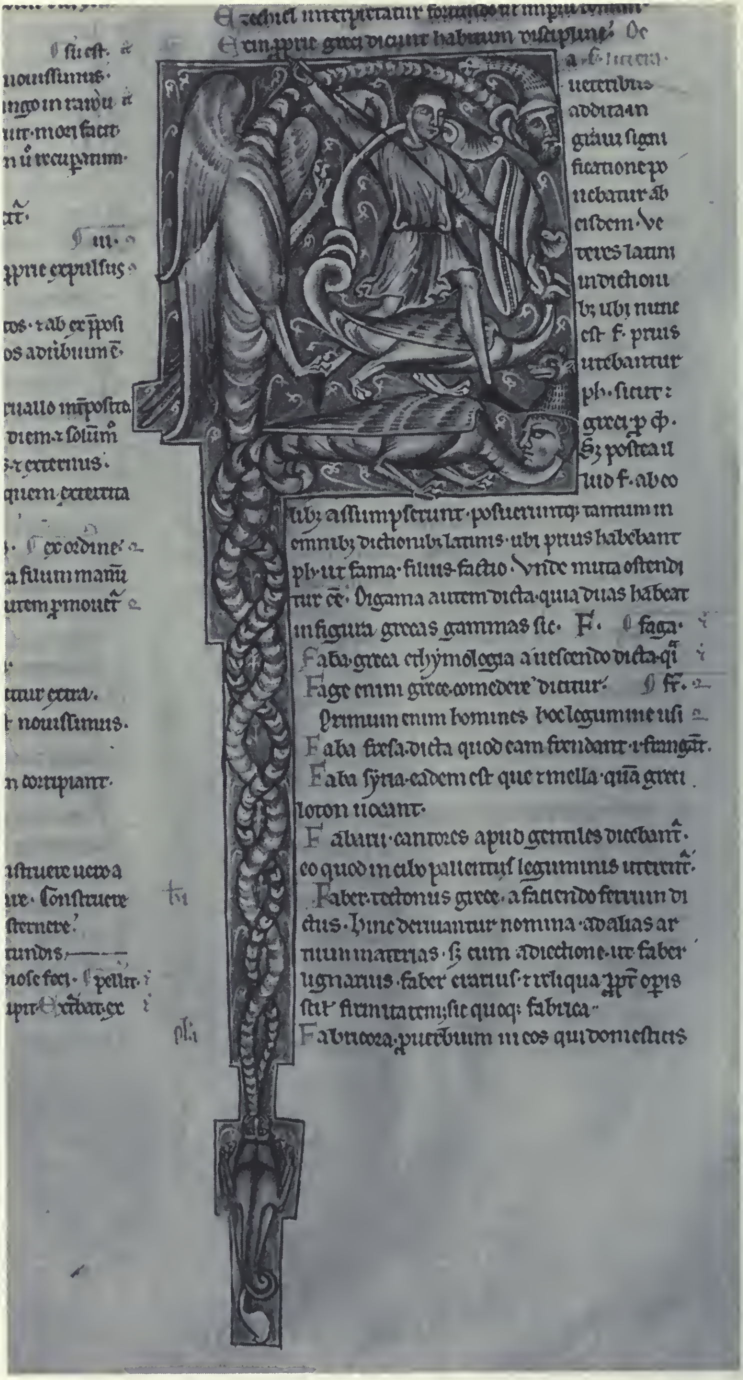


Fig. 50. Papias, *Elementarium*, Letter "F" (St. Omer, Bibl. Mun. 193, fol. 53)

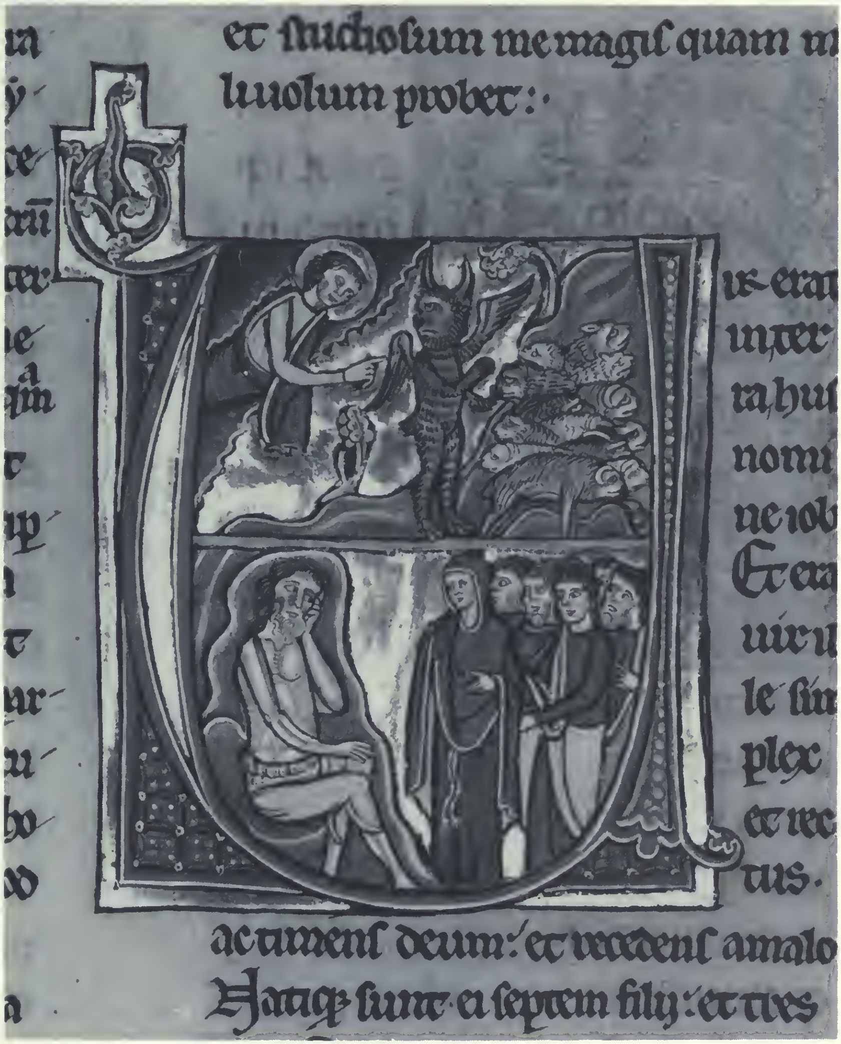
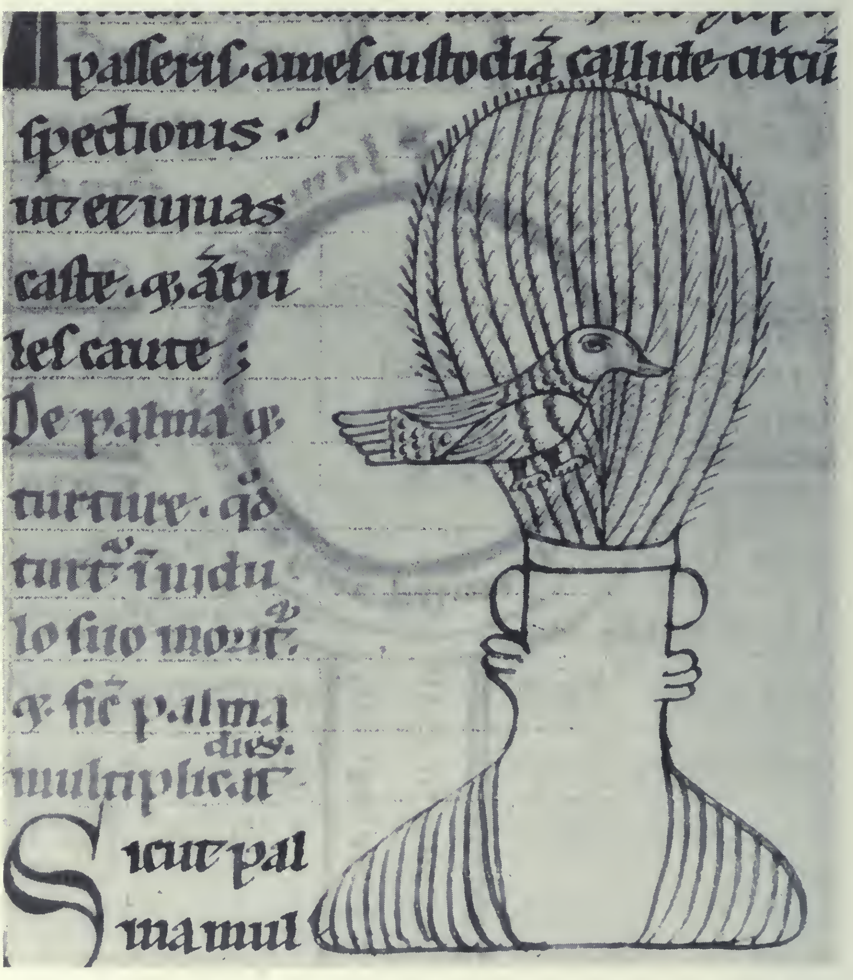

et ſtudioſum me magiſ quam m
liuolum probet:·
ir erat
in terra
hus
nomi
ne iob
Et era
uir il
le ſim
plex
et rec
tus.
ac timenſ deum: et recedenſ a malo
Nataque ſunt ei ſeptem filii: et tres

Fig. 51. Corbie Bible, Job scenes (Amiens, Bibl. Mun. 23, fol. 123v)



paſſeriſ aueſ cuſtodiā callide circū
ſpectionis.
ut et ipsas
caſte. q; ābu
leſ caute;
De palma q;
turture. q̄d
turtur ī nidu
lo ſuo morat̄.
q; ſic palma
dieſ.
multiplicat
Sicut pal
ma mul

Fig. 52a. Aulne Aviary, Palm (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. II,1076, fol. 129)

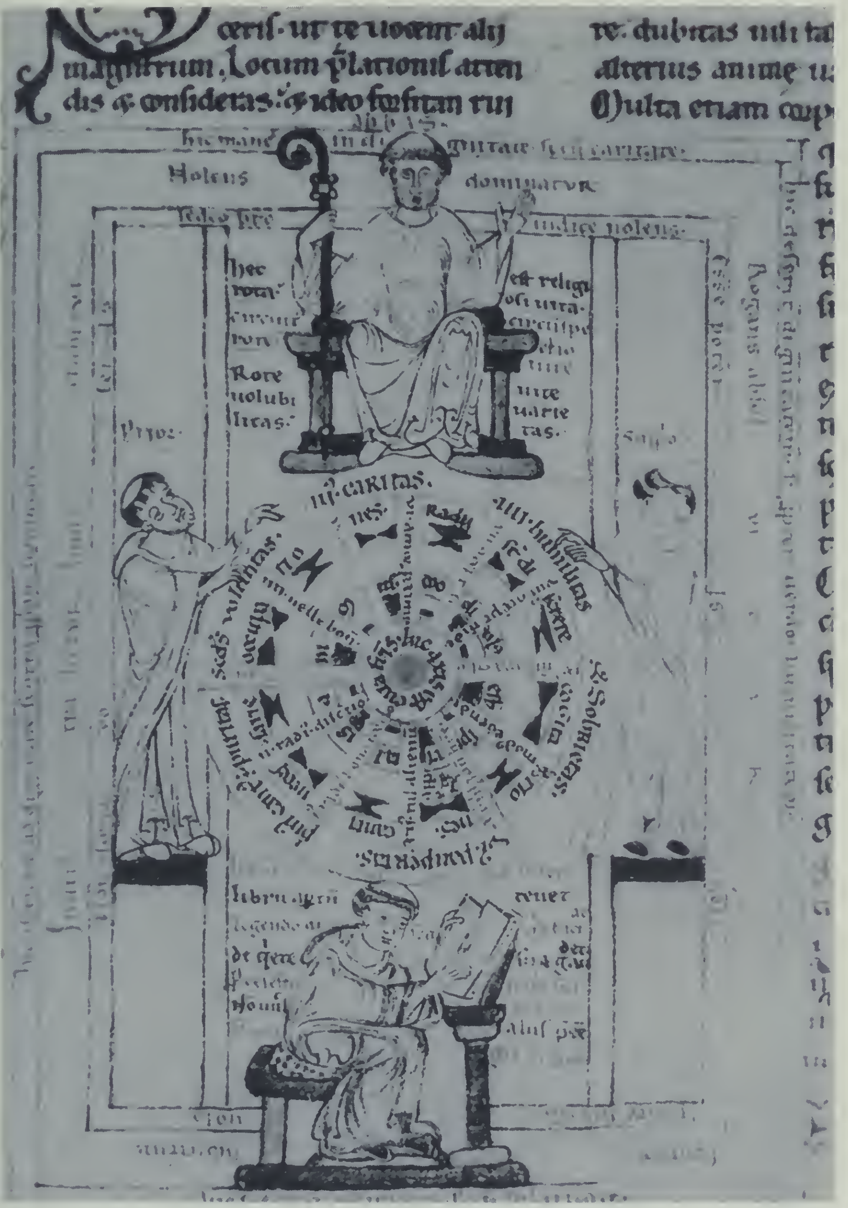

Holens
dominatur
hec rota
Rote
uolubi
litas.
est religi
uite
uarie
tas.
caritas.
humilitas
Solitudo(?)
libru agri

Fig. 52b. Aulne *True and False Wheels of Religion*, Wheel of true religion (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. II, 1076, fol. 82)

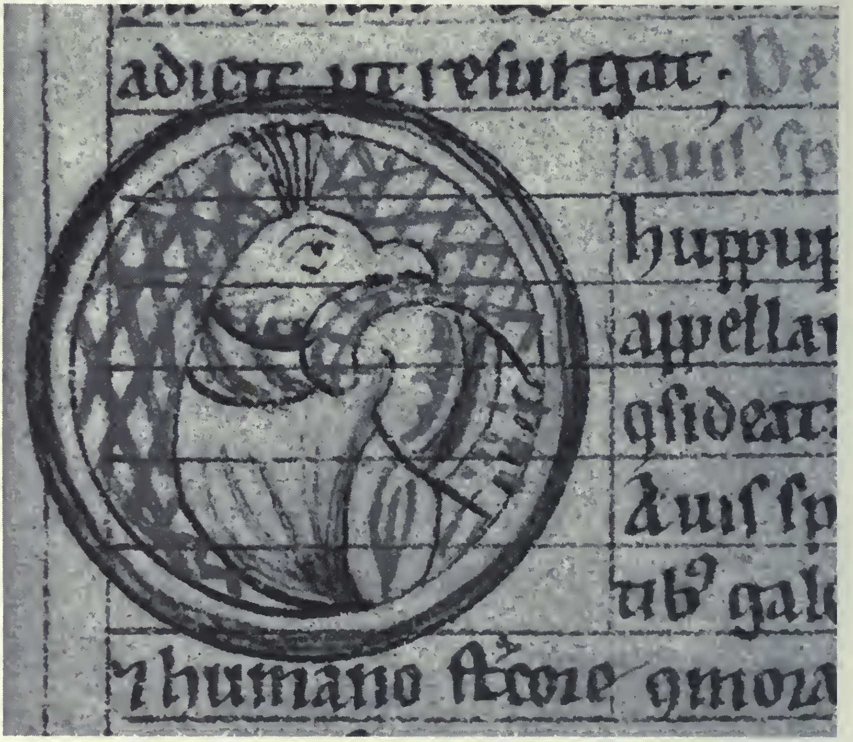

adient ut resurgat. De
auis sp
huppu
appella
qsideat.
auis sp
tib' gal
humano stercore qmora

Fig. 53. Christie's Bestiary, Hoopoe
(Private collection; Christie's sale 2 Dec., Blessing 3731, lot 15, fol. 21)

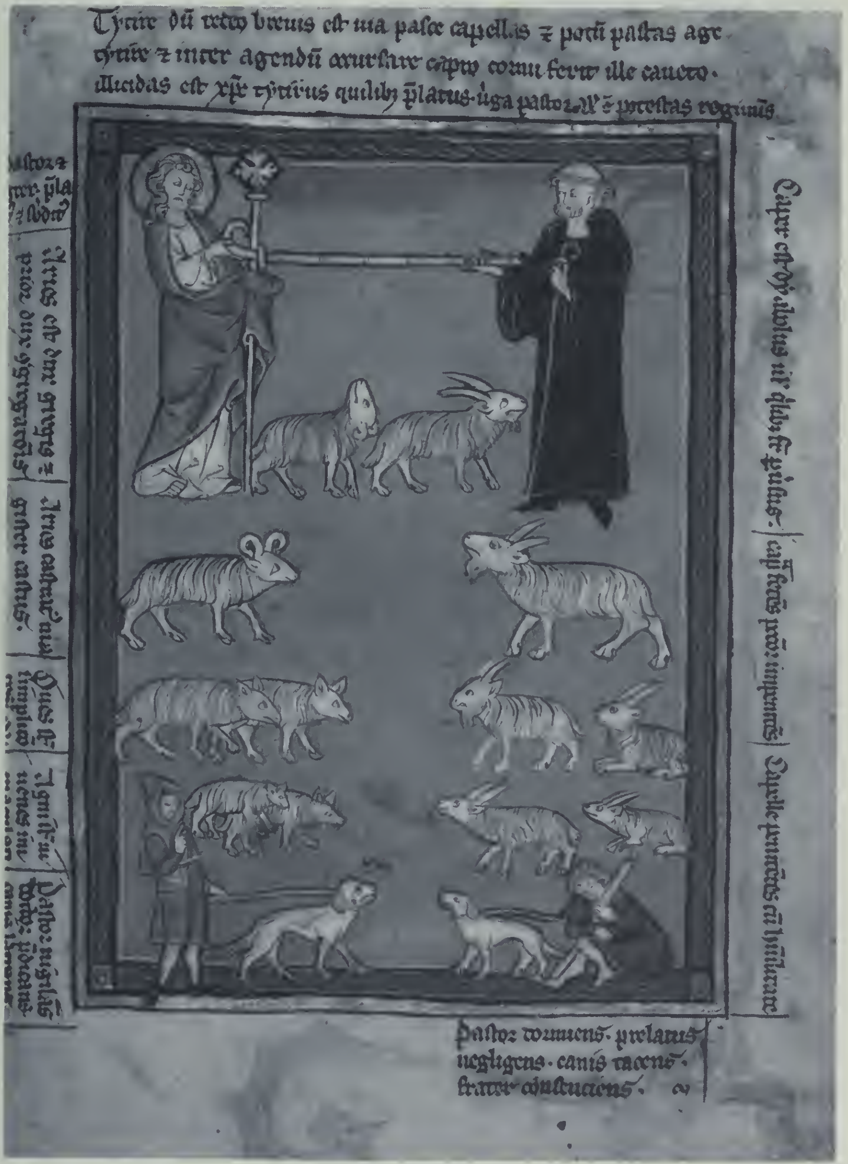
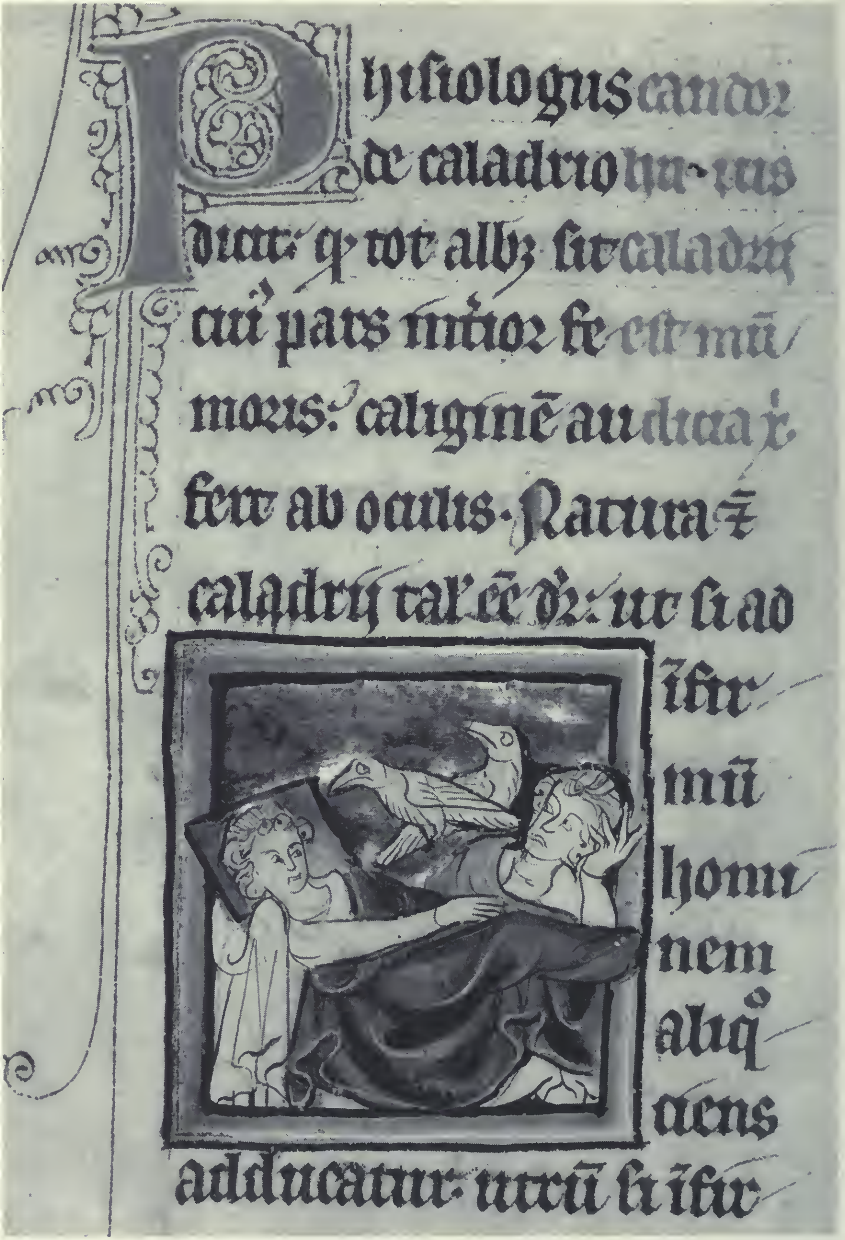

Pastor dormiens · prelatus
negligens · canis tacens ·

Fig. 54. Gloucester *Shepherds and Sheep*, Allegory of good and bad shepherd (Malibu, CA, Getty Mus. [olim Ludwig Coll.] XV,4, fol. 55)



Phisiologus cantor
de caladrio ...
dicit: q tot albz sit caladri
cui pars interior fe cur mū
moris: caliginē au dicit x
fert ab oculis. Natura ē
caladrii tal' ēē dr: ut si ad
īfir
mū
homi
nem
aliq
ciens
adducatur: utrū sit īfir-

Fig. 55a. Gloucester Bestiary, Caladrius
(Malibu, CA, Getty Mus. [olim Ludwig Coll.] XV,4, fol. 45v)

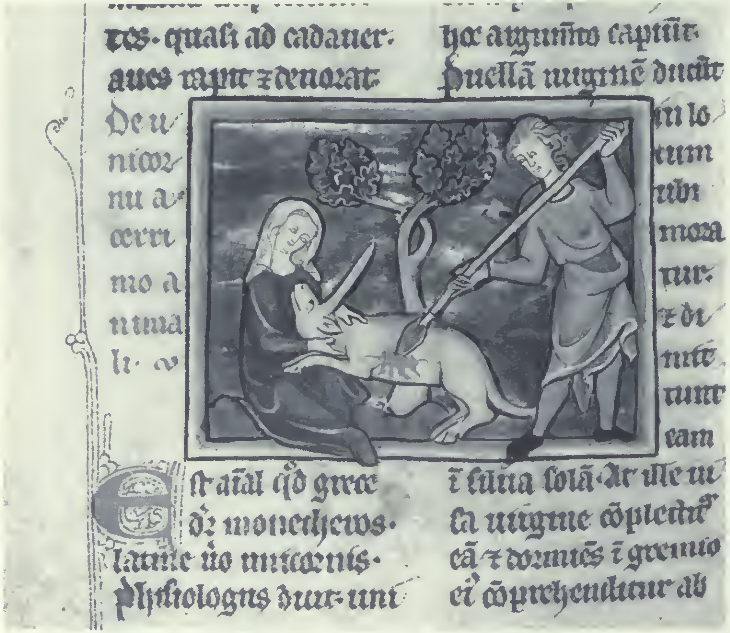


Fig. 55b. Gloucester Bestiary, Unicorn
(Malibu, CA, Getty Mus. [olim Ludwig Coll.] XV,4, vol. 85v)

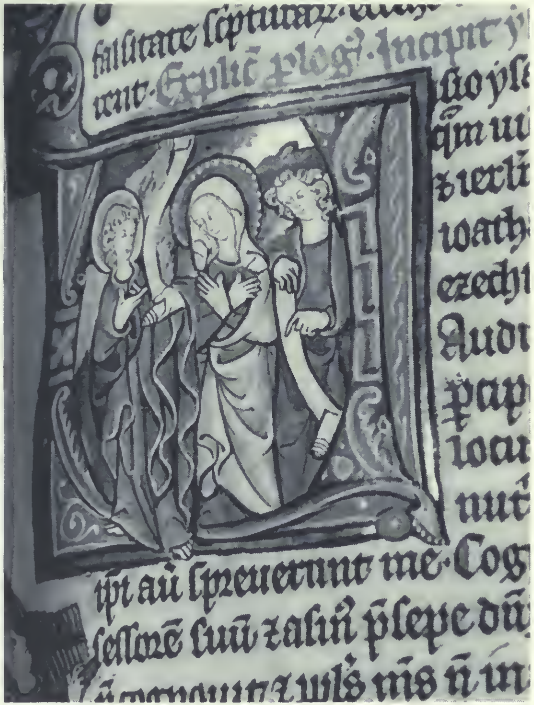


Fig. 56. Bible from St. Bertin, Annunciation
with Isaiah (St. Omer, Bibl. Mun. 5, fol. 41)

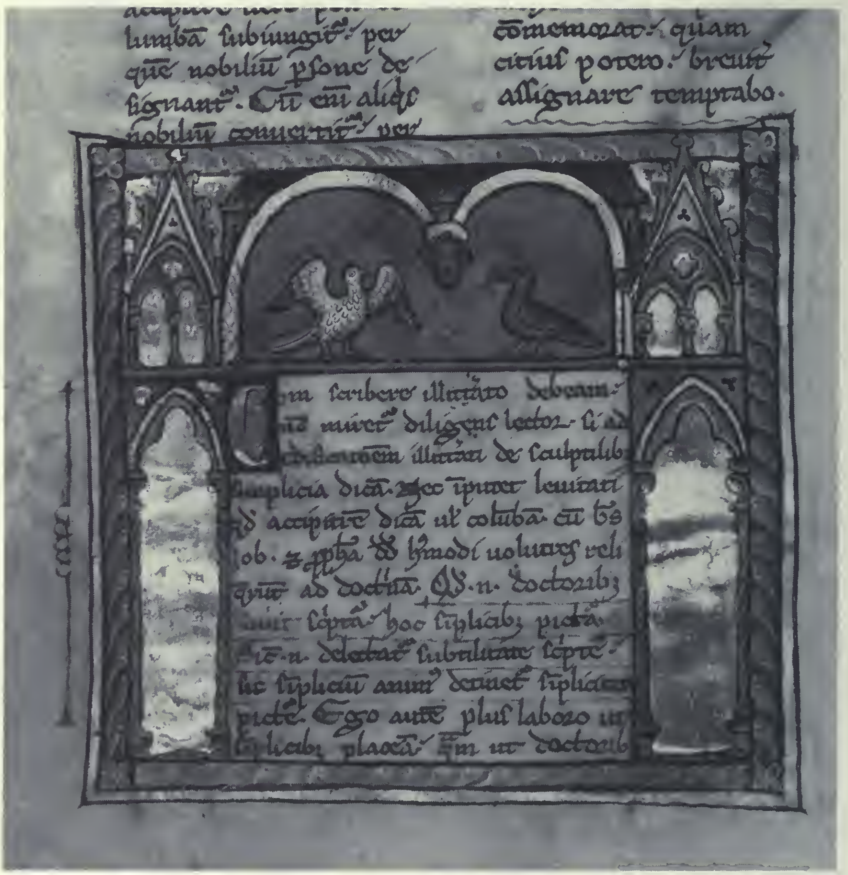


Fig. 57a. Dyson Perrins Aviary, Prologue miniature
(Malibu, CA, Getty Mus. [olim Ludwig Coll.] XV,3, fol. 1v)

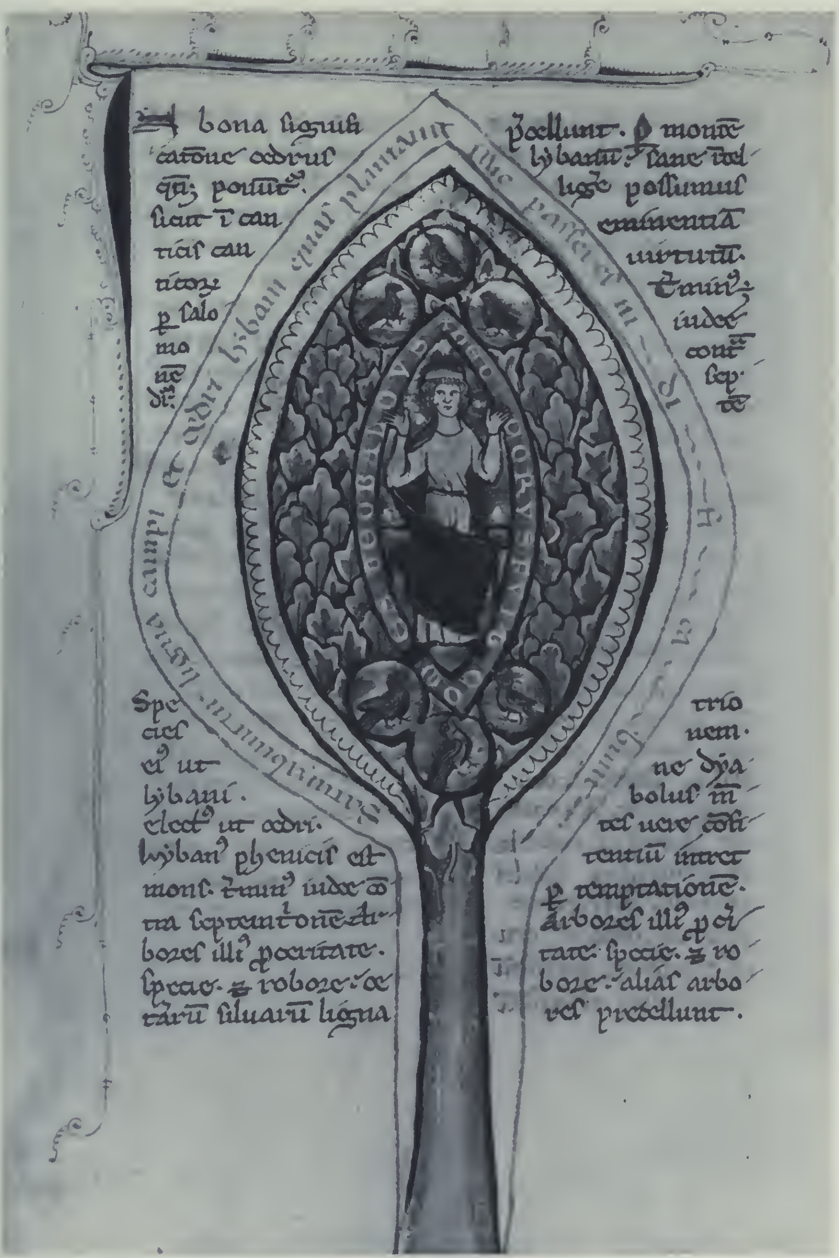


Fig. 57b. Dyson Perrins Aviary, Cedar
(Malibu, CA, Getty Mus. [olim Ludwig Coll.] XV,3, fol. 13v)

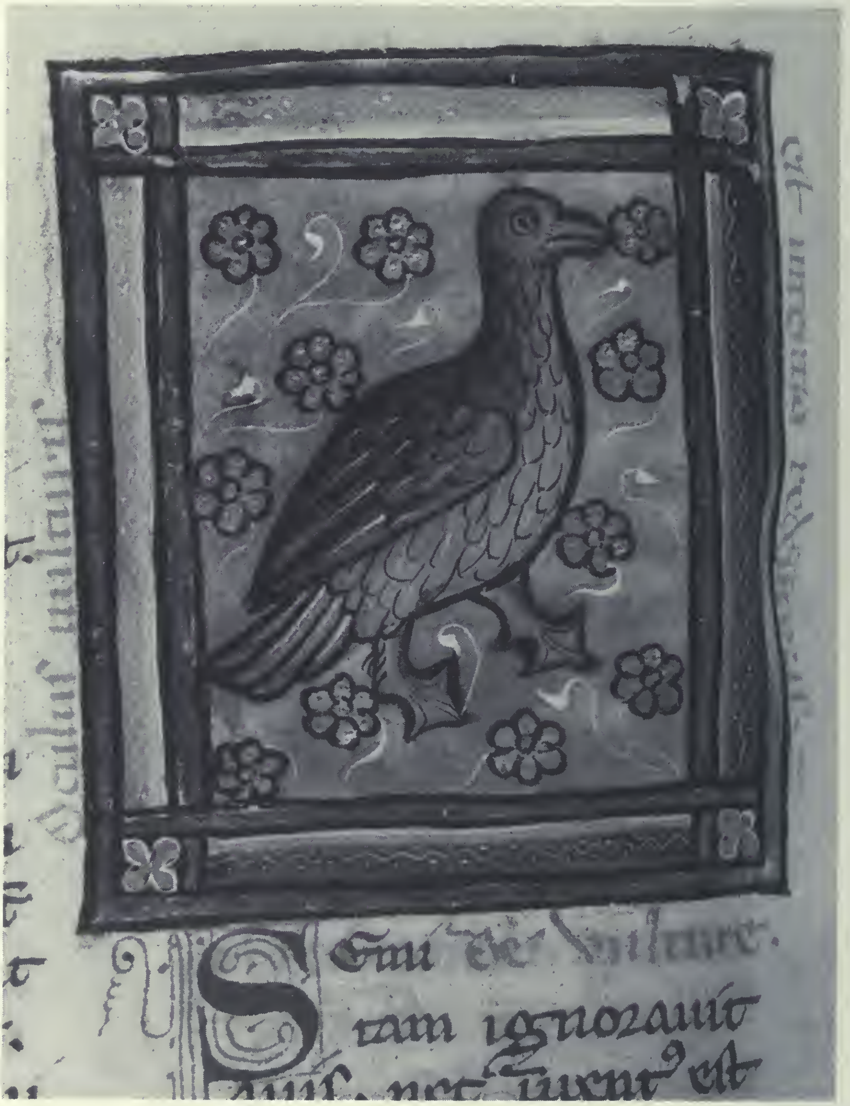


Fig. 57c. Dyson Perrins Aviary, Vulture
(Malibu, CA, Getty Mus. [olim Ludwig Coll.] XV,3, fol. 27v)

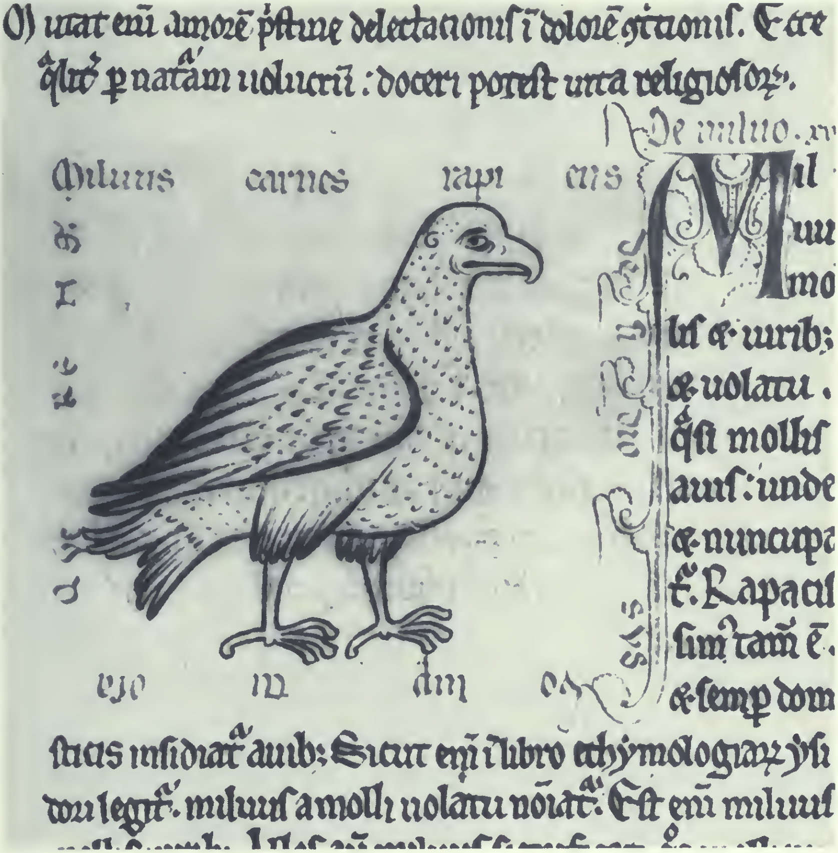


Fig. 58. Dubrowsky I Aviary, Kite
(Leningrad, Gos. Publ. Bibl. lat. Q.v.I,131, f. 25v).

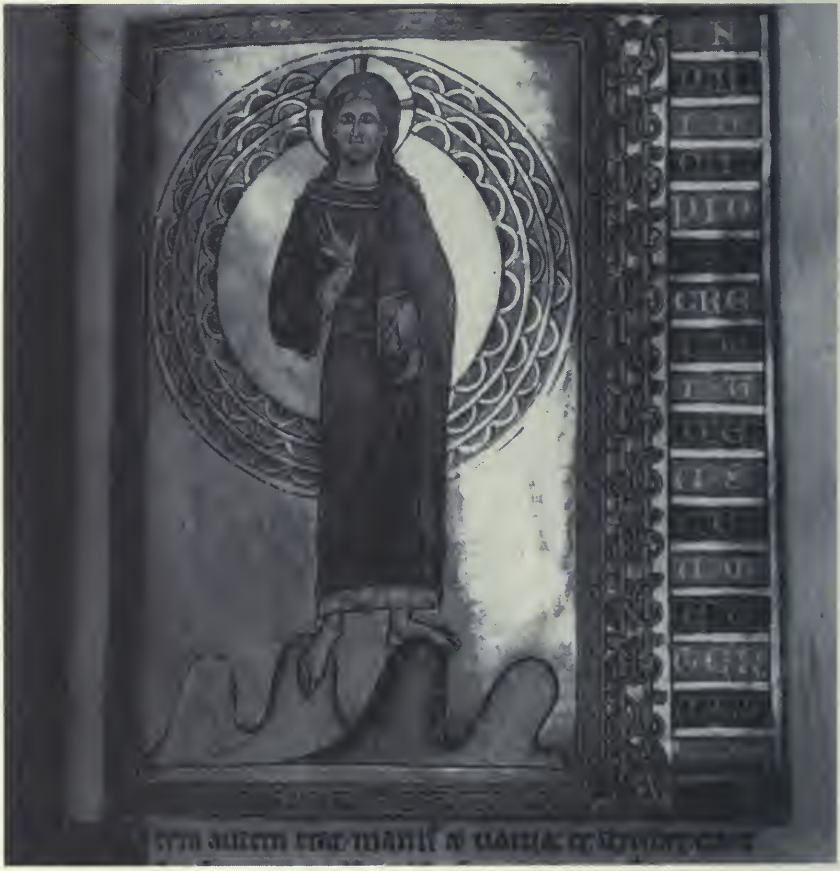


Fig. 59a. Aberdeen Bestiary, God stands on the formless earth
(Aberdeen, Univ. Lib. 24, fol. 1)

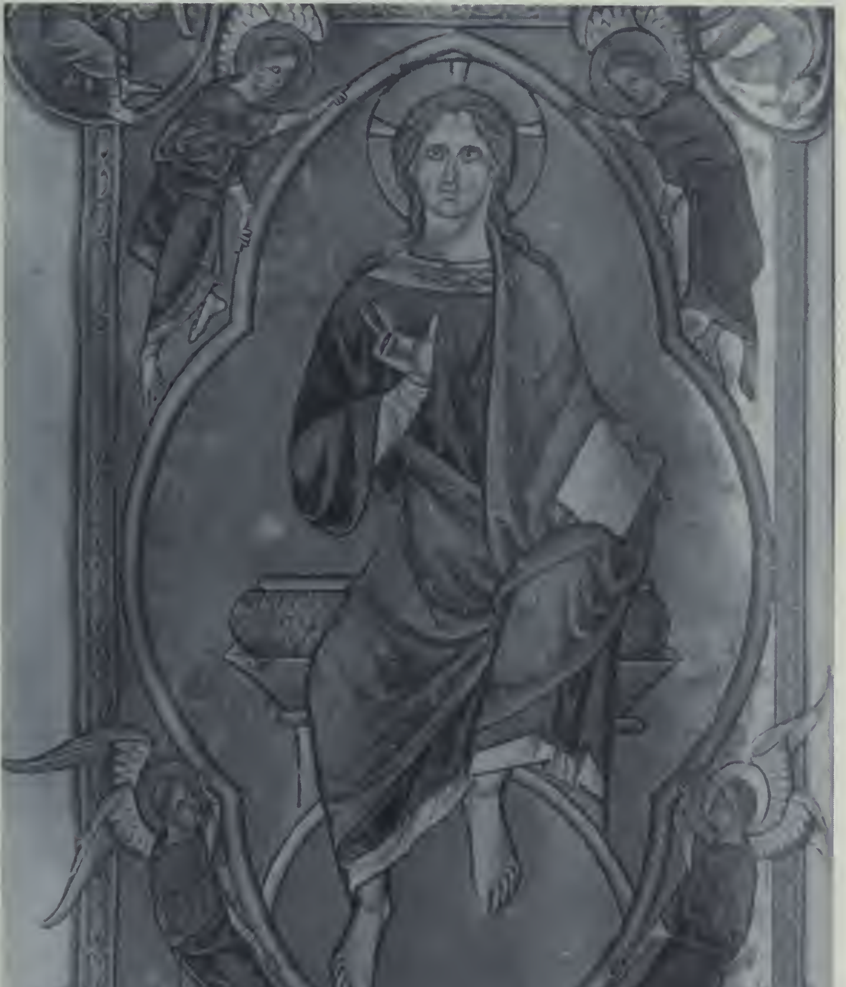


Fig. 59b. Aberdeen Bestiary, Christ in majesty
(Aberdeen, Univ. Lib. 24, fol. 4v)

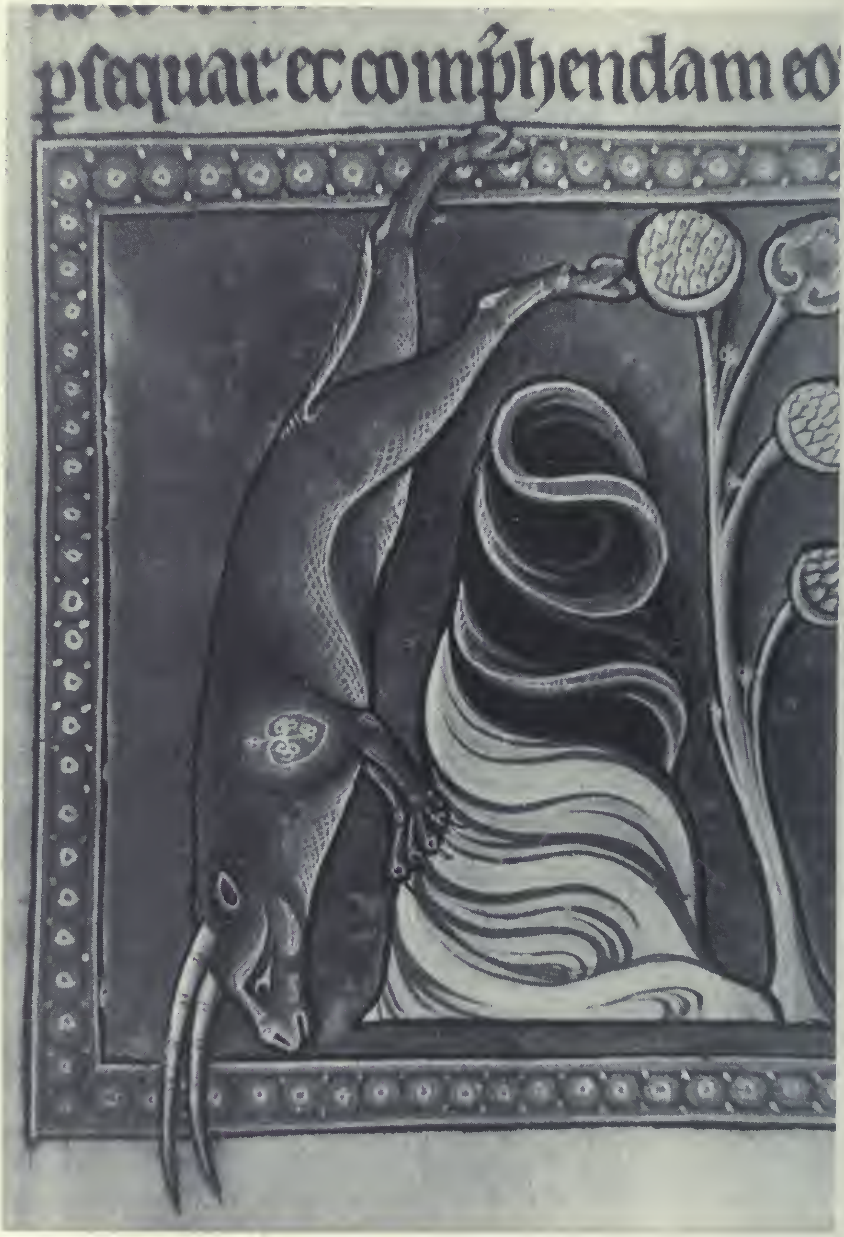

psequar: et comphendam eo

Fig. 59c. Aberdeen Bestiary, Ibex (Aberdeen, Univ. Lib. 24, fol. 11)

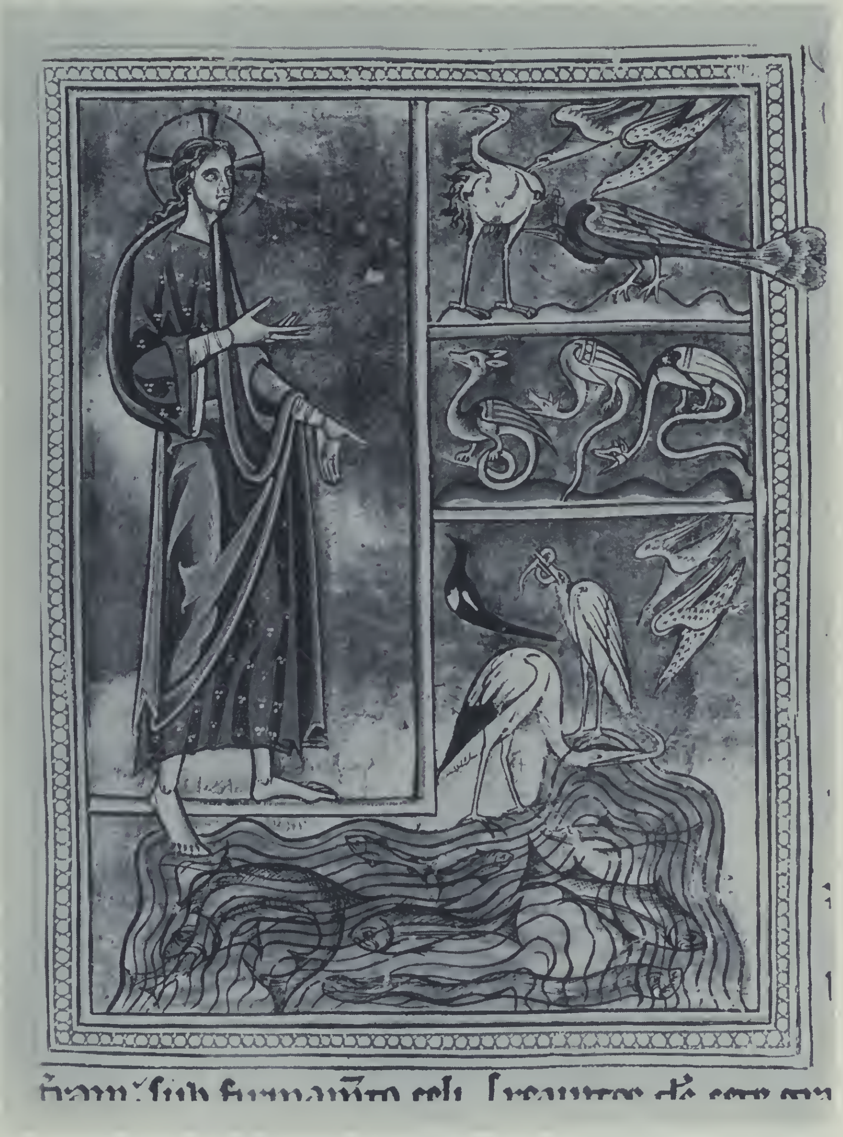


Fig. 60a. Ashmole Bestiary, Creation of the Birds and Fishes
(Oxford, Bodleian Ashmole 1511, fol. 6)

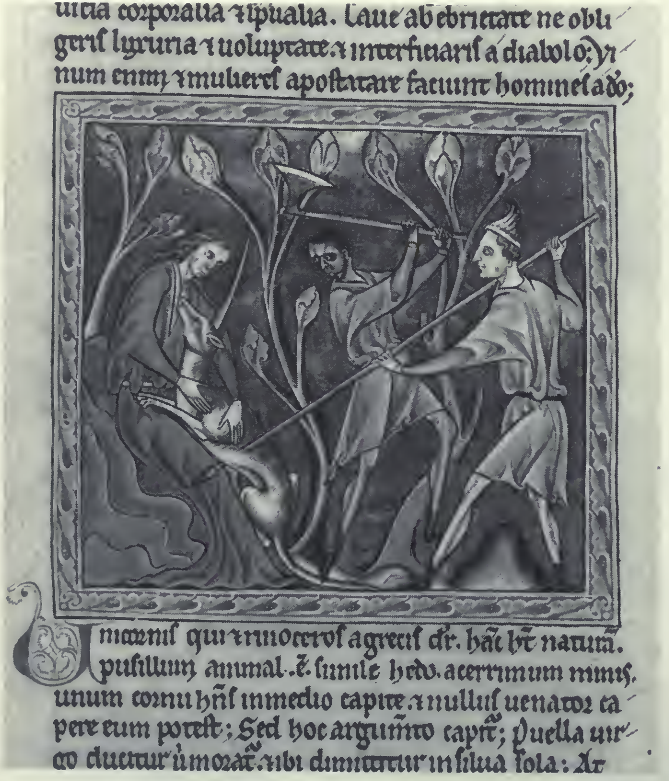


Fig. 60b. Ashmole Bestiary, Unicorn
(Oxford, Bodleian Ashmole 1511, fol. 14v)

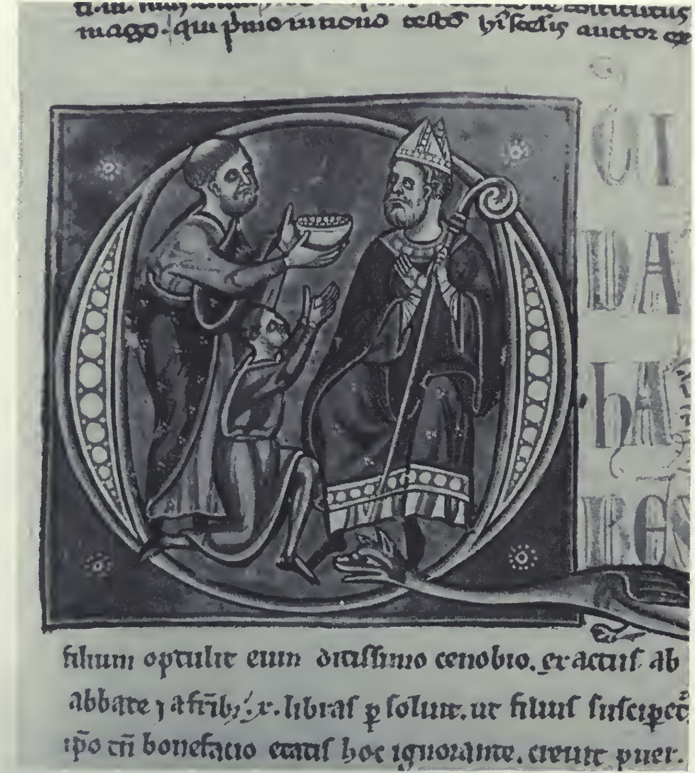


Fig. 61. Gratian, *Decretum*, Causa I
(St. Omer, Bibl. Mun. 476, fol. 66)

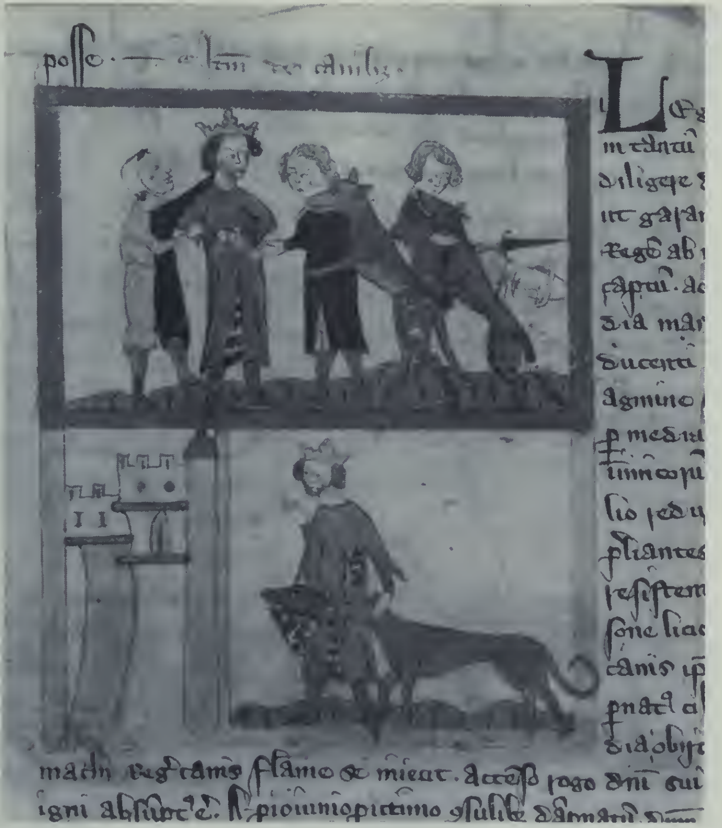


Fig. 62. Douce Bestiary, Dog (Oxford, Bodleian Douce 151, fol. 21v)

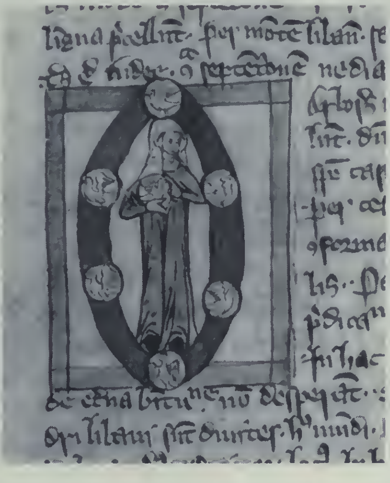
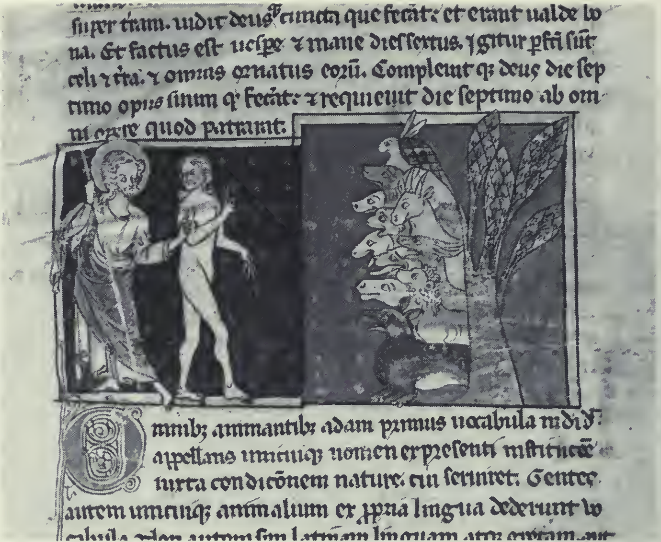


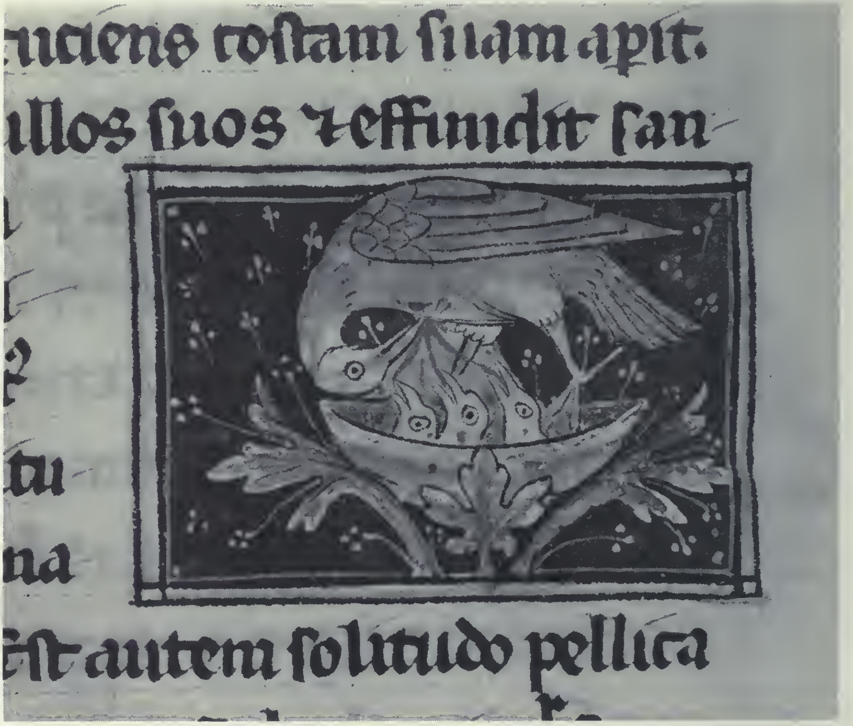
Fig. 63. University College Bestiary, Cedar
(Oxford, Bodleian University College 120, p. 36)



ſuper terram. uidit deus cuncta que fecerat: et erant ualde bo
na. Et factus est uespere et mane dies ſextus. Igitur perfecti ſunt
celi et terra. et omnis ornatus eorum. Compleuit que deus die ſep
timo opus ſuum quod fecerat: et requieuit die ſeptimo ab om
ni opere quod patrarat.

Omnibus animantibus adam primus uocabula indidit:
appellans unicuique nomen ex presenti institucione
iuxta condicionem nature cui ſeruiret. Gentes
autem unicuique animalium ex propria lingua dederunt uo

Fig. 64. Caius Bestiary, God tells Adam to name the animals (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 372/621, p. 3)



uciens coſtam ſuam aperit.
llos ſuos et effundit ſan

Eſt autem ſolitudo pellica

Fig. 65. Caius Bestiary, Pelican (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 372/621, p. 58)

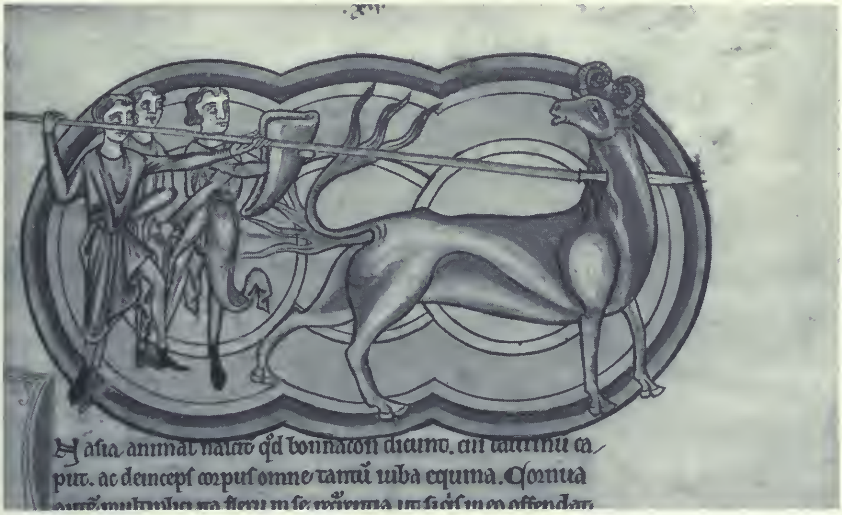


Fig. 66. Harley Bestiary, Bonnacon
(London, BL Harley 4751, fol. 11)

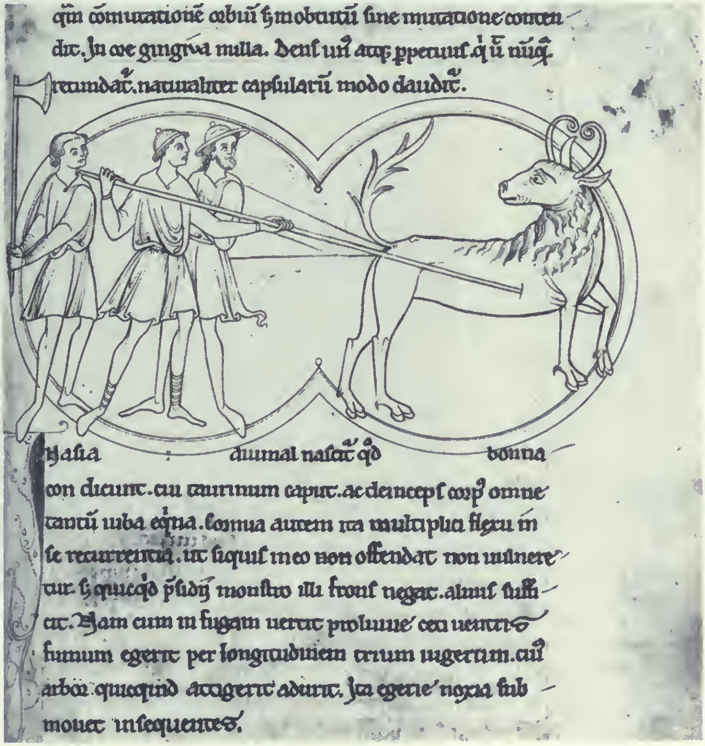


Fig. 67. Cambridge Bestiary, Bonnacon
(Cambridge, Univ. Lib. Ii.4.26, fol. 10)

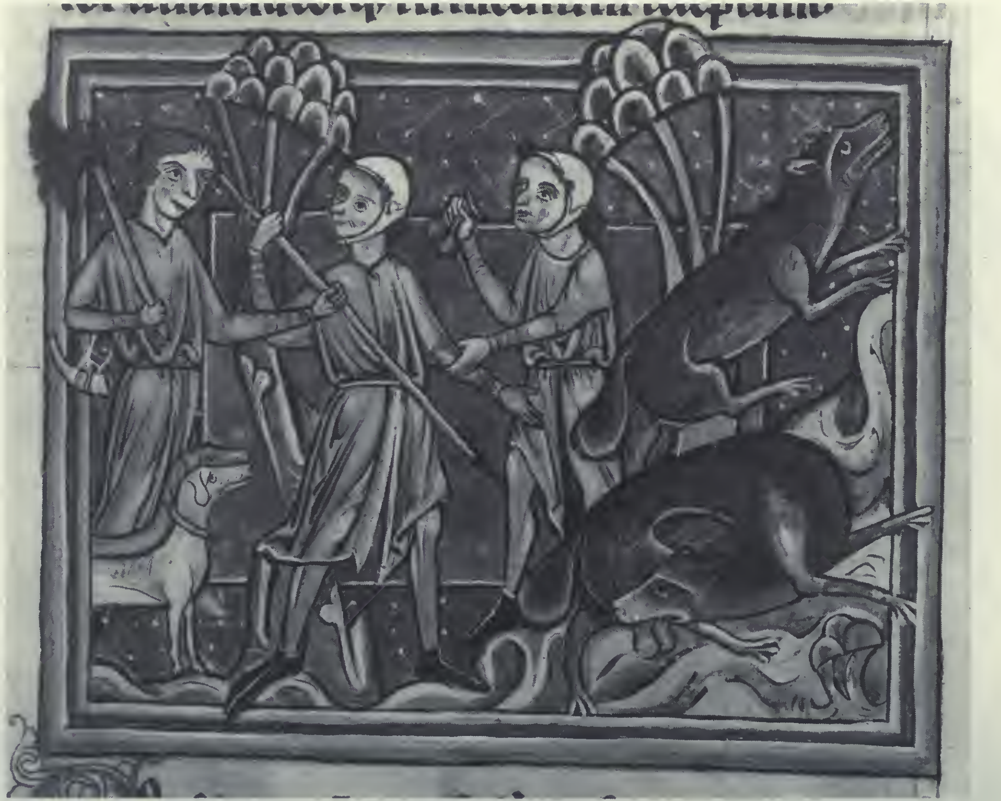
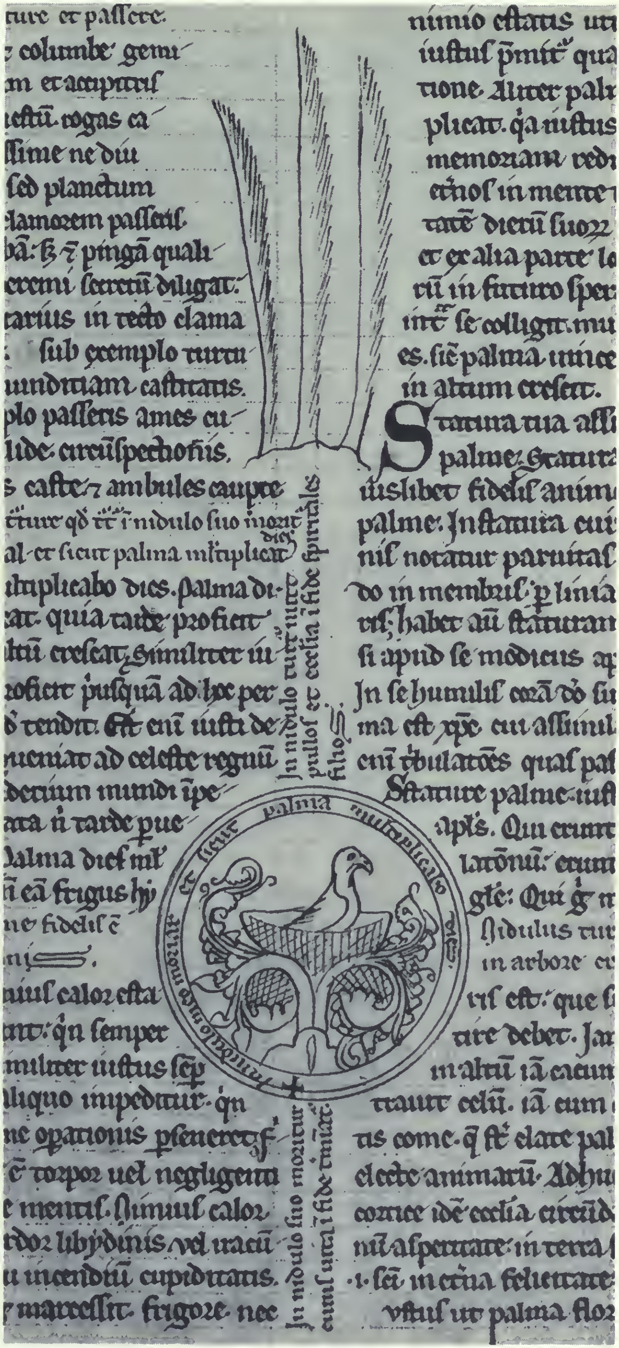


Fig. 68. Bodley 764 Bestiary, Beaver (Oxford, Bodleian Bodley 764, fol. 14)



ture et paſſere.
columbe gemi
m et accipitris
eſtu rogas ca
ſſime ne diu
ſed planctum
lamorem paſſeris
ba: h ꝛ pinga quali
eremi ſecretu diligat.
tarius in tecto clama
ſub exemplo turtu
unditiam caſtitatis.
plo paſſeris ames cu
ude circumſpectionis.
s caſte ꝛ ambules caute
tture qd dr in nidulo ſuo moriar
al et ſicut palma multiplicabo dies
ultiplicabo dies. palma di
cat. quia tarde proficit
ltu creſcat. Similiter iu
oficit puſquam ad hoc per
d tendit. Eſt eni iuſti de
ueniat ad celeſte regnu
dectum mundi ipe
ata n tarde pue
Palma dies mil
n ea frigus hy
ue fidelis e
ni
uius calor eſta
ant qn ſemper
militer iuſtus ſep
liquo impeditur qn
ne operationis pſeneret
e torpor uel negligentia
e mentis. ſimul calor
rdor libydinis vel iracu
u incendiu cupiditatis.
marceſſit frigore nec

nimio eſtatis uti
iuſtus pmitt qua
tione. Aliter pal
plicat. qa iuſtus
memoriam redi
et nos in mente
tate dieru ſuor
et ex alia parte lo
ru in futuro ſper
int ſe colligit. mu
es. ſic palma in ce
in altum creſcit.
Statura tua aſſi
palme. Statura
iuſlibet fidelis anim
palme. In ſtatura cui
nis notatur paruitas
do in membris plinita
tis; habet autem ſtaturam
ſi apud ſe modicus a
In ſe humilis coram deo ſu
ma eſt xpc cui aſſimil
eni tribulatoes quas pal
Statura palme. iuſt
apls. Qui erunt
latonu: erunt
gle: Qui ĝ n
Nidulus tur
in arbore ex
tis eſt: que ſ
tare debet. Ja
in altu ia caeum
trauit celu. ia cum
us come. q ſic clare pal
electe animaru. Adhuc
cortice ide eccla circuid
nis aſperitate in terra
.i. ſci in eterna felicitate
vtus ut palma flo

In nidulo turtur pullos et eccleſia i fide ſpirituales filios
Et ſicut palma multiplicabo dies
In nidulo meo moriar
In nidulo ſuo moritur unus i fide trinitate

Fig. 69. St. Martin Aviary, Palm and Turtledove diagram (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. 18421-29, fol. 47)

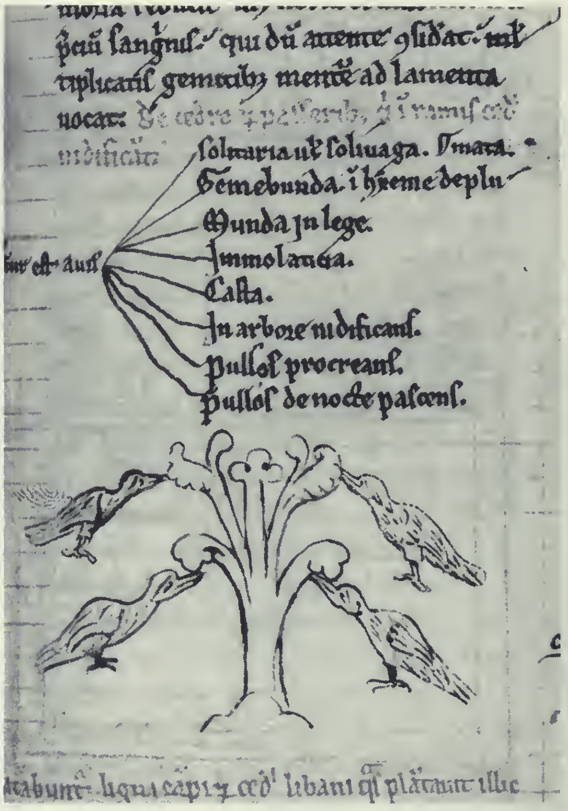


Fig. 70. Bardney Aviary, Cedar (London, BL Roy. 10.A.vii, fol. 154)

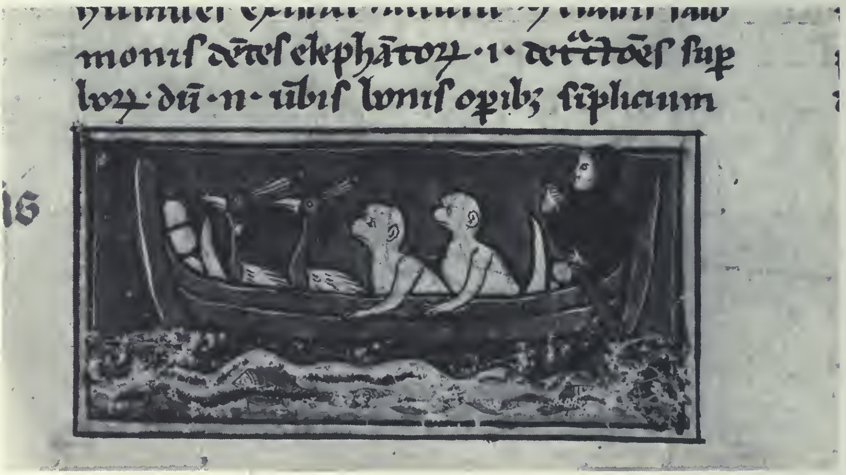
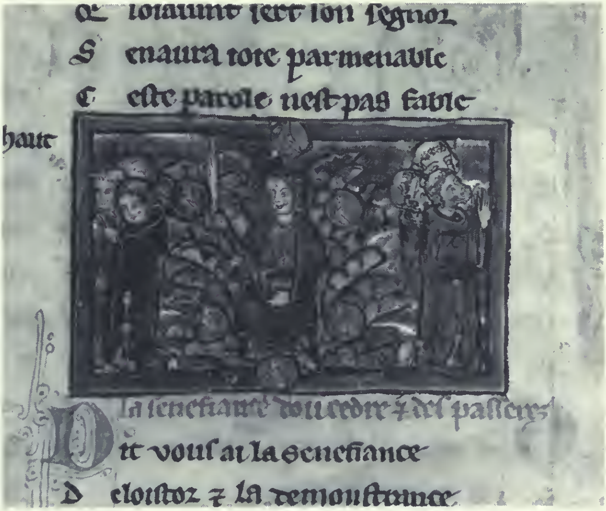


Fig. 71. St. Victor Aviary, Ship of Solomon (Paris, BN lat. 14429, fol. 108)



C loiaument ſert ſon ſegnor
S enaura tote parmenable
C eſte parole neſt pas fable

haut

De la ſeneſiance dou cedre ⁊ del paſſeres

D it vouſ ai la ſeneſiance
D e cloiſtoz ⁊ la demouſtrance

Fig. 72. Paris fr. 24428 Aviary, Cedar (Paris, BN fr. 24428, fol. 49v)

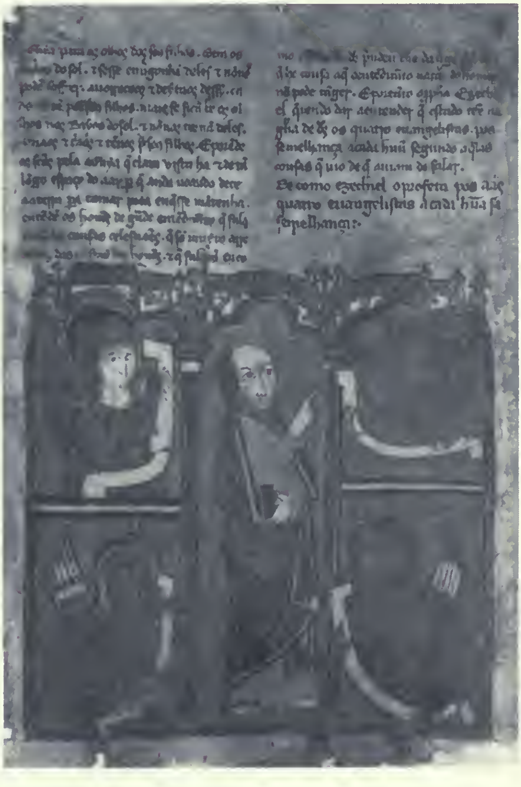


Fig. 73. da Silva Neto manuscript, Ezeckiel vision
(Rio de Janiero, Coll. Prof. Serafim da Silva Neto, fol. 9)

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Figs. A, 1f, 7c, 10b, 15a, 16, Lisbon, Arg. Nac. (José António Silva); Fig. 1a, 7a, 13 Rheinisches Bildarchiv; Fig. 1b Stift Zwettl; Fig. 1e Cremona, Bibl. Stat.; Fig. 7e Bordeaux, Bibl. Mun.; Fig. 15b, 18a Porto, Bibl. Publ. Mun.; Fig. 14 Dijon, Bibl. Mun.; Fig. 17 Photo Giraudon; Fig. 18b Lisbon Bibl. Nac.; Figs. 54, 55a-b, 57a-b The J. Paul Getty Museum; Figs. 10c, 21, 26-28b, 30, 33, 71, 72 Paris, BN; Figs. 22, 23 M. Vivarelli; Figs. 2, 7b, 38b, 57c, 59a, 67 Conway Library, Courtauld Institute; Figs. 1c, 38a, 66, 70 London, British Library; Figs. 1d, 4b, 25, 39, 60a-b, 62, 63, 66, 68 Oxford, Bodleian; Fig. 6b Ghent, Univ. Lib.; Figs. 7f, 36, 58 Leningrad, Gos. Publ. Bibl.; Fig. 8 Liège, Univ. Lib.; Fig. 19 Yale Univ, Lib.; Figs. 22, 23 Rome, Casanatense Lib.; Fig. 29 Paris, Arch. Phot. Paris / S.P.A.D.E.M.; Figs. 31a-b Chalon-sur-Saône, Bibl. Mun.; Figs. 34, 64, 65, Cambridge, Univ. Lib.; Figs. 35, 37 By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard Univ.; Figs. 24, 52a-b, 69 Brussels, Bibl. Roy.; Fig. 46 Susan Bristol; Fig. 53 Sotheby and Co.; Fig. 63 The Master and Fellows of University College, Oxford; Fig. 73, from Mota et al, *Livro das aves*; all others by the author.

The Medieval Book of Birds provides a critical edition and an English translation of Hugh of Fouilloy's *Aviarium*, a mid-twelfth-century monastic work of great textual and pictorial charm. The *Aviarium*, both a text and a program of illustrations, uses the characteristics of birds to teach simple lessons in Christian living to uneducated men who entered the monastery as lay-brothers.

In addition to the Latin text and English translation, Clark's book provides an investigation of the visual and textual traditions represented in the numerous manuscripts in which the work survives, a descriptive catalogue of manuscripts, and over one hundred reproductions. There is no modern edition of Hugh's book and no modern translation, and the few studies written on the *Aviarium* have dealt mainly with iconography. Thus, much of the material presented here is new.

Willene B. Clark, Professor of Art History at Marlboro College, has held fellowships from Fulbright, Rotary Foundation, Kittridge Foundation, Merrill Foundation, NEH, American Philosophical Society, and IREX. Her other publications include *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages* (ed. with M. McMunn; 1989) and *The Stained Glass Art of William Jay Bolton 1816-1884* (1992) and articles in *Gesta*, *Speculum*, and *Sewanee Mediaeval Studies*.

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